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Latin Female Cognomina  
A Study on the Personal Names of Roman Women

TUOMO NUORLUOTO



**Societas Scientiarum Fennica**  
The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters

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# Societas Scientiarum Fennica

The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters

Address:

Pohjoinen Makasiinikatu 7 A 6, FI – 00130 Helsinki

In Swedish:

Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, Norra Magasinsgatan 7 A 6, FI – 00130 Helsingfors

In Finnish:

Suomen Tiedeseura, Pohjoinen Makasiinikatu 7 A 6, FI – 00130 Helsinki

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Prof. Mika Kajava

Address: Department of Languages, P. O. Box 24, FI – 00014 University of Helsinki.

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# 1 The Present Study and Historical Background

This book is about *cognomina*, more specifically the *cognomina* used by Roman women. Chronologically speaking, the *cognomen* was the latest component of the Roman onomastic system. Eventually, it was also the last component that survived in the nomenclature of most Romans. The use of individual *cognomina* started to spread throughout the Roman society in the late Republican period and, during the early Imperial period, the *cognomen* became the primary individual name of Roman men and women. For women, this development was of particular significance. Throughout the Republican period, most of them seem to have borne only one name, i.e. the feminine form of their father's *nomen gentilicium*. In a sense, women in this period were, from an onomastic point of view, seen as members of their patrilineal family or *gens* rather than as real individuals. This apparent lack of women's individual names has often baffled scholars, even if it is, by now, clear that women sometimes did have *praenomina*, i.e. first names of more personal nature. The use of female *praenomina*, however, was never a universal practice. It was only through the advent of the *cognomen* that all Roman women, for the first time, received a name that gave them a true individual identity in the public eye.

In the following centuries, the Roman onomastic system underwent gradual changes, resulting in the eventual diminishment and loss of both the *praenomen* and the *nomen* among the majority of the Roman populace. Subsequently, the *cognomen* was the ultimate item that survived in the nomenclature of most Romans from Late Antiquity onwards. This single-name system, based on what used to be the Roman *cognomen*, was to endure in many parts of Europe for centuries to come. The emergence of the *cognomen*, it is safe to say, had significant cultural implications for the Roman world and beyond; most notably, perhaps, for Roman women.

The present study is the first published investigation of the topic in monograph form. The aim is to thoroughly investigate Latin female *cognomina* and various naming practices concerning Roman women in Antiquity.

## 1.1 Aim and purpose of the present study

The aim of this study is to thoroughly investigate the Latin *cognomina* used by Roman women. In addition to the introductory chapter (Chapter 1), the present study is divided in three main parts:

Chapter 2, 'The Nature of the Latin Female Cognomen', deals with the type and form of Latin female cognomina. The intention is to give a general picture and typology of the names that women could (or could not) have in the first place, as well as to offer a critical survey on the various ways, in which female cognomina could be formed.

Chapter 3, 'The Early Use of the Female Cognomen', investigates the early use and chronology of female cognomina: When did the cognomen emerge as part of women's nomenclature, what were the early female cognomina like and how were they distributed both socially throughout different layers of the society and geographically throughout Italy?

Finally, in Chapter 4, 'The Choice of the Female Cognomen during the Empire', the discussion proceeds to the Imperial period, when the cognomen had already become a standard item in women's nomenclature. The emphasis is on the choices of names and different naming strategies: How were women's cognomina chosen and what factors influenced this decision in different social strata?

Finally, Chapter 5, 'Summary and Conclusions', will follow in which the general and most noteworthy results of this study are summarized and analysed as a whole.

In short, this study is the first comprehensive publication of Latin female cognomina with a large social and cultural scope. In the field of historical onomastics, the Roman name system, due to its complex nature, provides a particularly fruitful ground for this type of research. The full name of a Roman individual in its complete form not only helps to identify a given person but also connects them to a specific family and indicates the social and legal status of the name-bearer. As men and women did not have equal societal rights the conventions concerning naming also differed between them. Also, the various beliefs, images, and connotations generally linked to womanhood and the female gender in a predominantly male-dominated society played a role in terms of the choice of female names.<sup>1</sup> This is often clear not only in the semantic content of the name but also in the formal way the names were coined. In addition to all this, there were naturally differences, as in all societies, amongst women themselves, depending on their social, economic, and cultural capital, *inter alia*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, in practically every language and culture there is a certain distinction between male and female names in terms of semantics. It is for example a common tendency that names referring to strength and bellicosity are given to men, whereas women's names often have to do with 'softer' features, such as beauty, peacefulness, etc. See Leibring 2016 for a more thorough discussion.

<sup>2</sup> To borrow the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. Bourdieu 1986; 1979).

Names, to quote L. Konstanski and G. Puzey, “reflect community mores and social customs, while functioning as powerful determinants of inclusion and exclusion”.<sup>3</sup> In a hierarchical society such as ancient Rome such tendencies are often clearly recognizable. This is particularly the case with cognomina which, in comparison to the other name types, demonstrate great variation with respect to their form and semantic content.

## 1.2 Historical background

In the following pages the reader will be provided with the general outlines of the Roman name system and the cognomen.

### 1.2.1 The Roman onomastic system: general outlines

The Romans in the classical period had a name system that differed significantly from the general Indo-European pattern of having a single name. The official nomenclature of a Roman citizen consisted of several onomastic items. The nomenclature of Cicero will serve here as an example of how an elite male citizen could be named (1). The items from left to right are the praenomen (1a), the nomen (1b), the filiation/patronymic (1c), the *tribus* – i.e. indication of the voting tribe – mainly used in contexts of official nature (1d), and finally, the cognomen (1e), which at the time of Cicero was yet to be established in the nomenclature of all Romans. A nomenclature of this type – consisting essentially of a praenomen, nomen, and a cognomen – is typically referred to as *tria nomina*.<sup>4</sup>

1) *M. Tullius M. f. Cor. Cicero*

a) *M(arcus)*

<sup>3</sup> Konstanski & Puzey 2016, xiii. That naming can be seen as a social and political act is also noted by Bourdieu (1991, 105) in whose words “(...) there is no social agent who does not aspire, as far as his circumstances permit, to have the power to name and to create the world through naming”.

<sup>4</sup> The full nomenclature of the above type was also legally established. The *lex municipalis* from 45 BCE states that *tabulae publicae* (i.e. the census lists) should include *nomina, praenomina, patres aut patronos, tribus, cognomina* (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 593, 146–149); and already the *lex repetundarum* from 123/2 BCE states *quos legerit, eos patrem tribum cognomenque indicet* (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 583, 14–17). In practice, however, these rules were followed rather loosely, since the *tribus* was often omitted from official inscriptions and many men did not even have a cognomen at this period. For more discussion, Rix 1995; cf. Solin 2017.

- b) *Tullius*
- c) *M(arci) filius*, ‘son of Marcus’
- d) *Cor(neliā) (tribū)*, ‘of the Cornelian tribe’
- e) *Cicero*

Roman women, on the other hand, did not typically have praenomina, nor were they normally enrolled in tribes.<sup>5</sup> From the late Republican period onwards, however, they could bear a cognomen and in the course of the early first century CE this practice became the norm rather than an exception. In addition, the nomenclature of married women sometimes included a reference to their husband, i.e. a gamonymic, which would be placed after all the other onomastic items. A freeborn elite woman of this period could thus have a nomenclature of the following type (2):

- 2) *Caecilia Q(uinti) Cretici filia Metella Crassi (uxor)*  
 ‘Caecilia Metella, daughter of Quintus (Caecilius Metellus) Creticus, wife of Crassus’

The patronymic was normally indicated with only the father’s first name in the genitive plus the word *filia* (unlike in the example above), while the gamonymic was usually given in the genitive with no other supplements (as if indicating the husband’s ‘ownership’ over his wife).

During most of the Republic, however, women were typically known by one name only, viz. their father’s gentile name in the feminine form. Importantly, women would also retain this name upon marriage. Thus, the wife of Marcus Tullius Cicero was simply called *Tullia*, the daughter of Gaius Iulius Caesar *Iulia*, and so forth. This naturally raises the question of a more specific identification. In public, the identity of a woman could be clarified, to a certain extent, through a reference to her father (3a), husband (3b), or both (3c). This is also the style we often encounter in the writings of Cicero and other late Republican authors. Women, as far as their identity needs to be expressed, are almost exclusively the wives or daughters of someone.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> There are some cases of African epigraphy, in which women are attributed a tribe, but this is largely an African peculiarity and should be discussed elsewhere. The citizenship of Roman women, in general, is perhaps best compared with the concept *civitas sine suffragio*, i.e. citizenship without right to vote, granted to several Italian peoples during the Republic (cf. Chatelard 2016, 42). For the definition of Roman citizenship more broadly speaking, cf. Sherwin-White 1973.

<sup>6</sup> Or in special cases, one could specify the identity with a reference to the woman’s other male



- 3a) *Tullia M(arci) f(ilia)*, ‘Tullia, daughter of Marcus’  
 3b) *Terentia Ciceronis (uxor)*, ‘Terentia, wife of Cicero’  
 3c) *Marcia C. f. Crispi*, ‘Marcia, daughter of Gaius, wife of Crispus’

Such a system, however, did not help in the private sphere, particularly in a household with two or more daughters. There were obviously ways to distinguish between sisters – nicknames or diacritics – and, indeed, such names are occasionally found in Republican inscriptions in the form of female praenomina. Female praenomina in this period were often descriptive names of the type *Paulla* ‘little’, *Maxima* ‘elder’, *Secunda* ‘second’, *Tertia* ‘third’, which were practical for indicating birth order. Even feminine forms of male praenomina of the type *C(aia) L(ucia) Ti(beria)* are attested, mostly in the Imperial period, but such names were mostly superfluous items and are often related to polyonymy and provincial onomastics.<sup>7</sup> Briefly put, the female praenomen was never a universal item. It was the cognomen that eventually came to be the individual name of all Roman women.

It should be noted that the general lack of women’s individual names in the Republican period was not due to any particular regulations or laws. Instead, it ought to be viewed as an indirect consequence of women’s inferior social and juridical standing in Roman society.<sup>8</sup> Since women could not become magistrates, jurors, senators or soldiers, their visibility in official documents was rather limited in comparison to men.<sup>9</sup> It follows that there simply was no urgent, practical need for an individualizing name, at least on a societal level. Even if a woman from, for example, the *gens Aemilia*, were to be commemorated in public, the risk of confusing her with other women with the same gentilicium in that particular context remained low – whereas her male relative, i.e. an Aemilius, would have certainly required more specific identifiers, since there were many notable Aemilii on public record. As M. Kajava puts it, “most of what came into existence and disappeared in the Roman onomastic system resulted from purely

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relatives, such as son(s) or brother, if they were famous enough, like in the case of *Cornelia Africana f. Gracchorum*, ‘Cornelia, daughter of Africanus, (mother) of the Gracchi’ (*CIL* VI 31610 [= 10043] = I<sup>2</sup> 201 = *ILS* 68 = *ILLRP* 336, etc.) or *Octavia C. f. soror Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti*, ‘Octavia, daughter of Gaius, sister of Emperor Caesar Augustus [=the emperor Augustus]’ (*CIL* VI 40357 = *AE* 1994, 220).

<sup>7</sup> For a comprehensive discussion and list of female praenomina, consult Kajava 1994.

<sup>8</sup> Kajava 1994, 29.

<sup>9</sup> For women as legal minors during the Republic, see Chatelard 2016. For women’s role and visibility in civic life, see e.g. Hemelrijk 2015. For women and the Roman law, see e.g. Gardner 1991; Evans Grubbs 2002.

practical needs”. In this case the practical need simply did not exist or at least it was not critical enough to affect the existing system in any significant way. In this respect, the emergence of the female cognomen, and especially its entrenchment as the individual name of all Roman women, appears in an interesting light. This development takes place during a time when prominent Roman women started to enjoy a greater level of economic, legal, and social freedom than ever before.<sup>10</sup>

Now, some words should also be said about the nomenclature of freed slaves. One significant difference between the freeborn and the *liberti* was that the latter did not have a legitimate father in the eyes of the Roman law and thus they could not bear a proper patronymic.<sup>11</sup> The Roman onomastic system was strict in this sense: only freeborn Romans could have the indication *f(i)lius* or *f(i)lia* as part of their nomenclature and thus legally be someone’s sons and daughters. Former slaves, instead, would typically have their patron’s first name in the genitive and the word *l(i)bertus* or *l(i)berta* – or if the patron was a woman who did not have a praenomen, they could either have her nomen, her cognomen, or simply a ‘retrograde C’, i.e.  $\text{C}$ , which ought to be understood as a general reference to ‘a woman’.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, their praenomen and nomen would, generally speaking, be identical to those of their *patronus* (or if the patron was a woman the praenomen would come from her father), whereas they would in most cases use their old slave name as their cognomen. A good example is the nomenclature of Cicero’s freedman Tiro (4a). A freedwoman would have a similar nomenclature, but without the praenomen (4b). The Romans’ eagerness to indicate any person’s legal status in the full nomenclature is of course a helpful feature for anyone investigating Roman social history.

4a) *M(arcus) Tullius M(arci) l(i)bertus Tiro*, ‘Marcus Tullius Tiro, freedman of Marcus’

4b) *Tullia M(arci) l(i)berta Helena*, ‘Tullia Helena, freedwoman of Marcus’

In modern scholarship, the *tria nomina* are often perceived as representing the standard form of a Roman nomenclature. This is obviously due to the fact

<sup>10</sup> For some discussion cf. Morrell 2020; Hallett 2012, 363f.; Cantarella 1987, 135ff.

<sup>11</sup> For a thorough discussion of the status of freedmen, see Mouritsen 2011, esp. 66f.

<sup>12</sup> In the sense *mulieris l(i)bertus/a*. The patrona’s nomen could of course be deduced from the nomen of the *libertus*. E.g. A. Valerius  $\text{C}$ . I. Menophilus in *CIL* VI 28060 would be the freedman of a Valeria (whose father had the praenomen *A(ulus)*). For some discussion on the retrograde C, see Keegan 2015. For some situations in which the patrona’s nomen/cognomen was preferred, see Nuorluoto 2019.

that it is, indeed, the standard type of nomenclature for Roman men during the time period which is best documented in our sources and most thoroughly studied today. But even for the Romans themselves, at least in this period, the *tria nomina* were clearly an indication of free status (in contrast to slaves).<sup>13</sup> The Roman onomastic system, however, was never a stable entity but instead it developed and changed over time and, from a historical point of view, the use of *tria nomina* can, in fact, be seen as a transitional stage, on its way from one two-name system to another (I will return to this in 1.2.3).

While the system had by the end of the Republic reached a level of unparalleled complexity in the ancient world, with perhaps the exception of the Etruscans,<sup>14</sup> it had not always been so. In fact, it seems that all the peoples of Central Italy had originally had a single-name system. The anonymous author of the late antique *De praenominibus* cites Varro, according to whom ‘the names in Italy had been single names’, *simplicia in Italia nomina fuisse* (*De praenominibus* 1). He used the names of mythological figures (*Romulus*, *Remus*, *Faustulus*) as evidence for this. There is furthermore epigraphic evidence that could point to this direction, namely the famous (or infamous) *fibula* from Praeneste, which dates from the 7th century BCE and has the text *Manios med fhefhaked Numasioi* inscribed on it (‘Manius made me to Numerius’).<sup>15</sup> It ought to be pointed out, however, that the name forms used in such a context do not necessarily represent the full nomenclature of the persons in question. It is in any case reasonable to view this evidence within the general Indo-European framework and it seems thus credible that also the Italic languages, Latin included, initially followed the same pattern.

Such a single-name system, however – whether we believe that the Romans had it or not – did not survive into the historical period. The Italic peoples and the Etruscans had by then developed a new kind of system, which was based on

<sup>13</sup> Quintilian (*inst.* 7,3,27) writes that only a free man can have the praenomen, nomen, and cognomen (*nemo habet nisi liber praenomen, nomen, cognomen*). Juvenal (*sat.* 5,127) mocks a man of non-citizen status of boasting, ‘as if you had three names’ (*tamquam habeas tria nomina*). And we have already seen in n. 1 above some examples from Roman legislation.

<sup>14</sup> For the development of the Etruscan cognomen, see Rix 1963.

<sup>15</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3 = *ILS* 8561. The authenticity of the *fibula* has often been questioned over the decades, but recent chemical and mineral analyses seem to confirm its authenticity beyond any reasonable doubt (see e.g. *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana* 99, 2011–2014, with several contributions on the topic). The so-called *Duenos* (= *Bonus*) inscription (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 4) can hardly be taken as evidence here, since it is debatable whether we are even dealing with a personal name. On the existence of a single-name system in Etruscan and Italic inscriptions, see Rix 1995, 728.

the gentile name.<sup>16</sup> This name, as a rule, was transmitted to the children in the agnatic line. The first European family name system had thus emerged. Roman men, as we have seen, had furthermore an individualizing praenomen, which helped to distinguish between men with the same gentilicium, while women, at least in public, were usually devoid of one. Finally, the cognomen came into the picture, first as a name of the Roman aristocracy, and later as an individualizing name that could and eventually would belong to any Roman.<sup>17</sup> How exactly this happened will be explored in the next chapter.

### 1.2.2 The origins of the cognomen

The cognomen was the latest component to be introduced into the Roman onomastic system. Once it had become fully established, it quickly became the primary individual names of Roman citizens. In the case of Roman men, this meant that the cognomen took over the original, diacritic function of the praenomen. For Roman women, on the other hand, who normally did not bear praenomina, the emergence of the cognomen had even larger consequences: it gave all Roman women, for the first time, a genuine, individual identity in the public eye.

The establishing of the cognomen was a gradual process. Roughly speaking, the major change seems to have taken place in the Augustan period, during which it became increasingly common for freeborn Romans – men and women alike – to have a cognomen.<sup>18</sup> To be sure, cognomina appear outside the upper-most class already as early as the second century BCE, but throughout the Republic the use remained optional. But how and why did the cognomen come to be in the first place and what made it such an integral part of the Roman name system?

The phenomenon did not appear out of nowhere. A model existed in the form of the aristocratic cognomina that had been in use for a long time. In historical tradition, the cognomen was initially a characteristic of the Roman

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<sup>16</sup> I will not go into the details of how this system came to be. For a detailed discussion see Rix 1972; cf. Solin 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Since Latin and Etruscan were the only languages of ancient Italy that had the cognomen, it has sometimes been assumed that the practice in Rome was due to Etruscan influence. This, however, does not seem to be the case. Instead, both the Latin and the Etruscan cognomen seem to have had a common background, from which the practice in both languages developed independently. On the development of the Etruscan cognomen (and its relation to the Roman one), see Rix 1963.

<sup>18</sup> See the observations of Salomies 1987, 277ff.

nobility, that is to say aristocratic men.<sup>19</sup> The semantic content of many early cognomina suggests that they were initially used as nicknames or ‘titles’, obtained or earned as adults. Such names could indicate a physical or other feature of the name-bearer (e.g. *Barbatus* ‘bearded’, *Caecus* ‘blind’) or they could be granted or taken into use in honour of a military victory (e.g. *Africanus*) or a political or religious office that the person had held (e.g. *Censorinus*, *Augurinus*). This is also what Roman authors report to us regarding the origin of certain aristocratic cognomina. Take, for instance, the following account of Macrobius, regarding the name *Praetextatus* in the *gens Papiria* and *Scipio* in the *gens Cornelia*:

Macr. *Sat.* 1,25–26:

*Senatus fidem atque ingenium pueri exosculatur consultumque facit uti posthac pueri cum patribus in curiam ne introeant praeter illum unum Papirium, eique puero postea cognomentum honoris gratia decreto inditum Praetextatus ob tacendi loquendique in praetexta aetate prudentiam. Hoc cognomentum postea familiae nostrae in nomen haesit. non aliter dicti Scipiones nisi quod Cornelius, qui cognominem patrem luminibus carentem pro baculo regebat, Scipio cognominatus nomen ex cognomine posteris dedit.*

The senate greatly admired the boy’s reliability and wit and made the decision that boys, with the exception of that one Papirius, should thereafter not enter the senate chamber with their fathers. Papirius was also granted the honorific name Praetextatus due to the wisdom he showed in both silence and speech while still young enough to wear the toga praetextata. This name has thereafter attached itself to our family name. In a similar way, the Scipiones have obtained their name because a Cornelius used to guide his blind father around like a walking stick and thus got the name Scipio, ‘Rod’, and this nickname he passed on to his descendants as part of the family name.

While the historical accuracy of the accounts of Macrobius can be called into question, it nonetheless reveals how the Romans perceived the origins of such cognomina. In historical tradition, cognomina were used by Roman elite men from the very beginning of the Republic onwards. The lack of contemporary documents from the earliest Republic makes it difficult to establish any firm chronology for this period. However, lists of eponymous magistrates attest

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<sup>19</sup> The only patrician without a cognomen in the Capitoline *fasti* is Sex. Quinctilius (*cos.* 453 BCE). It should also be noted that in the *fasti* all plebeian consuls of early times (until 366 BCE) have a cognomen; consuls without a cognomen start to appear more frequently in the 3rd c. BCE (C. Duilius, C. Flaminius, etc.).

cognomina for consuls from 509 BCE onwards. Despite certain controversies, later interpolations, and other issues of credibility, there is no reason to believe that these lists would not, in fact, reflect the onomastic reality of the time (with maybe the exception of the very first *collegia*).<sup>20</sup>

As for epigraphic evidence, the first contemporary document of the use of a cognomen is the inscription of the sarcophagus of P. Corneli(os) P. f. Scapola, approximately from the middle of the fourth century BCE (5a).<sup>21</sup> From a not much later period we also have other sarcophagi from the tomb of the Scipiones, the earliest being that of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, consul of 298 BCE (5b). The fact that he also had a second cognomen (*Barbatus*) indicates that the name *Scipio* had already become a hereditary item in the family by the third quarter of the fourth century BCE (i.e. around the time of his birth, assuming that he became consul *suo anno*).<sup>22</sup>

5a) *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2835 = *ILLRP* 1274a:

*P. Cornelio(s) P. f. Scapola pont(i)fex max(imus)*

5b) *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 7 = *ILS* 1 = *ILLRP* 309:

*Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus Gnaivod Patre prognatus*

The fact that the cognomina of the Republican aristocracy normally became hereditary names is also revealed by the above passage of Macrobius. This meant that the cognomen was by default transmitted onwards to every male descendant of the family who in turn would pass it on to their own male descendants and so forth. In this way the cognomina of the Republican aristocracy came to signify specific family lines or branches within different *gentes*. Take, for instance, the Cornelii Scipiones and the Cornelii Lentuli within the *gens Cornelia*, or the Aemilii Paulli and the Aemilii Lepidi within the Aemilian *gens*. Moreover, once this process had taken place, a further cognomen of more personal nature could be taken into use. An important aspect of such cognomina, however, is that they were not given at birth but were acquired at an older age (unlike the later individual cognomina). Furthermore, these cognomina would often also become hereditary names. For example, within the Cornelii Scipiones there were even

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed discussion on the early cognomina of the Republican nobility, see Solin 2009.

<sup>21</sup> The exact identity of the person is not clear, but he could be identical with the consul of 328 BCE, as suggested by Solin 2009, 254 n. 8; cf. Solin 1998, 8f.

<sup>22</sup> For more elaborate discussion on the chronology (and other aspects) of the Scipionic sarcophagi, cf. Massaro 2008, 33ff.

more specific family lines such as the Asinae, Barbati, and Nasicae. And to all this, of course, a further cognomen could be added (e.g. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, *cos.* 162 BCE).

While most senatorial families had hereditary cognomina, this was not the case with all of them. Still in the late Republic we find such families as the Antonii and the Mummii, for whom no hereditary cognomina are attested – and even in the early Imperial period it is not unheard of to find a senator lacking one, e.g. the Augustan consul L. Arruntius or the emperor A. Vitellius. On the other hand, some new senators of municipal origin had cognomina already at a relatively early stage, as will be evident in the following paragraph.

The unofficial nature of the early cognomina is underlined by the fact that until the 2nd century BCE they were often omitted from official documents.<sup>23</sup> During the 2nd century BCE the use of cognomina also starts to spread to all social classes. While in earlier times, i.e. before c. 200 BCE, we find cognomina only among the nobility and occasional *liberti*,<sup>24</sup> we now start to encounter them sporadically also on some *homines novi* from Italian municipalities. The first new senators attested with a cognomen are M. Porcius Cato (*cos.* 195 BCE) and M'. Acilius Glabrio (*cos.* 191), but as Olli Salomies notes, the following four *homines novi* after them are all without a cognomen: L. Mummius & Cn. Octavius (*cos.* 146 BCE), Q. Pompeius (*cos.* 141), and C. Marius (*cos.* 107).<sup>25</sup> However, this shows that the possibility of using a cognomen outside the senatorial aristocracy was now a viable option. Furthermore, if Livy's account is to be trusted, some municipal aristocrats from Capua used cognomina already by the time of the Second Punic War.<sup>26</sup>

In fact, in the course of the second century BCE, the use of cognomina penetrated all layers of the Roman society. Among the *liberti*, the cognomen became a standard item already by the end of the century, and we also have some attestations for the *plebs ingenua* from that period (see below).<sup>27</sup> This marks the beginning of an important historical process, during which the Roman onomastic system eventually evolved from a situation where only a few citizens had a cognomen to one in which practically everybody had one. It is particularly noteworthy that these new cognomina of the Roman *plebs* largely differed from

<sup>23</sup> Salomies 1987, 278; Solin 2009, 259.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Salomies 1987, 230 for some examples.

<sup>25</sup> For the *liberti*, cf. Salomies 1987, 277.

<sup>26</sup> Liv. 23,8,1; cf. Salomies 1987, 278.

<sup>27</sup> Salomies 1987, 230.

those of the aristocracy in one significant way, namely in the sense that they did not normally become hereditary items but individual names which were given to children soon after birth. Such cognomina, eventually, came to be the primary individual names of Roman citizens.

But why did the use of cognomina start to spread throughout the Roman society precisely in this period? The most logical explanation is that by this time the Roman population had grown to the point in which the traditional system – binominal for men and uninominal for women – no longer sufficiently served the purpose of identifying citizens in public. Moreover, the number of commonly used praenomina had decreased to a small number of usual names. To avoid any confusion in terms of identification, the cognomen proved to be a helpful addition.

The growth of the citizen body was a result, on the one hand of the increasing level of ‘Romanization’ in Italy, and on the other, of the increasing number of enfranchised slaves and their offspring.<sup>28</sup> It is the latter group in particular – the *liberti* – who assumed the use of cognomina with the greatest enthusiasm. Although former slaves and some freeborn Romans seem to have started using cognomina approximately at the same time, it took a long time for the freeborn to fully embrace the new onomastic item. In contrast, the development among the enfranchised class seems to have been almost instant: a glance at the names in *CIL I*<sup>2</sup> will suffice to confirm Iiro Kajanto’s statistical observations, according to which, “no freedman appears without a cognomen after 84 BC” – whereas among the *plebs ingenua*, only around every fifth person has one.<sup>29</sup> This is understandable. The *liberti* already had their former slave names that would then naturally become their individual cognomina – as part of their new Roman name – whereas their praenomen and gentilicium would be identical to those of their patron (though in early times the praenomen could differ).<sup>30</sup> Freeborn Romans, on the other hand, unless they were descendants of *liberti*, had no tradition of such names, and in order to use one, they would have had to invent them.

Detailed studies on the early use of cognomina outside the senatorial elite and the enfranchised class have previously been conducted by Olli Salomies and

<sup>28</sup> ‘Romanization’ here is used in a loose sense of “becoming Roman”. For problems concerning the term, see e.g. Haeussler 2023, 17ff.

<sup>29</sup> The claim regarding freedmen’s cognomina is based on datable inscriptions. Kajanto 1973; cf. also Solin 1974, 125ff.; Panciera 1977, 192ff.; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1989, 89ff.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Solin 2017, 146.



Heikki Solin.<sup>31</sup> It will suffice here to give a brief overview of the most important sources and developments regarding the cognomen's early chronology. Some of the earliest datable cases of *cognomina* among the freeborn *plebs* come from the island of Delos, where Roman and Italian traders had established a presence already by the end of the third century BCE. The Italian trading community, however, never recovered from the massacre committed by the troops of Mithridates in 88 (and later 69 BCE) – which therefore conveniently serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the material. There are two bilingual inscriptions, one of which, a list of several individuals, attests a man called *P. Sextilius L. f. Pilo* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2504 = *ILLRP* 759 = *IDelos* 1753). Several notable aspects emerge. Firstly, the consular dating (*Cn. Papeirio / C. Caecilio co(n)s(ulibus)*) allows us to date the inscription to the year 113 BCE. Secondly, judging by the Greek cognomen *P(h)ilo*, the man – despite himself being freeborn – was likely the son of a freedman. It was not uncommon for descendants of *liberti* to carry a Greek cognomen, despite the servile label that such names must have had in the eyes of the Romans.<sup>32</sup> Thirdly, none of the other 11 individuals mentioned in the document (five *ingenui* and six *liberti*) are given a cognomen – and even Sextilius's own cognomen seems to be omitted in the Greek text (he is simply Πόπλιος Σεξτίλιος Λευκίου). This exhibits well, on the one hand, how sporadic it still was to have a cognomen and, on the other hand, the nature of the cognomen as an unofficial item at this point in time. The other inscription – also a list of several individuals and datable around 125 BCE – records a man called *M. Tuscenius L. f. Nobilior* (Μάαρκος Τουσκήνιος Λευκίου Νωβέ[---]) (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2240 = *ILLRP* 749 = *IDelos* 1733). Again, none of the five other individuals (one freeborn and four *liberti*) are attributed with a cognomen.

There are also some early lists of magistrates from Capua, ranging from 112 to 71 BCE, in which *cognomina* are attested sporadically for freeborn citizens (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 672–691; 2506; 2944–2950). For instance, in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2944 from 108 BCE we have 12 individuals, four of whom seem to bear a cognomen; and in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 679 from 104 BCE we seem to have two individuals with what could be a cognomen (the text is fragmented at places), and nine without one. In *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 686 from 71 BCE we have more evidence, albeit some decades later, of at least three (possibly four) individuals bearing cognomen and five without one. Furthermore, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 689, with no exact date, records four men each with what seems to be a (fragmentary) cognomen.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Salomies 1987, 277ff.; Solin 1991; cf. also Solin 2009 on the “birth” of the cognomen.

<sup>32</sup> Solin 1991, 187.

<sup>33</sup> For more detailed discussion, cf. Solin 1991, 181f.

We even have a couple of early cases from Egypt, dating from 116 BCE, including a certain M. Claudius Varus (recorded together with C. Acutius and Sp. Varaeus in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2937a) and M. Tintrius N. f. Graicanicus from Nuceria (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2937b).<sup>34</sup>

Many further examples of early cognomina come from the famous *necropoli della Colombella* of Praeneste. The Praenestan material offers a most interesting and instructive source for our purposes since it can be dated with certainty to the period between the early third century and 82 BCE – the year in which the Sullan colony was founded and the cemetery went out of use – and since it seems to provide us with a representative picture of the Praenestan society on all its levels. We have 315 inscriptions at our disposal. Of these only 19 include a cognomen, which roughly equals 6% of the whole material – a further indication of the sporadic nature of early cognomina.<sup>35</sup> The most common type of nomenclature seems to be that with a filiation and without a cognomen: in total we have 121 freeborn men, and 68 women representing this style. In addition, we have 24 freedmen and 4 freedwomen with an indication of their patron but with no cognomen. Moreover, 16 women in the material seem to have had a praenomen, the percentage thus being much higher than with female cognomina (only two or three of which are known from Praeneste; see 3.1).<sup>36</sup>

One should observe that many of the *ingenui* with a cognomen seem to have belonged to the municipal elite. Among the funerary cippi we have attestations for such families as the Anicii (6a), the Etrilii (6b), the Oppii (6c–d), the Orcevii (6e), and the Saufei (6f), all of which are known to have been leading families of the free Praeneste.<sup>37</sup>

6a) *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2855: *L. Anici(us) L. f. Cra(...)*

6b) *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 153: *L. Etrili(us) C. f. Rauc(us)* (cf. Etrilia L. f. Longa below)

6c) *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 220: *M. Oppi(us) M. f. Alb(us)*

6d) *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 216/217: two men (father and son) called *L. Oppi(us) L. f. Flac(c)us*

6e) *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2466: *L. Orgivi(us) L. f. Vapidus*

6f) *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 280: *L. Saufio(s) Q. f. Scat(to?)*

<sup>34</sup> For discussion regarding the first Romans in the region, cf. Beness & Hillard 1994.

<sup>35</sup> Solin 1991, 166 counts only 18 cases with a cognomen, presumably leaving out a certain Samiaria M. f. Minor Q. (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 271).

<sup>36</sup> For discussion regarding the female praenomina of Praeneste, see Kajava 1994, 88.

<sup>37</sup> Solin 1991, 165.

The surviving list of magistrates from the pre-Sullan town is instructive. We know at least 29 magistrates, of which 21 seem to have borne a cognomen.<sup>38</sup> One of these cases (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2439), which can be dated to perhaps the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, records two magistrates (a Saufeius and an Orcevius), who both seem to have borne the cognomen *Sabinus* (indicated in the plural form *Sabini*). The other cases, including cognomina such as *Bassus*, *Flaccus*, *Raucus*, *Scato*, *Pontanus*, and *Varus* are somewhat later but still *ante* 82 BCE.<sup>39</sup>

The fact that we find cognomina predominantly among the local elite is hardly surprising. The Republican practice of using a cognomen must have been often associated with a noble background – having, after all, been a privilege of the Roman nobility for centuries. It is therefore clear that the municipal elites, who were often in close contact and had a lot in common with the ruling class of Rome, found it more tempting and, perhaps, more legitimate to follow the onomastic example set by the powerful families of Rome.<sup>40</sup> This, however, does not mean that a municipal aristocrat would have necessarily kept his cognomen upon his admission to the Roman senate. We know that several members of the Praenestan elite who made it to the senate before the Social War – families such as the Anicii, Saufei and Orcevi – seem to have largely abandoned the use of their old cognomina. This could be, as H. Solin suggests, because their names were perhaps not considered Latin or otherwise respectable enough (take for instance the Italic names *Scato* and *Bassus* which still at this point may have had a rustic flavour to them).<sup>41</sup> In other words, the onomastic practices of the municipal elites were likely influenced by Rome's ruling class – but often not to the extent that the names would have necessarily been considered appropriate in the social climate of the Roman senate.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Solin 1991, 166f.

<sup>39</sup> These cases include *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1458 (*C. Tampius C. f. Sex. f. Tarenteinus*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1461 (*C. Magulnius C. f. Scato Maxs(imus)* and *C. Saufeius C. f. Flaccus*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1453 (*M. Anicius L. f. Baaso (=Bassus)*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1465 (*L. Fabricius C. f. Vaarus* and *M. Sal[---]canies*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1466 (*[C. Magulnius] C. f. Scato*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1469 (*C. Saufeius C. f. Pontanus* and *M. Saufeius L. f. Pontanus*; the cognomen seems to have been hereditary); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1470 (*C. Saufeius C. f. Flac[us]*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1471 (*M. Saufeius M. f. Rutilus* and *C. Saufeius C. f. Flacus*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1472 (*M. Magulnius Sf. M. n. Scato*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3045 (*[Etrilius] C. f. Rauc[us]* and *[Saufeius] C. f. Cap[ito]*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3046 (*[---] C. f. Mat[---]*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3048 (*L. Aulius L. f. Caisi(anus?)*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2532/3081 (*C. Dindius [-] f. Scato*); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3083b (*[Etrilius] C. f. Raucus*).

<sup>40</sup> After all, the Italian upper classes formed a rather homogenous group of aristocrats, among whom intermarriages and mutual benefactions were common. Wiseman 1971, 33–53.

<sup>41</sup> Solin 1991, 171.

The Praenestan material is also particularly interesting from the point of view of this study, because it provides us with some of the earliest known female cognomina. Two freeborn women with a cognomen stand out from the material (7a, 7b). I will return to these cases in more detail in Chapter 3.

7a) *Etrilia L. f. Longa* (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 155 = Franchi De Bellis no. 53,3)

7b) *Samiaria M. f. Minor Q. (uxor)* (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 271 = *ILLRP* 869 = Franchi De Bellis no. 117,10)

Among the freeborn *plebs*, the habit of having a cognomen did not become particularly common until the Imperial period. A major boom seems to have taken place in the age of Augustus, which saw a significant rise in the popularity of cognomina, and by the time of Nero practically all Romans would receive a cognomen.<sup>42</sup> One should keep in mind that during the whole Republic the cognomen remained an optional item. There certainly was no law or regulation prohibiting its use but among the *ingenui* of non-senatorial background it took a long time before the cognomen became more than just a sporadic phenomenon. However, over some three generations the cognomen steadily gained more ground and became an increasingly established part of any Roman nomenclature.

This trend was significantly influenced by practices from both ends of the social ladder. On the one hand, there were the cognomina of the Roman nobility that had been in use for centuries. This served as an initial model and had a particular impact on the onomastic habits of Italy's municipal aristocrats. The use of a cognomen, in imitation of the famous Metelli and Scipiones, must have been tempting for the municipal men of Italy (whereas the question of what is fashionable, was surely of less consequence for the very highest class, as Salomies notes).<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, there were also the *liberti* with their old slave names, who were quick to assume the new onomastic item for different reasons. While it is true that their names were often Greek or 'foreign', and thus had a servile label in the Roman eyes, it was not uncommon for their children to receive more 'appropriate' Latin names. A rather early example of this, from the Republican period, is that of [-] Pompeius P. f. Sabinus, son of P. Pompeius P. l. Pylades, *scr(iba) libr(arius) tribun(icius) et mag(ister) conl(egii) scr(ibarum) libr(ariorum)*

<sup>42</sup> See the observations of Salomies 1987, 277ff., corroborated also by the statistical analysis of Gallivan 1992. On the establishing of the cognomen among Roman women, see Chapter 3 of this book.

<sup>43</sup> Salomies 1987, 280.

*quinquennalis* (*ILLRP-S* 37 = *AE* 1991, 114, Rome).<sup>44</sup> It follows, as Salomies notes, that the more people there were with a cognomen, the more normalized the practice in general became and eventually also families who had not previously had cognomina started to give such names to their children.<sup>45</sup>

Once the cognomen had established itself as a standard item of the Roman onomastic system, it quickly became the most important individualizing name for Romans. It was certainly a welcome solution to issues concerning the identification of Roman women. It is true that sometimes during the Republic women also had praenomina, but the phenomenon, even at its widest extent, remained always marginal and the use of female praenomina was largely restricted to the private sphere.<sup>46</sup> It was only the cognomen that gave women an individual identity on a larger scale. After the gradual decline of the praenomen and the nomen during the Imperial period, the cognomen was eventually the only name that was left for most Romans of Late Antiquity. Since this has important implications for the understanding of certain chronological limitations of this work, I will now present a brief overview of the evolution of the Roman onomastic system during the Empire, until c. 400 CE.

### 1.2.3 The evolution of the Roman onomastic system towards Late Antiquity

The evolution of the Roman onomastic system can be viewed as a circle. It started out as a single-name system; then, through the introduction of the gentilicium and eventually the cognomen, it gradually evolved into a system in which most men had three names and most women two. This is also the type of Roman nomenclature that we mostly encounter when we read the writings of early Imperial authors. The establishing of the cognomen, however, set into motion an important development, which eventually led into the decline of the praenomen. Later, after the gradual diminishing of the importance and function of the nomen, the system crumbled back into a situation in which most Romans only had one name left. The early stages have already been discussed above (chapters 1.2.1 and

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<sup>44</sup> Though sometimes the offspring, too, had non-Latin names, like in the above case of Sextilius P(h)ilo from Delos. In some cases even, it seems, it may have been preferable to not have a cognomen at all. Take for instance [S]ergius C. f., son of [C. S]ergius M. f. Vel(in) Mena, who probably was a son of a *libertus* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 708 = *ILLRP* 969). For more discussion, see Solin 1991, 158f.

<sup>45</sup> Salomies 1987, 280.

<sup>46</sup> For the use of women's praenomina, see Kajava 1994. For the occasional use of *tria nomina* among Roman women, see Kantola & Nuorluoto 2016.

1.2.2), but some words ought to be said about the later development as well.<sup>47</sup>

Let us start with the decline of the praenomen. It had originally served as the Romans' individual name which distinguished sons (and in some cases daughters) of the same family from each other, but through the emergence of the individual cognomen, this individualizing function was yielded to the cognomen. In other words, the cognomen took over the individualizing function that the praenomen had initially had.<sup>48</sup> The reasons for its success are many. Unlike with praenomina, there was no limit to the number of cognomina. Instead, new names could be taken into use whenever necessary and coined from either existing names or appellatives with a wide range of different suffixes (see Chapter 2). This flexibility is vital for the understanding of why the cognomen triumphed. Secondly, once the individual cognomen had been established in the Roman name system, the nature of the praenomen became more and more hereditary: sons would, by default, receive their father's first name and freedmen their patron's. A good example is the family of the emperor Vespasian, in which all men bore the names *T(itus) F(lavius)*. The emperor himself was called T. Flavius Vespasianus, his brother was T. Flavius Sabinus, and the two sons of Vespasian, in turn, were called T. Flavius Vespasianus and T. Flavius Domitianus (though the emperor Titus is primarily known by his praenomen, in contrast to his homonymous father who is known by the cognomen).

This development largely took place during the latter half of the 1st century CE and, once it was complete, the praenomen practically lost its initial function and became a hereditary item.<sup>49</sup> During the 3rd century, attestations of praenomina become less and less frequent in epigraphic sources. It is still not completely uncommon to find one in Italian and African inscriptions until the time of Diocletian, but by the end of his reign the habit of recording praenomina seems to vanish outside the senatorial class.<sup>50</sup>

The next step was the gradual decline and disappearance of the nomen, after which most Romans in Late Antiquity had practically returned to a single-name system. One of the most important reasons, or perhaps the most important one, for this development was the decline of the social aspect of the nomen. The basic

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<sup>47</sup> The Roman onomastic system developed over a time period of more than a thousand years, and it is naturally impossible to give a detailed account here. The general development has been summarized well by Salway 1994.

<sup>48</sup> B. Salway, in his well-known paper, calls this process 'the diacritic shift'; see Salway 1994, 128ff..

<sup>49</sup> Salomies 1987, 378ff.; 406ff.; cf. also Salway 1994, 130f.

<sup>50</sup> Salomies 1987, 406.

function of the Roman nomen was to mark one's patrilineal ancestry, and in the late Republican and early Imperial period it also served as an indication of its bearer being Roman.

It was customary that manumitted slaves received their patron's nomen, and foreigners who became Roman citizens obtained the name of their benefactor, who for most new citizens of the Empire was the ruling emperor himself. During the first two centuries CE the mass-manumissions of Imperial slaves and the steady flow of new citizens from the provinces resulted in the over-representation of a few Imperial nomina, such as *Claudius*, *Flavius*, *Aelius*, and *Ulpianus*, but it was in 212 CE, when Caracalla granted citizenship to all free subjects of the Empire, that the scale was completely put off balance.<sup>51</sup> An evident onomastic consequence was the massive number of new Roman citizens who were now called *Aurelius* or *Aurelia* after the emperor. It is easy to envisage that for the majority of the new Romans, most of them now Aurelii, the Roman gentile name simply became, to quote B. Salway, 'a badge of citizenship', required for documents of official nature but otherwise playing no role in their lives.<sup>52</sup> It is quite understandable that such a name would not have served to indicate one's patrilineal ancestry.

There is some instructive papyrological evidence from Roman Egypt after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. In an application for grain (*P.Oxy.* LVII 3906, 2,2–5), dating from 229 CE, all of the applicants are styled collectively with the designation Αὐρήλιοι (*Aurelii*), after which their personal name, i.e. the cognomen from a Roman point of view, and patronymic are given ('Aurelii Iulius Ammoninou, Acaeraeus Papontotos, Copreus Saratos, Papontos Corneliou'). Not only do they all have the name *Aurelius*, but the fact that they all have their patronymic placed after the cognomen reveals their ignorance of, or rather indifference to, the Roman onomastic habits.<sup>53</sup> The absence of the praenomen here also shows that it had already become a highly superfluous element by the third century. It seems evident that *Aurelius* here plays no other role but to indicate that these men were officially Roman citizens.

Furthermore, when practically every free person in the Empire was now a citizen it follows that the need to specifically indicate one's citizenship through naming no longer had the same value as it had had before. This, combined with the fact that there were only a handful of nomina in common use, had the result

<sup>51</sup> For the onomastic impact of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, see Salway 1994, 133ff.

<sup>52</sup> Salway 1994, 135.

<sup>53</sup> Or rather that they continued to place the patronymic after the individual name in accordance with the Greek practice.

that much of the original purpose of the nomen was now redundant. The nomen, consequently, was more and more often omitted from documents.

The nomen gentilicium, as well as the praenomen, endured more resiliently among the Roman aristocracy, whose nomenclature in many ways followed more conservative lines and was not that likely to change with the general flow. However, even among the aristocracy the nomen no longer served the same purpose than before. For instance, after the reign of Constantine, the nomen *Flavius* had largely become an indication of high rank rather than a real family name (just like *Aurelius* had become a mere badge of citizenship).<sup>54</sup> The predominance of the single name in Late Antiquity is furthermore easily verified with a glance at the Christian inscriptions of Rome: Solin has calculated that 96% of the persons recorded in this material between 313 and 410 CE have only one name, i.e. the cognomen – or what used to be the cognomen.<sup>55</sup>

All in all, the Roman name system, with its complex social dimensions and pragmatic nature, was vulnerable to the many cultural, social, and political changes of the Roman Empire. These, together with linguistic and purely onomastic factors, such as fashion, contributed to the fact that the Roman onomastic system of Late Antiquity had come a long way from the prevalent system of the time of Augustus.

### 1.3 Previous scholarship

Roman names have been studied from various perspectives for long but until recently female names have received little attention. The topic has obviously been present in various articles and prosopographical works, but, in addition to the present work, the only published monograph to this date remains Mika Kajava's *Roman Female Praenomina* (1994), a seminal work on the first names of Roman women. Kajava's work has successfully managed to correct many misconceptions and misunderstandings concerning the use of women's praenomina – which by no means were uncommon in preceding scholarship. Nonetheless, many such misconceptions remain, not only in terms of female cognomina but also in terms of the Roman female name system more generally speaking. This is evident in

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<sup>54</sup> Salway 1994, 138f.; Salomies 2012, 1ff.

<sup>55</sup> Solin 2017, 149. The Christian material of Rome is conveniently collected in the *ICUR*.



various works of Roman epigraphy and encyclopaedia articles concerning Roman women.<sup>56</sup>

In his introduction, Kajava wrote that his book was “originally intended to be the first chapter of a comprehensive study of Roman women’s nomenclature”.<sup>57</sup> He had, however, quickly realized that the praenomina alone would need a monograph of their own. A sequel never followed. Kajava had, however, started to prepare one in the mid-1990s, and has kindly offered his unfinished manuscript for me to use as I see fit. It has proven to be most helpful, especially in matters concerning senatorial women. Kajava has, furthermore, published several useful articles concerning the nomenclature of Roman upper-class women.<sup>58</sup>

Roman female names are often discussed to a certain extent in scholarship concerning Roman women, but usually more as a side note to men’s nomenclature than as a topic in their own right.<sup>59</sup> While women’s cognomina have not been systematically studied – with the exception of my unpublished PhD thesis (Uppsala University, 2021), on which this book is largely based – cognomina in general have been (most notably Kajanto 1965). Perhaps the first notable scholarly investigation was published in 1860, by none other than Theodor Mommsen. The article ‘Die römischen Eigennamen’, which included some 10 pages on the development of the cognomen, was followed four years later, in 1864, by a revised edition, ‘Die römischen Eigennamen der republikanischen und augusteischen

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<sup>56</sup> For instance, B. H. McLean, in his handbook of Greek epigraphy, mistakenly assumes that a nomenclature such as *Claudia Erotion* equals “the daughter of Claudius Erotios/ias” or that *Cornelia Fortunata* was the same thing as “the daughter of Cornelius Fortunatus” (McLean 2002, 127). While it is true that children, as a rule, inherited their father’s nomen, there was no such rule concerning the inheritance of cognomina (more of which in Chapter 4 of this book). Moreover, even in the works of ancient historians, one sometimes encounters erroneous forms of female nomenclature – perhaps based on the same logic as McLean’s – such as ‘Cornelia Africana’ when talking about the daughter of Scipio Africanus, who in fact does not have a cognomen in any of our sources (in the famous Augustan inscription (*ILS* 68) she is called *Cornelia Africana f. Gracchorum*, ‘Cornelia, daughter of Africanus, (mother) of the Gracchi’). Sometimes these erroneous forms seem to originate in the modern person’s need to properly ‘individualize’ Roman women of the Republican period – but however noble one’s cause might be, it does not justify inventing names that simply were not there. Another example of a problematic claim is made by Keegan, in whose words, “Imperial women added *praenomina* corresponding to that of their fathers” (Keegan 2012, 2). This is simply not true, at least as a general rule.

<sup>57</sup> Kajava 1994, 7.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. Kajava 1990; 1988a; also, on some issues concerning the nomenclature of individual Roman women: Kajava 1995; 1989; 1987; 1986; 1984.

<sup>59</sup> A recent exception to this is Berlaire Gues 2022, discussing the names of Julio-Claudian women.

Zeit', as part of the first volume of Mommsen's *Römische Forschungen*. It also included a 23-page-long discussion on the cognomen, and some attention was devoted to female names and their nature and development.<sup>60</sup>

In 1904 came the first comprehensive monograph devoted entirely to Roman onomastics, when Wilhelm Schulze published his monumental *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, focusing on gentile names but also discussing women's cognomina to a certain extent. Well over a century after its publication the work is still remarkably useful in many ways.<sup>61</sup> Being an Indo-European linguist, Schulze was primarily interested in analysing the names in terms of morphology and etymology, but he also raised some valid points and questions concerning the use of female names. A particularly notable claim, from the standpoint of this study, was that Roman women in general started to use cognomina earlier than men – an issue that will be discussed later in Chapter 3.

Roman female names were also discussed by Bruno Doer, who dedicated a chapter to them in his *Die römische Namengebung* (1937).<sup>62</sup> While he made some sound observations, there are also several misunderstandings, many of which have been debunked since.<sup>63</sup> Hilding Thylander (1952) also discussed some issues concerning women's names and raised some valid points, for instance regarding the transmission of cognomina from parents to children, but there are also many awkward ideas. Thylander writes, for instance, that once the cognomen had replaced the praenomen as the primary individualizing name, it also took over the function of the gentile name.<sup>64</sup> It seems to me that he confuses here the individual cognomina of the Imperial period and the hereditary cognomina of

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<sup>60</sup> Mommsen also discussed the nomenclature of Roman freedmen elsewhere (Mommsen 1876), but this study is not particularly significant for the standpoint of this study.

<sup>61</sup> Particularly since there are no other major large-scale studies on the Roman nomina. Several reprints have been made since 1904, first in 1933, then again in 1966, and most recently, with a supplementum by Olli Salomies, in 1991.

<sup>62</sup> Doer 1937, Ch. VI, 'Die Namengebung der römischen Frau', 202ff.

<sup>63</sup> For instance, the idea that women originally had praenomina but stopped using them in the course of the second century BCE: "Der Gebrauch des Vornamens bei Frauen verschwand dann wohl im Laufe des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts (...)" (Doer 1937, 210).

<sup>64</sup> Thylander 1952, 131: "Quand le surnom eut remplacé le prénom comme nom individuel, il prit aussi la fonction du gentilice d'exprimer le lien de la famille". He is right, though, in the sense that the cognomen could be used to indicate parentage, but it feels a bit exaggerated to say that "(...) les Romains commencèrent à exprimer le lien de parenté plus facilement et plus sûrement par le surnom que par le gentilice" (*ibid.*).

the Republican aristocracy, and treats them as if they were one and the same thing (cf. 1.2.2; 3.3).<sup>65</sup>

A significant milestone from the standpoint of the study of cognomina was the publishing of Iiro Kajanto's *The Latin Cognomina* (1965). It contains a typological catalogue of all (or most) Latin cognomina that were known by the time of the book's publication, and also serves as a general point of reference in the present study.<sup>66</sup> While Kajanto successfully analyses the cognomina from an etymological and morphological perspective, he does not, generally speaking, take into consideration the more specific reasons for using certain cognomina. This is something that I have attempted to investigate in better detail. In addition to his book on cognomina, Kajanto also made some other important contributions to our understanding of Roman onomastics.<sup>67</sup>

While Kajanto's study took into account only Latin names, Greek cognomina in Rome have been investigated by Heikki Solin in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom* (1971) and *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* (1982), of which a revised edition was published in 2003. He also discussed some aspects of the choice of cognomina in his *Namenpaare* (1990). Solin has furthermore contributed to the knowledge of Roman names with numerous other publications. The most important ones, from the point of view of this study, are his articles concerning the early stages of the cognomen (Solin 1991; 2009) and his list of new cognomina (Solin 2015b).<sup>68</sup> One particularly useful

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<sup>65</sup> This probably is related to the rather odd claim that the cognomen replaced the nomen in terms of importance and instead became the nomen: "Le surnom, qui fut le nom individuel pour tous les Romains, même pour les femmes, qui le portèrent a moins à partir du milieu du I<sup>er</sup> siècle de notre ère, remplaça le gentilice en ce qui concerne l'importance, et à partir de cette époque le surnom est le *nomen*" (Thylander 1952, 131). The only way to reasonably explain this claim is that Thylander did not literally mean the nomen (gentilicium) but in general 'name' and that he had in mind the later development, after which the gentilicium no longer had the function it once had and the cognomen had *de facto* become the only significant item in the nomenclature of most Romans. However, it seems that this is probably not what Thylander had in mind, given his statement about the cognomen taking over the function of the gentile name, and besides, he is referring here to the mid-first century CE, when the cognomen was not competing with the gentile name in terms of importance but with the praenomen.

<sup>66</sup> Though Kajanto has excluded some names from his catalogue (as non-Latin) that should have been included in it, e.g. *Bassus* and *Posilla*.

<sup>67</sup> Particularly his books *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (1963) and *Supernomina* (1966); cf. also Kajanto 1972; 1973; 1977.

<sup>68</sup> His work on Roman slave names, in three volumes, is also significant (Solin 1994). For some of his more recent articles see the bibliography.

tool for any student of Roman onomastics or epigraphy is the *Repertorium* of Latin nomina and cognomina, which he published together with Olli Salomies (first edition in 1988; second edition in 1994). While the *Repertorium* does not systematically take into account the number of attestations of different names, it records the existence of practically every known nomen and cognomen and also includes a reverse catalogue, which is most useful when investigating names with a certain termination or suffix.

Salomies has also contributed greatly to the field. His monumental *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) focused on the praenomina of Roman men, but it also includes a significant chapter on the use and development of the cognomen.<sup>69</sup> Some other important contributions include his book on adoptive and polyonymous nomenclature (Salomies 1992; inspired in part by Shackleton Bailey 1976), and, particularly from the point of view of this study, his articles in which he discusses the choice of the cognomen (though it ought to be clarified that the focus is mainly on the nomenclature of men).<sup>70</sup>

Kajava's work and its significance have already been mentioned above. Some more general but useful publications from other scholars have been Benet Salway's (1994) influential article on the development of the Roman onomastic practice and Paul Gallivan's (1992) article on Roman naming patterns, including those of senatorial women. There are also some recent publications of my own, which relate to the topic.<sup>71</sup>

Prosopographical research is also closely connected to the study of onomastics. Without works such as the prosopography of senatorial women by Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier (*PFOS*), this study would have undeniably been much more time-consuming.<sup>72</sup> As for equestrian women, a major contribution has been recently published by Anthony Álvarez Melero (*PFCR*).<sup>73</sup> Naturally this

<sup>69</sup> Salomies 1987, 277ff.

<sup>70</sup> Salomies 2008 (on choosing a cognomen in Rome); also 2017 (on the significance of onomastics to the study of ancient genealogies). Other useful articles include (but are not limited to) Salomies 2010 (on Roman nomina in the Greek East); 2009 (on numeral names); 2001 (on onomastics and prosopography more broadly).

<sup>71</sup> On women's *tria nomina*: Kantola & Nuorluoto 2016. On the transmission of maternal names: Nuorluoto 2017. On the names of Roman women in *patronatus* formulae: Nuorluoto 2019. On the nomenclature of a Julio-Claudian princess: Nuorluoto 2020. On the names and identities of Greek elites with Roman citizenship: Kantola & Nuorluoto 2022.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. also Raepsaet-Charlier 1993; 2011. There are also other important prosopographical studies, notably Settapani 2001 and several contributions by F. Chausson (see bibliography).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. also Álvarez Melero 2018.

study also owes a significant debt to the flourishing research tradition concerning Roman women more broadly.<sup>74</sup>

#### 1.4 Sources and methodology

The hard evidence of this study consists of written primary sources in Latin and Greek. These include literary accounts of ancient authors as well as inscriptions and, to a minor degree, papyri and coins. Inscriptions form by far the largest and most significant source material for anyone studying Roman onomastics and are important for both quantitative and qualitative reasons. Firstly, they attest hundreds of thousands of individuals who are not known from other sources and therefore allow for meaningful statistical analysis.<sup>75</sup> They are our most significant source material for the studying of the non-elite members of the society, but also invaluable for our knowledge of the uppermost strata, especially in periods that are poorly documented in literary accounts or covered only by inferior sources.<sup>76</sup>

Secondly, inscriptions tend to record a person's nomenclature in a more complete and detailed manner than literary accounts, often including the filiation and, in the case of men, the voting tribe. For married women even the husband's name is sometimes given. Literary authors, on the other hand, tend to use abbreviated forms of nomenclature, usually referring to individuals with only one or two names (even if they had several), which may also be corrupted by the manuscript tradition.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, inscriptions are almost exclusively

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<sup>74</sup> It would be impossible to list here all the relevant scholarship concerning Roman women, but some works can be pointed out. In general: Pomeroy 1975; Hallett 1984; Cantarella 1987; Dixon 2001. The legal status of women: Treggiari 1991; Gardner 1986; Arjava 1996; Evans Grubbs 2002. Women and civic life: Hemelrijk 2015; Buonopane & Cenerini (eds.) 2005. Women's education: Hemelrijk 1999. Women and work: Buonopane & Cenerini (eds.) 2003. Imperial women: Hahn 1994; Kolb (ed.) 2010. Girlhood: Caldwell 2015. Recently also women and status competition: Webb 2019.

<sup>75</sup> Even when excluding the *instrumenta domestica*, the city of Rome alone yields over 100 000 Latin inscriptions. Cf. Bruun 2014, 471; Bodel 2001, 8. In the *EDCS*, there are over 500 000 Latin inscriptions from around the Empire and the number is constantly growing.

<sup>76</sup> Such as, for example, the so-called *Historia Augusta*, which is notorious for its tendency for invention and fabrication (see e.g. von Albrecht 2012, 1189ff.).

<sup>77</sup> For instance, it still remains unknown whether the praenomen of the author Cornelius Tacitus was *Publius* or *Gaius*. Both appear in different codices. Since the Roman habit was to abbreviate praenomina with only one letter (in this case and *C.*), such confusions are quite understandable. One could also name the authors Silius Italicus and Pliny the Younger as examples here. Without

contemporary documents, recording real people who once existed. This is not necessarily the case with literary works, which may (especially in the case of poetry and the ancient novel) refer to imaginary persons.

Inscriptions and their interpretation are naturally not without problems of their own. One thing to be kept in mind is that, although we have over 100 000 Latin inscriptions from the city of Rome alone, we do not obviously know the names of most of the people who lived there at any given time, let alone during the time span of several hundred years. In other words, even though the material is abundant enough for a meaningful quantitative analysis, it will never be able to provide us with a complete and accurate picture of the onomastic habits of the Romans. Another quantitative matter to be kept in mind, particularly from the point of view of this study, is the fact that women are always underrepresented in our sources, meaning that there are far fewer women's than men's names preserved from all areas.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, not all social groups are equally represented, as it was more likely for people of wealth and status to be recorded in inscriptions than it was for the people belonging to the very lowest strata of the society. Nevertheless, the fact that we have an abundant number of inscriptions recording people from outside the traditional political elite and commissioned for or by them (slaves, former slaves, women, children, foreigners), is one of the key factors that makes epigraphic evidence so valuable for the study of ancient societies.

The type of inscription and the role of the person mentioned in it can also be significant. For instance, the name of the deceased in an epitaph (which form the majority of all inscriptions) is likely to be in the 'full' form. Likewise, a person honoured in an honorific inscription is quite likely to be recorded in a more or less comprehensive manner. Sometimes, however, we have names of individuals carved on other types of surfaces, such as the so-called *instrumenta domestica*, in which people's names tend to appear in an abbreviated or a less formal manner. Graffiti in particular are often unofficial by their very nature, and therefore a text scribbled, for instance, on a Pompeian wall might not always be the most reliable source for investigating the person's full nomenclature (although this naturally depends on many things, such as the overall content and purpose of the graffito).<sup>79</sup>

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inscriptions we would not know that the former, in fact, was called Tiberius Catus Asconius Silius Italicus, or that the latter also had the nomen *Caecilius* (his full name being C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus).

<sup>78</sup> This, as Leibring 2016, 201 notes, is in fact a general tendency in all premodern societies.

<sup>79</sup> Election posters, which provide interesting information regarding the names of the candidates for

As noted above, inscriptions, despite often being formulaic, often offer glimpses of linguistic and orthographic variation. While this makes the epigrapher's life interesting, it may also cause some confusion when studying names. For instance, it may sometimes be difficult to tell whether a name form recorded in an epitaph represents nothing else than an orthographic variant of an existing name (or a 'vulgar' form of one), or a completely different name altogether. Take, for example, a form such as *Catilla*, in a late Christian context (*ICUR* 17739). Does it represent an orthographic variant of the more numerous attested *Catella*, or are we dealing with a genuine derivation with the suffix *-illa*? Or should we interpret a name such as *Quintiliana* as deriving from the nomen *Quintilius* (with the suffix *-iāna*) or as an orthographic variant of *Quintilliana* (*Quintilla* + *-iāna*)?

Some methodological problems concerning the literary accounts of ancient writers have already been mentioned above. But while they can be problematic from an onomastic point of view, literary sources are also invaluable sources for our knowledge of the Roman upper classes. Firstly, they obviously narrate the thoughts, traditions, and habits of the Roman elite in a way that is superior to any other source group. It is true that they are almost exclusively written by elite men for other elite men – a thing to be kept in mind in all classical studies – but these things are not disconnected from the lives of the elite women who regularly appear in the biographies of Suetonius and Plutarch, in the histories of Tacitus, or in the works of Cicero, or in the letters of Pliny, just to name a few authors. As for the women of the Republican period in particular (and how they may have been called), literary accounts contribute greatly to our knowledge, especially since epigraphic evidence is often scarce for that period (much of our understanding of senatorial women's names during the Republic relies on literary sources; cf. 3.3).

In certain cases, numismatic and papyrological evidence may also contribute to our knowledge of onomastic practices. Roman coins and papyri, however, are so scarce in my material that they do not have much impact on the overall analysis and need not be discussed here in detail.

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political offices, are not generally relevant for my purposes, since women were not eligible to run. Sometimes, however, we have evidence of women as political supporters, but usually mentioned only by their cognomen and with no clear reference to their status. In rare cases, a woman's full name may be recorded in a graffito, such as that of Cornelia f. Orestina (*CIL* IV 6812, Reg. VI, ins. 9, Casa del Centauro; for her name and its possible connection to the wife of Caligula, see Kajava 1984).

The catalogue of Latin female cognomina in Appendix 1 – consisting of nearly 2 700 names – forms the bulk of the material for this study. The names have been collected, primarily, by using the following methods:

- i) Systematically documenting the names in relevant onomastic works (Kajanto 1965, Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*; also several articles by Solin<sup>80</sup>).
- ii) Collecting information on upper-class women from relevant prosopographical works (*PFOS*, *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, *PLRE*, *PFCR*).
- iii) Documenting all cognomina that I have otherwise come across when investigating various epigraphic corpora and recent volumes of the *AE* and conducting searches in relevant epigraphic and other databases (mainly *EDCS*, *EDR*, *EDB*, *PHI*, *TLL Online*).

All the sources found in the databases have naturally been verified by investigating the primary source publications and, when available, by investigating pictures of the epigraphs. The material has then been arranged digitally in tabular form, which allows for easy extraction of relevant data concerning, for example, different name types, suffixes, and the chronological, social, and geographical distribution of the names/inscriptions. The chronological scope of the discussion is mostly limited to the first three centuries CE, thus corresponding to the scope of the *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, but the material in the catalogue extends from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity, the earliest cases being from c. 100 BCE and the latest from around the sixth century CE.

As for the number of attestations attributed for each name, I have largely (though not exclusively) relied on Kajanto 1965 whenever a name in his catalogue has over five (5) attestations. Names that are either not found or have fewer than five attestations in Kajanto 1965 I have documented with as much precision as possible (though primarily relying on Latin sources).

The *Repertorium* of H. Solin and O. Salomies has been of significant help in collecting cognomina that are missing in Kajanto 1965. In addition, Solin's 2015 (b) article, including a list of new names, has been helpful in this regard. I have naturally also included all new names that I have come across when surveying the material. In creating the catalogue for this book, I have, thus, supplemented, and in some cases corrected, the existing catalogues to my best ability. For instance, some names found in Kajanto 1965 have been omitted (after a careful rereading

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<sup>80</sup> Solin 2015b; 2020; 2021; 2022; Caruso & Solin 2020.



of the sources), while at the same time a much larger number of new names have been added (the catalogue in this book contains some 400 cognomina not recorded by Kajanto). Admittedly, since much of the data has been transferred to digital form manually, human error may have left some marks in the catalogue.<sup>81</sup> However, in a dataset of thousands of names and tens of thousands of sources, such errors are unlikely to have any significant impact on the big picture.

As for the analysis of the material, it is difficult to pinpoint a single theoretical approach. The researcher of Roman onomastics navigates usually somewhere between the research traditions of philology and ancient history. Names are always part of language and therefore, to be sure, the study of names is always the study of language. In order to put the names in their right context, however, one needs to operate across a wide range of disciplines, in this case including Roman social, cultural, political, and even legal history. The overall theoretical framework for the analysis of names builds largely upon onomastic theory concerning, above all, the field of semantics (or the relation between names and meaning) and the sociolinguistic study of names (or socio-onomastics), supported by theories from the social sciences concerning language, identity, status, and gender.<sup>82</sup> This framework is helpful when attempting to answer questions such as *why* and *under what circumstances* certain names were given and used in certain groups in the society.

### 1.5 Terminological notes

In order to avoid any unnecessary confusion, some issues concerning the language and terminology used in this study ought to be clarified. The word ‘onomastic item’ is occasionally used to refer to any component of a full Roman nomenclature, including not only the proper name(s) of the individual but also any possible patronymic or gamonymic. The term ‘common word’ or ‘lexical item’ is sometimes used to refer to any word of the Latin lexicon, as opposed to ‘proper name’ or ‘onomastic item’, i.e. a part of the onomasticon (though

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<sup>81</sup> OCR and other automated tools – while helpful in many situations – still leave much to be desired when transcribing paper catalogues of Latin names into an Excel sheet.

<sup>82</sup> The term *Sozioonomastik* was first introduced in German by Hans Walther (1971), who defined its main objectives as 1) studying the social origin and the use of different variants of proper names within various situations and contexts, and 2) taking into account the name-giver, name-bearer, and name-user. For some more recent scholarship on socio-onomastic theory, see Ainiala & Östman 2017.

‘common words’ could naturally be used as proper names). The term ‘appellative’ is also sometimes used for a similar purpose.

The terms ‘elite’, ‘upper-class’, and ‘aristocratic’ are sometimes used without distinction to refer to the senatorial and equestrian aristocracy, but they are also sometimes used more broadly to refer to individuals and families that were prominent on the local and municipal level. In such cases, however, the definition ‘local’, ‘municipal’, ‘provincial’, or some other specification will be added. When defining, which women are to be counted as senatorial, I have in principle taken into account any woman whose father and/or husband was (probably) a senator or whose status is otherwise indicated (e.g. through an indication such as *c(larissima) f(emina) / c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)*).<sup>83</sup>

The Latin word *ingenuus/ingenua* is sometimes used to refer to freeborn male and female citizens, as opposed to freedmen and -women (*libertus/liberta*) who had become free only later in life. Most of the onomastic terminology has already been clarified above in 1.2.1. It should, however, be noted that, for the sake of variation, the terms praenomen and ‘first name’ are used interchangeably, and the same goes for the nomen gentilicium, which is sometimes simply referred to either as the nomen or the gentilicium or with the English term ‘gentile name’ (or even ‘family name’). Nomina are sometimes abbreviated as N and cognomina as C (e.g. N + N refers to a person bearing two nomina and N + C to a person bearing a nomen and a cognomen).

As for the dates, ‘early first century’ generally refers to c. 1–30 CE, ‘middle of the first century’ or ‘mid-first century’ to c. 30–70 CE, and ‘late first century’ to c. 70–100 CE (and the same naturally applies to other centuries as well). The term ‘early Imperial’ is generally used to refer to the period from Augustus to the Flavian dynasty, while ‘later Imperial period’ is used for the period after this, but mostly for the second and third centuries CE. ‘Late Antiquity’, in this study, is used vaguely for the period from c. 300 CE onwards.

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<sup>83</sup> And in general, I have taken into account all the women registred by Raepsaet-Charlier (*PFOS*), though in some doubtful cases I have voiced some concern. As for the senatorial *ordo*, it has traditionally been thought that Augustus transformed it into a hereditary class. However, according to a recent paper (Weisweiler 2020), the ‘order’ was not necessarily an aristocracy of birth, but rather of merit. This, however, does not have a great impact on this study as a whole, since most women classified here as ‘senatorial’ are known as wives and/or daughters of senatorial office holders.

## 2 The Nature of the Latin Female Cognomen

### 2.1 General overview and the most frequently attested names

There were a large variety of cognomina. Linguistically speaking, most Roman cognomina were Latin (or Italic), but they could also be of Etruscan, Celtic, Greek, Semitic, or ‘indigenous’ extraction (though in many cases in a Latinized form). Latin names were obviously the most numerous and, in a sense, the ‘most Roman’ of these, and they are, thus, the primary focus of this study. The catalogue in Appendix 1 contains nearly 2 700 female cognomina that can be classified under the term ‘Latin’ and these names are attested for over 38 000 women. There is, however, an interesting discrepancy in the distribution of the names. Over 60% of the names are attested only once or twice and over 75% fewer than five times, while the five (5) most popular names alone form c. 12% of all the attestations and the top 10 c. 20% – and since the numbers of the most popular names, in this case, are based on Kajanto’s 1965 study, the percentages could be even higher if all the cases that have been published since would be counted.

The situation is similar for Roman men: Kajanto 1965 records over 4 800 different cognomina attested for over 94 000 men, but the five most popular cognomina alone represent over 10 000 cases. It could be thought, as Kajanto puts it, that “the Romans had little imagination in name-giving”.<sup>84</sup> This is true in a certain sense, and fashion and tradition clearly were important factors in choosing a cognomen. However, the great number of different names and name forms shows that there was also room for some imagination, if so desired. Besides, even among the most popular cognomina, there was regional and chronological variation that ought to be kept in mind. It follows, curiously enough, that Roman cognomina were diverse and many, yet at the same time largely similar to one another.

Below, I have provided a table of the 15 most popular female and male cognomina and the number of their bearers in Kajanto 1965:<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Kajanto 1965, 30.

<sup>85</sup> I have included in the table only material from the Imperial period. In other words, I have excluded all the cases of Republican aristocracy and of *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>. As for the distribution of the name-bearers, the category ‘free’ includes both *ingenui* and *incerti* (i.e. those whose status is not explicitly mentioned through a filiation/libertinisation). For the other abbreviations: sen. = senatorial; sl/lib. = slaves & *liberti*; Christ. = Christian. For a comprehensive list of cognomina in order of popularity, see Appendix 1.

Table 1: Top 15 cognomina for men and women (Kajanto 1965)

Women		Men	
1. Fortunata	<b>1093</b> total: 961 free, 86 sl/lib., 46 Christ.	1. Felix	<b>3668</b> total: 21 sen., 2984 free, 513 sl/lib., 150 Christ.
2. Secunda	<b>1067</b> total: 2 sen., 906 free, 130 sl/lib., 29 Christ.	2. Saturninus	<b>1815</b> total: 40 sen., 1712 free, 63 sl/lib.
3. Prima	<b>1014</b> total: 2 sen., 705 free, 267 sl/lib., 40 Christ.	3. Victor	<b>1677</b> total: 6 sen., 1491 free, 51 sl/lib., 129 Christ.
4. Victoria <sup>86</sup>	<b>750</b> total: 1 sen., 566 free, 19 sl/lib., 165 Christ.	4. Maximus	<b>1653</b> total: 82 sen., 1481 free, 22 sl/lib., 68 Christ.
5. Saturnina	<b>734</b> total: 3 sen., 682 free, 49 sl/lib.	5. Secundus	<b>1608</b> total: 24 sen., 1428 free, 125 sl/lib., 31 Christ.
6. Ianuaria	<b>693</b> total: 1 sen., 571 free, 41 sl/lib., 80 Christ.	6. Rufus	<b>1534</b> total: 76 sen., 1433 free, 24 sl/lib., 1 Christ.
7. Maxima	<b>674</b> total: 9 sen., 601 free, 14 sl/lib., 50 Christ.	7. Fortunatus	<b>1422</b> total: 3 sen., 1219 free, 164 sl/lib., 36 Christ.
8. Sabina	<b>586</b> total: 7 sen., 496 free, 32 sl/lib., 51 Christ.	8. Primus	<b>1370</b> total: 8 sen., 1105 free, 225 sl/lib., 32 Christ.
9. Tertia	<b>491</b> total: 1 sen., 391 free, 91 sl/lib., 8 Christ.	9. Ianuarius	<b>1314</b> total: 2 sen., 1120 free, 120 sl/lib., 72 Christ.
10. Severa	<b>486</b> total: 7 sen., 428 free, 13 sl/lib., 38 Christ.	10. Severus	<b>1250</b> total: 70 sen., 1100 free, 34 sl/lib., 46 Christ.
11. Felicitas	<b>458</b> total: 316 free, 11 sl/lib., 131 Christ.	11. Crescens	<b>1034</b> total: 6 sen., 919 free, 88 sl/lib., 21 Christ.
12. Proc(u)la	<b>432</b> total: 8 sen., 407 free, 6 sl/lib., 11 Christ.	12. Faustus	<b>970</b> total: 11 sen., 707 free, 238 sl/lib., 14 Christ.
13. Primigenia	<b>430</b> total: 335 free, 91 sl/lib., 4 Christ.	13. Proc(u)lus	<b>932</b> total: 60 sen., 854 free, 12 sl/lib., 6 Christ.
14. Felic(u)la	<b>420</b> total: 340 free, 70 sl/lib., 10 Christ.	14. Priscus	<b>869</b> total: 50 sen., 760 free, 50 sl/lib., 9 Christ.
15. Hilara	<b>410</b> total: 171 free, 220 sl/lib., 19 Christ.	15. Sabinus	<b>846</b> total: 38 sen., 742 free, 33 sl/lib., 33 Christ.

One can immediately see that the names for women and men are largely similar (*Secunda* - *Secundus*; *Fortunata* - *Fortunatus*; *Felicitas/Felic(u)la* - *Felix*; *Victoria* - *Victor*, etc.), though there are slight differences in their proportionate frequency. There are, to be sure, some names which do not have corresponding

<sup>86</sup> This cognomen is primarily attested in Africa: 381 out of 584 cases (free + sl/lib.), cf. Kajanto 1965, 278.

forms in the other column, e.g. the masculine *Cresce(n)s*, which does not have an equally popular female variant (the most popular one, *Crescentina*, has 74 attestations in Kajanto 1965). *Tertius*, on the other hand (i.e. the masculine form corresponding to the ninth most popular female name *Tertia*) has 535 attestations in Kajanto 1965, even if the name does not make it to the table above.

One also needs to keep in mind that the figures above can be somewhat misleading, since they fail to take into consideration certain geographical, chronological and social factors. Firstly, the category 'free' includes not only the freeborn but also the *incerti*, i.e. Romans whose more specific status is not given. In other words, it is likely that this category also includes many freedmen and women and their descendants.<sup>87</sup> For example, in the case of *Prima* it is likely that many of the 711 free women were, in fact, former slaves or descendants of them – which is also suggested by the relatively high number of slaves and *libertae*. The same goes for *Hilara* and *Primigenia*, which both attest to a great number of women with a servile background. Some names, moreover, are primarily found in later material or mostly restricted to a certain geographical area. Thus, for instance, *Victoria* and *Felicitas* are both largely attested in Christian and late Roman sources, and *Victoria* mostly in Africa (see n. 86 above). If all but Italian material were excluded, the table would no doubt look slightly different. *Fortunata* and *Felicula* are also names that one would not expect to find in great numbers in an early period (before the mid-first century CE). However, when excluding Christian women as well as slaves and freedwomen, the list does not look radically different. The only differences are that *Felicitas*, *Primigenia*, and *Hilara* no longer make it to the top 15, and they are instead replaced by *Tertulla* (370), *Rufina* (351), and *Prisca* (343).

Another observation one can make is that the most popular cognomina comprise largely of what could be called semantically transparent simple forms, in other words names that correspond to existing words of the Latin lexicon. Most Roman women, indeed, had a name of this type (see 2.3 below). However, when looking at the number of different names instead of name-bearers, it becomes evident that the majority of cognomina were, in fact, suffixed formations, i.e. cognomina derived from existing names and words with the use of different suffixes (I will discuss these forms in 2.4 below). Despite the predominance of a small number of popular names, the cognomen, generally speaking, was the most

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<sup>87</sup> Especially since freedpersons were more likely to exclude any such information regarding their legal status than the freeborn, and also since they seem to be overrepresented on epigraphic record in general.

flexible of all the items in the Roman onomastic system. Theoretically, any suitable word or name could be harnessed for onomastic purposes and there was almost no limit to how many different names could be formed with various suffixes, as a quick look at the *Repertorium* of Solin & Salomies shows. The possibilities were practically endless. This was a particular characteristic of Latin onomastics. While compound-formation was a common feature of many Indo-European languages, including Greek, this was not the case with Latin, which, as Kajanto notes, “made up for the loss by an extensive use of suffixes”.<sup>88</sup>

With this in mind, Latin female cognomina can be divided into suffixed and non-suffixed names. Names in the former group – let us call them ‘simple forms’ – correspond largely to adjectival and substantival words of the Latin lexicon (and in some rare cases to proper names of towns, gods, rivers, etc.). The latter group – suffixed forms – can, in turn, be divided into further subgroups, depending on how the suffixed cognomen in question was coined and from what. In addition, nomina gentilitia could be used in place of cognomina as such, as will be seen in 2.5 below. With this in mind, the following categorization of Latin female cognomina seems reasonable:

- 1) Simple forms
  - a) Adjectival names
  - b) Substantival names
- 2) Suffixed formations
  - a) Cognomina derived from other cognomina
  - b) Cognomina derived from nomina
  - c) Cognomina derived from praenomina
- 3) Nomina used as cognomina

One could, naturally, go much further into a more sophisticated etymological classification of the cognomina. Kajanto 1965, for example, makes an attempt to classify each cognomen according to their lexical meaning or traceable etymology. In contrast to the rough categories that I have given above, Kajanto 1975 includes categories such as geographical, theophoric, and calendaric cognomina, as well as cognomina relating to origin, birth, age, occupations, fauna and flora, and many

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<sup>88</sup> Kajanto 1965, 101. It should be noted, however, that in Late Antiquity, particularly in Christian nomenclature in North Africa, some new compounds start to emerge, of the type *Deuseddit* (cf. Kajanto 1965, 217), though these were always rare. There were also many compound-cognomina taken from Greek such as *Theophilus* (Θεό-φίλος) or *Nicepor* (Νική-φορος). These matters, however, are of little relevance for this study.

other things.<sup>89</sup> For the purpose of this study a more general approach will suffice.

There are, however, some purely formal factors that ought to be considered. The clear majority of female cognomina had the termination *-a*, thus formally corresponding to Latin lexical items of the first declension. But not all female cognomina were of this type and, thus, a brief formal discussion is needed regarding, on the one hand, names with the termination *-a* and, on the other, names with other terminations. Finally, some more specific social, semantic, and gender-related aspects of female cognomina will be touched upon at the end of the chapter.

## 2.2 Female cognomina in *-a* and other terminations

### 2.2.1 Cognomina with the termination *-a*

From a purely grammatical point of view, most Latin female cognomina belong to the first declension and thus have the termination *-a* (gen. *-ae*). This naturally applies not only to simple forms of the type *Prisca* but also to names with the termination *-ia* (e.g. *Lucia*) as well as to suffixed derivations of the type *Priscilla*, *Priscina*, *Prisciana*, etc.<sup>90</sup> The great majority – over 93 % – of all of the nearly 2 700 cognomina in the catalogue of this book (Appendix 1) fall under this category. It follows that the linguistic properties of name were in most cases sufficient to reveal the name-bearer's gender. There are, however, some exceptions to this. Anyone familiar with Latin names knows, for instance, that some masculine names had the termination *a* and some of these names were not used at all by women (e.g. *Agrippa*), while some such names are attested for both men and women (for unisex names, see 2.6.3). Furthermore, there were female cognomina with several other terminations than *-a*, which will be topic of the next paragraphs.

### 2.2.2 Cognomina with other terminations

There were relatively few female cognomina that did *not* have the termination *-a*. In the catalogue of nearly 2 700 names in Appendix 1, there are only 192

<sup>89</sup> There is also some considerable overlap. In other words, some of the names are found in several categories. In order to arrive at correct numbers, I have tried to remove all the duplicates from my statistics.

<sup>90</sup> I have also included in this category the names which in our sources have the termination *-e*. In most of these cases we are either dealing with orthographic variation or the influence of Greek. Either way, such forms naturally function as names of the 1st declension in Latin.

such cognomina, i.e. c. 7% of the total number of names. Some of these names, however, are frequently attested, with dozens or even hundreds of attestations in Kajanto 1965, e.g. *Felicitas* (458), *Vitalis* (240), *Spes* (139), *Hilaritas* (67), *Amabilis* (64), which makes this group of names far from insignificant. As already suggested by these examples, the cognomina in this category correspond largely to Latin words of the third declension but there are also some names that belong to the fifth declension and even a couple of names corresponding to neuter nouns of the second declension. Since many of the names in this category did not have separate masculine and feminine forms (i.e. the names looked identical regardless of the name-bearer's gender), I will elaborate some of the gender-related aspects in 2.6.3 below. The cognomina can be formally divided into the following grammatical categories:

- 1) Cognomina of the third declension with the termination
  - a) *-is* (mostly adjectives, e.g. *Suavis*, *Vitalis*)
  - b) *-(e)ns* (adjectives/participles, e.g. *Amans -tis*, *Clemens*)
  - c) *-(i)tas* (abstract nouns, e.g. *Felicitas -tis*, *Hilaritas*)
  - d) *-or* (e.g. *Amor -is*, *Maior*)
  - e) *-(i)ō* (e.g. *Origo -inis*, *Fortio -nis*)
  - f) *-us*, *-os*, *-er* (e.g. *Salus -tis*, *Venus -eris*, *Mus -ris*, *Sacerdos -tis*, *Flos -ris*, *Piper*, *Mater -tris*)
  - g) *-x* (e.g. *Felix -cis*, *Victrix*, *Verax*, *Pax*)
- 2) Cognomina of the fifth declension with the termination *-ēs* (e.g. *Spes*, *Fides*)
- 3) Cognomina of the second declension with the termination *-us* and *-ium* (e.g. *Piperus*, *Studium*, *Venantium*)
- 4) One cognomen of the fourth declension, i.e. *Anus -ūs*

The most common type consists of names of the third declension with the termination *-is*, including 66 names, i.e. over one third of all the names under discussion here. Practically all of these names correspond to Latin adjectives, save for *Tigris* which corresponds to a noun.<sup>91</sup> The names, in order of frequency (cf. Appendix 1), are the following:

*Vitalis* (240), *Tigris* (70), *Amabilis* (64), *Natalis* (36), *Suavis* (23), *Liberalis* (19), *Nobilis* (18), *Communis* (14), *Cerialis* (12), *Fidelis* (8), *Peculiaris* (8), *Aprilis*

<sup>91</sup> *Iuvenis* could technically be both, but since the noun usually refers to young men, it is best to treat it as an adjective here. Note also that, unlike all the adjectives in *-is*, *Tigris* sometimes has the genitive ending *-idis* instead of *-is*.



(7), *Augustalis* (6), *Salutaris* (6), *Dulcis* (5), *Facilis* (5), *Genialis* (5), *Utilis* (5), *Apollinaris* (4), *Fortis* (4), *Nuptialis* (4), *Similis* (4), *Castre(n)sis* (3), *Docilis* (3), *Fatalis* (3), *Hilaris* (3), *Lucris* (3), *Martialis* (3), *Ost(i)e(n)sis* (3), *Stabilis* (3), *Terminalis* (3), *Acris* (2), *Agilis* (2), *Castimonialis* (2),<sup>92</sup> *Civilis* (2), *Fortunalis* (2), *Mercurialis* (2), *S(a)ecularis* (2), *Triumphalis* (2), *Vernalis* (2), *Vestalis* (2), *Apris*, *Aquileiensis*, *Auxiliaris*, *Basis*, *C(a)elestis*, *Catellis*, *Cimberis*, *Confinis*, *Crementalis*, *Decembris*, *Diane(n)sis*, *Dotalis*, *Fontinalis*, *Gentilis*, *Hispaniensis*, *Hospitalis*, *Iuvenilis*, *Iuvenis*, *Luminaris*, *Marmoris*, *Neptunalis*, *Nivalis*, *Nubilis*, *Quinquatralis*, *Teanensis*.

It ought to be pointed out that most of the names in *-is* are more frequently attested for men. *Vitalis*, for instance, which is the most popular female name of this type, is attested for over 770 men, according to Kajanto 1965. *Martialis* is practically equally popular in men's nomenclature as *Vitalis*, while female bearers of the name amount to only three cases. I will return to the gender distribution of these names in better detail in 2.6.3 below.

Names in *-(i)tas*, which all correspond to feminine abstract nouns, form an important group, since these names were almost exclusively used by women and some of the names were among the more popular female cognomina in general. The 25 female names in *-(i)tas* are (in order of frequency, cf. Appendix 1): *Felicitas* (458), *Hilaritas* (67), *Pietas* (28), *Voluptas* (24), *Potestas* (23), *Bonitas* (14), *Civitas* (13), *Dignitas* (9), *Facultas* (6), *Probitas* (5), *Caritas* (3), *Securitas* (3), *Aequitas* (2), *Aeternitas* (2), *Libertas* (2), *Prosperitas* (2), *Veritas* (2), *Anim(a)equitas*, *Auctoritas*, *Celeritas*, *Claritas*, *Comitas*, *Iucunditas*, *Iuventas*, *Liberitas*.

The number of female names in *-(e)ns* amount to 17 and are the following: *Cleme(n)s* (10), *Cresce(n)s* (10), *Elegans* (7), *Pude(n)s* (6), *Co(n)stans* (4), *Frequens* (3), *Obsequens* (3), *Amans* (2), *Florens* (2), *Potens* (2), *Absens*, *Diligens*, *Exoriens*, *Geminans*, *Ingens*, *Pollens*, *Praesens*. Names of this type were much more uncommon for women than they were for men. For instance, *Cresce(n)s* and *Cleme(n)s* – the most popular female names of this type, both with 10 attestations – are attested for 1 034 and 555 men respectively in Kajanto 1965.

Female names with the termination *-r* are not numerous. The following 10 names are known: *Maior* (40), *Amor* (10), *Mater* (4), *Favor* (4), *Minor* (4), *Decor* (2), *Aptior*, *Melior*, *Memor*, *Piper*. The most frequently attested of these, *Maior*, is perhaps also the most problematic, since it is often difficult to tell if the name was used as a genuine cognomen or simply a diacritic, marking birth order ('the elder'). The latter option seems feasible when the woman in question already

<sup>92</sup> Dubious; perhaps an appellative in both cases (*CIL* VIII 27914; *AE* 2007, 996b).

had another cognomen or if we know that she had a homonymous sister. To my understanding, however, the 40 cases documented by Kajanto 1965 include only those cases in which *Maior* appears as the only cognomen of the person in question. Semantically speaking, we can hardly even speak of one group, since names such as *Favor*, *Maior*, and *Mater* all belong to three very different lexical categories.

Female names in *-o* or *-io* are equally diverse in terms of lexical categories. Some are abstract nouns, others suffixed formations, and there is even one toponym used as a cognomen. The names, 17 in total, are the following: *Origo* (7), *Conditio* (6), *Secundio* (3), *Sexto* (3), *Karthago* (2), *Apro*, *Cat(t)io*, *Celsinio*, *Cupido*, *Fortio*, *Hirundo*, *Nigro*, *Obsecratio*, *Peculio*, *Severio*, *Tito*, *Trio*.

Third declension names in *-us* are rare, as are the Latin words belonging to this category in general. Four names are on record: *Venus* (8), *Salus* (2), *Tellus* (2), *Mus*. There is also one name in *-us* belonging to the fourth declension, i.e. *Anus -ūs* “old woman” (with 7 attestations in Kajanto 1965).

There are 17–20 female cognomina with the termination *x* (in some of the cases it is unclear if we are dealing with an anthroponym or an appellative; hence the uncertainty in terms of the numbers): *Felix* (46), *Victrix* (20), *Adiutrix* (11), *Viatrix* (4), *Solutrix* (3), *Beatrix* (2), *Iunix* (2), *Pax* (2), *Pistrix* (2), *Amatrix*, *Cicatrix* (?), *Conservatrix* (?), *Ducatrix*, *Negotiatrix*, *Nutrix*, *Pollex*, *Provictrix*, *Silex* (?), *Ultrix*, *Verax*. The most popular, by far, is *Felix*, with 46 attestations documented by Kajanto 1965. However, since *Felix* was the most popular Latin cognomen for men in general (over 3 700 cases), the use of the name among women can be considered rather exceptional (I will return to this in 2.6.3 below). *Victrix*, on the other hand, is, of course, a genuine feminine form, corresponding to the masculine *Victor* – also among the most popular male cognomina (see Table 1 in 2.1 above). However, with only some ten attestations, it was not the standard female variant of *Victor*. Much more popular were forms such as *Victoria* (750) and *Victorina* (357). Even this category is semantically rather diverse, since it includes adjectives, nouns referring to human beings, and abstract nouns.

Names of the fifth declension are rare and correspond to nouns with the termination *-ēs*. The only three names I have come across are *Spes* (139), *Species* (3), and *Fides* (2).

There are also some names of the third declension with Greek suffixes. While Greek names in *-as* were typically masculine, this termination is sometimes found attached to Latin female cognomina of the type *Antonias* (e.g. *AE* 1927, 83 [Perinthus]: Οὐαλερίᾳ Ἀντωνιάδι). There is also one late antique case of a senatorial woman, whose cognomen was coined with the suffix *-is*, i.e. *Cassia*

Pisonis, *c(larissima) f(emina)* (CIL VI 37122 = ICUR 1930). A similar case may be *Dentonis*, attested in CIL VI 34597, but this case is dubious. It is perhaps more likely that we are dealing with the genitive form of *Dento*.

Greek influence may perhaps also be detected in the use of female cognomina with the termination *-ium*, of the type *Venantium*, *Studium* (compare Greek female names with the diminutive suffix *-tov*).

### 2.3 Simple cognomina

Etymologically speaking, the most ‘primitive’ group of Latin cognomina consists of names that correspond to words of the Latin lexicon. There are c. 980 such names in the catalogue of this study (cf. Appendix 1) and, as shown in 2.1 above, almost all of the 15 most common cognomina were of this type.

Roughly speaking, almost any type of appellative could function as a personal name, whether an adjective, numeral, noun, or participle, though semantic and formal factors as well as various connotations naturally had an impact on what words were more desirable in this function than others. It should also be noted that simple names of the type *Paulla*, *Tertia*, *Maxima* were occasionally used as female praenomina before the emergence of the female cognomen and it is only natural that these names came to be used as cognomina as well (see 2.3.4 below).

While most cognomina belonging to this group formally correspond to words with a lexical equivalent, it is important to remember that once words become names, they no longer need to relate to whatever lexical meaning they once had – although they can and in many cases they do (see 4.7 for more discussion).<sup>93</sup> In other words, when words from the lexicon enter the onomasticon, they can perfectly fulfil their function as an identifier without having to have any obvious semantic connection to the name-bearer.

From a lexical point of view, the cognomina in this group can be divided into adjectival and substantival names. The former group consists naturally of pure adjectives but also of numerals, as well as participles and gerundives. Furthermore, in addition to appellatives, the latter group includes some proper names, such as toponyms, that were used as cognomina.

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<sup>93</sup> On the relationship between a name and an appellative in general, see Nicolaisen 1995; cf. Nyström 2016.

### 2.3.1 Adjectival cognomina

The majority of Latin cognomina were adjectival formations of some sort. These obviously include names corresponding to Latin adjectives (of the type *Lepida*, *Prisca*, *Rufa*, *Severa*, etc.), but also numerals (e.g. *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Quinta*), certain participles (e.g. *Amans*, *Crescens*), ethnics (e.g. *Galla*, *Sabina*), and theophoric/ calendaric names (e.g. *Saturnina*, *Veneria*). Cognomina coined from other names with adjectival suffixes should also be regarded as adjectival formations (*Aemiliana*, *Felicula*, etc.), but such forms will be discussed separately under 2.4. Furthermore, some established personal names from other Italic languages with no clear lexical equivalent in Latin may be included in this category, since they clearly had an adjectival suffix (e.g. *Salvia*). Many female forms of men's praenomina are also of similar nature, but they will be discussed separately in 2.3.3 and 2.4.7.2.

#### 2.3.1.1 Adjectives

From a purely lexical point of view, the majority of adjectival cognomina were wish-names with positive connotations, implying hopes for good life and future or relating to good character. *Fortunata*, the most popular female cognomen in Kajanto 1965 with 1093 attestations, is of this type. Other popular names with 50 or more attestations include *Severa* (486), *Hilara* (140), *Fausta* (303), *Iucunda* (275), *Iusta* (241), *Vitalis* (240), *Vera* (215), *Felicissima* (213), *Venusta* 212), *Flora* (207; unless interpreted as the goddess, cf. 2.3.2.2 below), *Festa* (206), *Quieta* (124), *Modesta* (120), *Grata* (111), *Casta* (109), *Verecunda* (108), *Pia* (105), *Clara* (101), *Candida* (100), *Magna* (93), *Firma* (83), *Proba* (69), *Amabilis* (64), *Laeta* (59), *Amoena* (58), *Cara* (51), *Mansueta* (51), *Satura* (50).

The cognomen *Felix* comes also close, with 46 women, but this was predominantly a male name, as noted above in 2.2.2, and the more popular female variants were *Felicitas*, *Felic(u)la*, and *Felicissima*. Furthermore, the following names have more than 20 attestations: *Fructuosa* (45), *Serena* (45), *Placida* (44), *Benigna* (43), *Lepida* (42), *Festiva* (41), *Pacata* (40), *Secura* (39), *Lasciva* (33), *Lucida* (32), *Perpetua* (29), *Sedata* (26), *Fida* (25), *Blanda* (24), *Celsa* (23), *Suavis* (23), *Satulla* (22), *Florida* (21), *Bona* (20).

Another group of adjectives used as female cognomina include names relating to birth (e.g. birth order or the circumstances of birth), the most popular names of this type being *Maxima* (674), *Primigenia* (430), perhaps also *Prisca* (388) when given to a first-born daughter, *Primitiva* (283), *Postuma* (47), *Maior* (40), *Natalis* (36), *Supera* (21). Related to this group in terms of meaning are numeral cognomina of the type *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia* (2.3.1.3), as well as some

past participles, e.g. *Donata*, *Rogata*, *Optata* (2.3.1.2).

Adjectives referring to physical appearance could also be used as cognomina, e.g. *Rufa* (197), *Paulla* (137), *Fusca* (65), *Nigella* (42) – although names relating to the human body were more common in men's nomenclature (possibly because many names of this type were pejorative, emphasizing a part of the body in a non-flattering way; see 2.6.2).

There were also calendaric and theophoric cognomina, some of which are among the most popular female cognomina, e.g. *Saturnina* (734), *Ianuaria* (693), *Veneria* (358). Some interesting geographical observations can also be made. For instance, *Mercurina*, attested for seven women, is mostly known from Gaul where Mercurius had traditionally been the primary deity.<sup>94</sup> As for a cognomen such as *Festa* (206), it could also be interpreted as a calendaric name in a general sense, 'relating to holidays'. *Ianuaria* (relating to the god Janus and/or the month of January), as well as *Veneria* (after the goddess of love and/or the day of Venus, i.e. Friday) are also frequently attested in Christian nomenclature (*Ianuaria* 80, *Veneria* 27 times), whilst for example *Saturnina* is only rarely attested in Christian sources.<sup>95</sup> The near absence of *Saturnina* in Christian nomenclature has probably to do with the fact that, in the Christian calendar, the *dies Saturni* was replaced by the Sabbath (in this respect, a particularly interesting case is *ICUR* 2031 recording a woman called Saturnina and her son Sabbatius).<sup>96</sup> There were also specifically Christian cognomina of the calendaric type, e.g. *Quadragesima* (at least 3 Christian women) after the Christian fast of 40 days.<sup>97</sup> *Dom(i)nica* (9 cases) also falls into this category. However, there are also theophoric cognomina of 'pagan' origin that were only used by Christians, e.g. *Ioviana* (5 Christian women).<sup>98</sup> Some calendaric cognomina had to do with seasons in general, though

<sup>94</sup> The cases from Gaul are: *AE* 2016, 1069 (Belgica; 150–250); *RICG* 41 (Augusta Treverorum, 450–500); *CIL* XIII 5768; 2355 (Lugdunum). The rest are from Rome and Ostia: *CIL* VI 20278; *EpOst* 1808 (liberta); *ICUR* 13590 (4th c.). For the status of Mercurius in Gaul, see e.g. Caes. *Gall.* 6,17,1 (*deorum maaxime Mercurium colunt. huius sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur*).

<sup>95</sup> A quick search in the *EDB* produces 17 results in total.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. also Kajanto 1965, 213; 214; 218

<sup>97</sup> *ICUR* 6082 (431 CE); 6083 (432 CE); 13670 (425–475 CE; dubious). Four women, according to Kajanto 1965, 220, but I have not been able to verify the fourth case

<sup>98</sup> For some general discussion regarding pagan theophoric cognomina in Christian sources, see Kajanto 1965, 58f.

these names are not very common: *Aestiva* (7),<sup>99</sup> *(H)iberna* (2),<sup>100</sup> *Autumna* (3, two of which freedwomen and one *incerta*),<sup>101</sup> *Vernalis* (*CIL* VIII 7359; XIII 5798).

Another relevant group of adjectives consists of ethnics and geographical names, of the type *Sabina* (586), *Romana* (183), *Galla* (140), *Attica* (112), *Florentina* (78), *Capitolina* (56), *Maura* (52), *Albana* (45), perhaps also *Germana* (41), *Gaetula* (31), *Campana* (28), *Lucana* (25).<sup>102</sup> It is difficult to tell, how often a geographical cognomen actually referred to the name-bearer's place of origin. Especially in the case of names such as *Sabina* and *Galla*, it is clear that the name-choice did not necessarily have anything to do with the Sabine country or Gaul, but the names were instead chosen because they were generally considered elegant. It would otherwise be difficult to explain why *Sabinus/a* was the most frequently attested cognomen of this type all over the Empire (and not, for example, *Romanus/a*) and why there were men called *Sabinus* who had no obvious relation to the Sabine country or the Sabines.<sup>103</sup> Some of the names, furthermore, can be interpreted in various ways. For instance, *Florentina* and *Valentina* could in some cases refer to the towns of Florentia and Valentia respectively, but it seems likely that, in most cases, the cognomina were simply derivations of *Florens* and *Valens*. Similarly, *Germana* can be interpreted not only as a geographical name referring to Germania but also as the Latin appellative *germana* 'sister'. At the same time, it is clear that many geographical names were often chosen precisely with a specific town or region in mind, as illustrated by the examples in 4.7.3 below.

<sup>99</sup> *CIL* XIII 4167 (Belgica); *AE* 1944, 34 = *AE* 1980, 751 (Apulum); *CIL* II.14 115a = *HEp* 1996, 961 = *AE* 1995, 964 (Hisp. cit.); *CIL* II.14 741 = II 4034 (Saguntum); *CIL* VI 11185; 1186; Liverani & Spinola 2010, 218.

<sup>100</sup> *RIB* I 377 (2nd c.); *CIL* VIII 4355 = 18541. Kajanto 1965 also records *CIL* XIII 6078 as a woman, even though we are clearly dealing with a man.

<sup>101</sup> *ILJug* II 612 = *AE* 2010, 1153 (170–300) Raonia Autumna; *CIL* XIV (Tusculum) [---] O. I. Autumna; *CIL* VI 22818 (1st c.): Iulia L. I. Autumna.

<sup>102</sup> It is unclear to me if *Sirica* (28) should be included in this category ('relating to Syria') or interpreted as an orthographic variant of the adjective *serica*.

<sup>103</sup> *Gallus* and *Sabinus* are frequently attested upper-class men of this period. A list of early Imperial consuls with these names, many with a municipal background, will suffice to give a general picture of the popularity of them among the aristocracy: for *Sabinus*, cf. the consuls of 39 and 4 BCE, 9 CE (Poppaeus Sabinus who was in no way related to the Sabines), 26, 44 (the brother of the emperor Vespasian), 58, 69, 84 (two consuls), 91, etc. For *Gallus*, the consuls of 37, 8, and 2 BCE, 18, 35, 39 48, 49, 62, 67, 74, 79 CE, etc. For further references, consult *PIR*<sup>2</sup>; cf. also Salomies 2008, 84.

Close to this group are cognomina that in some way indicate the person's background and status, e.g. *Urbana* (328), *Ingenua* (222), *Urbica* (111), *Rustica* (92), perhaps also *Silvana* (88),<sup>104</sup> *Privata* (87), *Peregrina* (84), perhaps also *Proc(u)la* (432),<sup>105</sup> *Montana* (62), *Maritima* (28), *Barbara* (24), *Libera* (24), *Colonica* (11). There were also some popular cognomina that relate to the family, e.g. *Materna* (109), *Paterna* (102), *Avita* (99). Related to this group are also many nouns and their derivatives, e.g. *Neptis*, *Nepotilla*, etc.

Among men, particularly those of the Republican aristocracy, there were also several adjectival cognomina with a pejorative meaning, usually referring to certain defects or deformities of the body. Such names, however, were generally avoided in women's nomenclature. I will discuss pejorative names below in 2.6.2.

### 2.3.1.2 Participles and gerundives

Verbal forms used as female cognomina were mostly past participles, but present participles as well as some future participles and gerundives are also attested. Past participles form the largest and most frequently attested group, with several popular names, e.g. *Donata* (327), *Successa* (318), *Rogata* (269), *Res(ti)tuta* (249), *Optata* (221), *Aucta* (115), *Ampliata* (101), *Extricata* (97), *Emerita* (48), *Redem(p)ta* (40), *Exorata* (38), *Potita* (37), *Accepta* (36), *Benedicta* (33), *Renata* (23), *Recepta* (23), *Concessa* (22), *Respecta* (22), *Adiecta* (21), *Dubitata* (18), *Reparata* (16), *Benenata* (14), *Finita* (11) – just to list the names with more than 10 cases documented by Kajanto 1965. In terms of meaning, many of these names could be used to indicate the anticipation or verification of birth, e.g. *Optata*, *Rogata*, *Recepta*, *Donata*. There were also some past participles, such as *Torquata* and *Praetextata*, which are attested for upper-class women, even if their frequency in general is low.<sup>106</sup>

There were also some popular gerundive forms used as cognomina, such as *Amanda* (84) and *Servanda* (40).<sup>107</sup> Other gerundive names, which are attested

<sup>104</sup> Unless interpreted as a female variant of the god *Silvanus*.

<sup>105</sup> In the sense 'born far away', cf. Paul. Fest. 225: *Proculum inter cognomina eum dicunt, qui natus est patre peregrinante a patria procul*.

<sup>106</sup> *Torquata*: Iunia Torquata (PFOS 475), grand Vestal during the Julio-Claudian period; Licinia Cornelia Volusia Torquata (PFOS 492); Metilia Torquata (549); (Nonia?) Torquata (PFOS 575); [P]oblicia Basilla Torquata (PFOS 621), *matrona senatoria* in the *ludi* of 204; Torquata (PFOS 762; nomen unknown); Volusia Torquata (PFOS 838). *Praetextata*: Sulpicia Praetextata (PFOS 745) and her daughter (Licinia) Praetextata (PFOS 495); Calpurnia Praetextata (PFOS 180, niece of the former); Cornelia Praetextata (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1494).

<sup>107</sup> For references, cf. Kajanto 1965.

for women, include *Augenda* (11),<sup>108</sup> *Colenda* (5), *Fruenda* (5), *Tuenda* (5), *Adaugenda* (5), *Veneranda* (3),<sup>109</sup> *Probanda* (2),<sup>110</sup> *Speranda* (2),<sup>111</sup> *Alenda* (*CIL* V 5151), *Orienda* (*CIL* VI 28580, freedwoman). As a chronological note, many of the names corresponding to Latin gerundives seem to be rather late cases, dating mostly from the second century onwards and many appearing in Christian inscriptions.

While present participles of the type *Florens* and *Valens* were common for men, they are only rarely attested for women, probably because the suffix *-(e)ns* was primarily seen as a masculine suffix (see 2.2.2; 2.6.3). The only known names seem to be *Amans* (2),<sup>112</sup> *Florens* (2),<sup>113</sup> *Absens* (*CIL* VIII 24784), *Apstinens* (= *Abstinens*, *CIL* V 4678), *Exoriens* (*CIL* VI 34882),<sup>114</sup> *Geminans* (*CIL* XII 2375), *Habens* (*CIL* III 3898, *liberta*). There were also some female cognomina with the termination *-(e)ns* which correspond to words that originally had been participles but had since become regular adjectives (e.g. *Crescens*, *Potens*). While present participles were only rarely used as female cognomina, suffixed derivations of them were rather common. We have, for instance, forms with *-illa* (*Florentilla*), *-ina* (*Valentina*), *-iāna* (*Crescentiana*), and in later times with *-ia* (*Amantia*, *Florentia*, *Gaudentia*). Suffixed forms were also coined from past participles, e.g. *Auct-illa*, *Servat-illa*, *Advent-inus*, *Success-iana*, and gerundives *Amand-ina*, *Amand-iana*, though less often, it seems, than from present participles.

Future participles used as female (or any) cognomina were not numerous. In fact, there are only two such names that I am aware of, namely *Futura* and *Profutura*. Of these two, *Profutura* was by far the more popular variant with at least 35 attestations,<sup>115</sup> which was likely due to the name's positive semantic

<sup>108</sup> One of the cases (*CIL* IX 3937) is erroneously documented by Kajanto 1965, 359 as a separate name, *Agenda*, but it seems quite clear that the name ought to be read *Augenda*.

<sup>109</sup> *CIL* VI 24984 (4th/5th c.); VI 27964; XI 655 (Faventia).

<sup>110</sup> *CIL* VI 28255; V 3714 (perhaps a freedwoman?).

<sup>111</sup> *CIL* VI 18434 (290–325 CE); *AE* 1985, 861 (Carthago, 5th c.).

<sup>112</sup> *CIL* VI 13701 (*liberta*?); IX 1202 (Aeclanum, 2nd/3rd c.). Also 3 men, according to Kajanto 1965.

<sup>113</sup> *CIL* V 2246 (Altinum, 1st c., *liberta*); VI 12853 (*signo Florenti*). Also 8 men, according to Kajanto 1965.

<sup>114</sup> Also 3 men, according to Kajanto 1965.

<sup>115</sup> At least in the following cases we seem to be dealing with a personal name: *CIL* XI 752 (Bononia) Coelia Profutura; *ILTun* 1109,76 (Carthago) Tadia C. l. Profutura; *ILAlg* I 2317 (Madaurus) Calpurnia Profutura; *CIL* III 9028= *ILJug* III, 2356 (Salona, 4th c.) Desidien(a)e Profutur(a)e; *AE* 1981, 348 (Volsinii) Iulia Profutura; *NSA* 1919, 206 (Volsinii) Iulia Profutura (probably the same



connotations ('one that will be useful/capable/of service'). *Futura* seems to be attested twice: for a freedwoman who lived during the first century CE (*CIL* VI 16746) and for a Christian woman of a later period (*ICUR* 7370d).

### 2.3.1.3 Numerals

Ordinal numbers were frequently used as cognomina in women's nomenclature, first as praenomina and later as cognomina. These names were practical for indicating birth order or the circumstances of birth, but obviously they could also be used, like any other cognomen, without any clear connection between their lexical meaning and the name-bearer – much like men's praenomina of the type *Quintus*, *Sextus*, and *Decimus*, the bearers of which in most cases had nothing to do with 'the fifth', 'the sixth', and 'the tenth'. It is noteworthy that the ordinals I–V (*Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Quarta*, *Quinta*) are frequently attested and, in fact, form over 8.5% of the attestations of all cognomina in Kajanto 1965. If suffixed forms are also counted (*Secundilla*, *Tertulla*, etc.), the number rises to over 12%.<sup>116</sup> By contrast, ordinals between 6 and 10 are attested only rarely or not at all.<sup>117</sup> This can be explained through the fact that families with more than five surviving daughters (or children for that matter) were rare.

According to the evidence compiled by Kajanto (1965), the most popular of the numeral cognomina was *Secunda*, with 1067 cases. *Prima*, with 1014 cases, holds the second place, while *Tertia*, with 491 cases, comes third. Next come

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as above); *NSA* 1919, 207 (Volsinii) Tullia Profutura; *CIL* XI 1759 (Volaterrae) Vibia Profutura; *CIL* XIV 1155 (Ostia): Helvia Profutura; *CIL* XIV 1292 (Ostia) Malia [---] Profutura, daughter of Licinius Profuturus; *CIL* X 1729 = *AE* 1988, 296 (Puteoli): Ulpia Profutura; *CIL* XIII 1977 (Lugdunum) Aelia Profutura Aeli Profuturi filia; *CIL* XIII 2187 (Lugdunum) Iunia Profutura; *CIL* VIII 20752 (Auzia) Po(mpeia?) Profutura; *CIL* III 5467 (Traboch) Profuturae coniugi; *CIL* III 5947 (Castra Regina) Pedania Profutura; *CIL* VI 4753, Cornelia Profutura; *CIL* VI 12178, Appea Profutura; *CIL* VI 13634 = *ICUR* 22619 (4th c.) *Profuturae filiae dulcissimae*; *CIL* VI 15569 Claudia Profutura; *CIL* VI 24996 Profutura patrona; *CIL* VI 29217 Egnatia Profutura; *ICUR* 6871c (290–325 CE) [Pro]futura in pace; *ICUR* 11396 [Profu]tura; *ICUR* 25293 Iulia Profutura; *ICUR* 25462 Profutura(e) hic; *JWE* II 371 (4th c.) Tyrisia Profutura; *ILCV* 4121a = *ICUR* 23771 (290–325 CE) *Aelii Callistus et Profutura parentes*; *AE* 1987, 105 (Roma; 150–230): Papiria Profutura; *CIL* V 5354 (Comum) Marcellia Profutura; *CIL* V 5368 (Comum; 2nd c.) Romania Profutura; *CIL* V 5388 (Comum; 2nd c.) Valeria Profut[ura]; *AE* 2004, 520 (Ameria) Vetulen(a)e Profut[urae]; *CIL* V 1142 (Aquilaia) Casta Profutura; *AE* 1986, 76 (Rome, 170–230 CE) Veria Profutura.

<sup>116</sup> And this does not include such forms as *Quintilla*, *Quintiana*, and the like, since they could also be derived from the nomen *Quintius*.

<sup>117</sup> *Sexta* (13), *Septima* (19), *Octava* (1), *Decima* (5). *Nona* is not known as a cognomen, but this may be due to accident of survival.

*Quarta* (276) and *Quinta* (268). Some brief comments are in place. First, the popularity of *Secunda* is no surprise, since it was a natural name-choice for a second-born daughter. It had also been – much like *Prima* and *Tertia* – one of the most popular female praenomina in the Republican period.<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, when interpreted as an adjective, *Secunda*, also had the positive meaning ‘favourable’.

*Prima*, as noted above in 2.1, was a popular name among slaves and freedwomen. It is also frequently attested for freeborn women, but clearly less so than *Secunda*. An explanation may be the fact that *Prima* had several synonyms that were popular cognomina as well, such as *Primigenia* (430) and *Primitiva* (283). It should also be pointed out that Kajanto did not take into consideration Greek inscriptions (unless published in the *AE*). The proportion of cases of *Tertia*, for instance, would probably be higher, if the Greek material were also included, since *Tertia*, alongside with *Polla*, was a popular name in the Greek East.<sup>119</sup>

One also needs to consider the fact that some names, such as *Quinta* and *Sexta*, were also the feminine forms of the male praenomina *Quintus* and *Sextus* and could be used as such instead of genuine numerals (see 2.3.3).

As a general social observation, numeral cognomina were characteristic of the nomenclature of the lower rather than the upper classes. In the catalogue of Raepsaet-Charlier – which includes some 750 senatorial women known by name – only four women bear the cognomen *Secunda*, two of them being of unclear status and one also having another cognomen of more distinct nature (*PFOS* 183; 690; 691; 830).<sup>120</sup> There is also one senatorial case of *Prima* (*PFOS* 45) and one *Quinta* (*PFOS* 677), the exact background of both women, however, being unclear.<sup>121</sup> Even in equestrian families, numeral names are rare. In the catalogue

<sup>118</sup> Kajava 1994, 71ff.

<sup>119</sup> For the popularity of *Tertia* as a praenomen in the Greek East, see Kajava 1994, 82; 101ff.

<sup>120</sup> The polyonymous Ummidia Quadratilla Asconia Secunda (*PFOS* 830 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 914) from Casinum also had the cognomen *Quadratilla*, probably as her primary cognomen (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 914). Calpurnia Secunda (*PFOS* 183) is attested as the owner of *figlinae Tempesinae* in 110-120 CE (*CIL* XV 610/611), but nothing else is known of her. [---] Secunda (*PFOS* 690) is known from a fragmentary inscription from Brixia (*CIL* V 4364 = *InscrIt.* X.5 152) as the wife of *Prisc(us?)*, who served as a legate. Her nomen is not known. The third Secunda, wife of Claudius Maximus (*cos. suff.* 142), is only known to us through the writings of Marcus Aurelius, again with no nomen (*M. Aur.* 8,25,1).

<sup>121</sup> Prima's nomen has not survived, but she is recorded in *CIL* IX 3649 = *AE* 1979, 197 = 1991, 565 (Cerfennia, 43–70) as the mother of [Vettius] Scato, who served as a military tribune in Germany. T. Wiseman has suggested that she bore the nomen *Alfia* (hence [Alfia?] Prima in *PFOS* 45; cf. Wiseman 1971, 279). As for Quinta (*PFOS* 677), her nomenclature is recorded in several *tegulae*

of Álvarez Melero, including c. 700 women known by name, there are only eight cases of *Secunda* (PFCR 57; 216; 226; 329; 360; 502; 518; 576), four of *Prima* (PFCR 396; 552; 558; 611), and one *Tertia* (PFCR 524).<sup>122</sup> In the nomenclature of senatorial women, suffixed forms of numeral names were more common: *Tertulla* (8),<sup>123</sup> *Secundilla* (3),<sup>124</sup> *Quartilla* (2),<sup>125</sup> *Quintina* (Agedia Quintina, PFOS 41), *Sextilla* (Aurelia Sextilla, PFOS 139).

### 2.3.2 Substantival cognomina

Substantival cognomina consist primarily of Latin nouns of different types, but also some substantival toponyms and names of divinities were used as cognomina.

#### 2.3.2.1 Common nouns

Latin nouns were frequently used as cognomina. It ought to be noted that, in comparison to adjectives, nouns used as cognomina were generally speaking a later phenomenon in women's nomenclature, since the earliest female cognomina were almost exclusively adjectival (see Chapter 3). One should also remember that it may not always be easy to know if a noun should be interpreted as a cognomen or simply as an appellative. This is particularly the case with words that occur regularly in inscriptions and have to do with human beings. *Ancilla*, for instance, appears in numerous inscriptions but it can be certainly identified as a cognomen only in a few cases.<sup>126</sup> An even more problematic case is *Mater* which, for obvious reasons, is a frequently reoccurring word in Latin funerary inscriptions. However, in at least three of the four cases compiled by Kajanto, the case for the cognomen is compelling.<sup>127</sup> That being said, the female cognomina

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from Patavium as *Sab(inia?) C. f. Quinta Must. Aug. (uxor)* (CIL V 8110,288). The husband has been identified as T. Mustius Hostilius Fabricius Medulla Augurinus (PIR<sup>2</sup> S 6; cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> M 759).

<sup>122</sup> *Secunda*: PFCR 57; 216; 226; 329; 360; 502; 518; 576. *Prima*: PFCR 396; 552; 558; 611. *Tertia*: PFCR 524 (*Terti[a]*).

<sup>123</sup> Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana (PFOS 38); Arrecina Tertulla (PFOS 93); Decia Tertulla (PFOS 309); Grania Tertull[a] (PFOS 409); Iulia Tertulla (PFOS 462); Lappia Tertulla (PFOS 483); Tertulla (PFOS 758); Trebicia Tertulla (PFOS 763).

<sup>124</sup> [---]ria Magia Secundil[la] (PFOS 100); Mundicia Secundilla (PFOS 564); Rufria Secundilla (PFOS 673).

<sup>125</sup> Annia Quartilla (PFOS 62); Titia Quartilla (PFOS 760).

<sup>126</sup> These are CIL VIII 20742; 27481; AE 1993, 61.

<sup>127</sup> In fact, in CIL VI 19007 we have an explicit mention of *Mater* as a personal name. Cf. Kajanto 1965, 303.

corresponding to Latin nouns can roughly be divided in the following groups (based on their lexical meaning):

#### A. Names referring to human beings

These were mostly nouns of the first declension in *-a*, but there are also some names with other terminations (e.g. *-ix* and *-us*). Names of this type often referred to occupations, professions, gender, family relations, or background in some way. The most popular name in Kajanto's (1965) catalogue is *Matrona* (197).<sup>128</sup> There is also the cognomen *Augusta*, which – according to Kajanto 1965 – appears as a cognomen in at least 25 cases. In most of the other thousands of cases, we are either dealing with an Imperial title or part of the name of a colony or legion. One could also note that *Augusta* can be understood as a calendaric name as well as an adjective, although in most cases it must have been taken after the emperor/empress.

Other names belonging to this category include *Regilla* (44), *Luperca* (23), *Lucifera* (20), *Victrix* (20), *Adiutrix* (11), *Colonica* (11), *Anus* (7), *Camilla* (7), *Mamma* (6, in the sense 'mother'), *Verna* (6; also 90 men), *Graecula* (5), *Scurra* (5, mostly sl/fr.; primarily used by men, 16 cases), *Mater* (4), *Viatrix* (4), *Cubicularia* (3), *Puella* (2),<sup>129</sup> *Amatrix* (*CIL* XIII 2046), *Flaminica* (*CIL* VIII 17183), *Nutrix* (*CIL* XII 4742, dubious). In this category one could also include names such as *Musa* (178 women, 56 of which slaves and freedwomen).<sup>130</sup> Kajanto also documents *Neptis* (*CIL* VI 23434) and *Lectrix* (*CIL* VI 8786), but it seems to me that, in both cases, we are dealing with appellatives rather than cognomina.<sup>131</sup> *Domna*, if understood as a cognate of *domina*, may also be included in this category. The geographical distribution of this name is noteworthy. According to Solin, it is overwhelmingly found in Asia Minor, with at least 102 attestations in the region, while it is only rarely found elsewhere (Kajanto records 13 cases, three of which are senatorial).<sup>132</sup>

#### B. Animals

Many substantival cognomina, especially in later periods, signified animals of different types. At least the following names are known (in order of popularity):

<sup>128</sup> According to a rather recent article by Solin, the name is also particularly well attested in the Greek sources of Asia Minor with at least 112 attestations in the region (Solin 2018, 178).

<sup>129</sup> One early case: *AE* 1971, 56, cf. 3.2.1.1; also a Christian woman: *CIL* VIII 13865.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 216.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 305; 361.

<sup>132</sup> Solin 2018, 177; Kajanto 1965, 362. For the senatorial women, cf. Appendix 2.

*Ursa* (131), *Tigris* (70), *Lea* (48; almost all Christian), *Lupa* (32), *Asella* (23), *Apra* (21), *Columba* (15; also two cases of *Columbula*), *Catta* (11), *Lucusta* (11; also one man), *Mustela* (11 w, 3 m), *Catula* (9), *Leoparda* (9; all Christian), *Vitula* (9),<sup>133</sup> *Capella* (7 women, 18 men), *Merula* (6; also 14 men),<sup>134</sup> *Agnella* (5),<sup>135</sup> *Cerva* (5),<sup>136</sup> *Iunix* (5),<sup>137</sup> *Turtura* (5), *Musc(u)la* (4), *Palumba* (3),<sup>138</sup> *Parda* (3),<sup>139</sup> *Capra* (2; also one man), *Mus* (2 freedwomen),<sup>140</sup> *Hirundo* (*CIL* II 3909; also one man), *Agna* (*CIL* IV 740), *Araneola* (*Sidon. carm.* 15, 147; dim. of *aranea*), *Bestia* (*CIL* III 2378; also 6 men), *Catella* (6),<sup>141</sup> *Cicada* (2),<sup>142</sup> *Formica* (*CIL* VI 18541; also 2 men), *Lacerta*, *Parra* (*CIL* V 1130, freedwoman; 2 men), *Pavolina* (*ICUR* 12715a), *Pinna* (*CIL* XI 7180b; also 6 men), *Squama* (*CIL* VIII 7797, sex unclear), *Sucula* (*CIL* IV 159, sex unclear; cf. *Ossucula* below).

Most of the popular names were nouns of the first declension referring to female animals: *Ursa*, *Lea*, *Lupa*, etc. (female bear, lion, and wolf respectively). There are, however, also some words that had identical masculine and feminine forms, e.g. *Tigris* (which is primarily attested as a female name), as well as names with the termination *a*, of the type *Cicada*, *Lucusta*, *Mustela*, *Merula*, *Formica*. Most of the names in this type were used by both men and women (cf. 2.6.3).

<sup>133</sup> Kajanto 1965 documents only two cases, but at least the following nine cases can be found: *ERAE* 295 (Emerita); *HEp* 1995, 111 (Lusitania); *HEp* 2001, 100 (Norba); *ILAlg* II.1 2323; *ILAlg* II.3 7375; *CIL* VI 9336; *CIL* VIII 9591 (Caesarea, 4th c.); *CLEPann* 28 (Brigetio); *AE* 2016, 1246 (Brigetio).

<sup>134</sup> *Merula* as a female cognomen in at least the following cases: *AE* 2013, 1927 (Ammaedara); *CIL* XI 3273 (Sutrium); *CIL* XIV 3973/3974 (*Maior* and *Minor*; Nomentum); *ILAlg* II.1 3022 (Celtianis); *ILSard* I 115 (Carales).

<sup>135</sup> All cases from Christian sources, cf. Kajanto 1965, 325. Note the form *Agnilla* in *CIL* XI 2588.

<sup>136</sup> Kajanto 1965 documents 3 cases of *Cerva*. In total, there seem to be at least 5 cases: *ILJug* I 374 (Celeia); *CIL* III 5274; *HEp* 1997, 425 (Carthago Nova); also two late Christian cases: *ICUR* 6286; *CIL* XIII 1490 (Aquitania).

<sup>137</sup> Kajanto 1965 documents the following two freedwomen: *CIL* IX 345 (Canusium); *CIL* XI 1614 (Florentia); but there are also three women of unspecified status: *CIL* IX 399 (Canusium); *AE* 1980, 338 (Rudiae); *CIL* IX 7731 (Marruvium).

<sup>138</sup> Mostly known from Christian sources, cf. Kajanto 1965, 331.

<sup>139</sup> *Parda* as a female cognomen: *CIL* XII 4257 (Baeterrae); *CIL* II.14 735 (Saguntum); *AE* 2013, 782 (Emerita).

<sup>140</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1272 = VI 14496; *CIL* XII 4680 (Narbo), unless *Mus(a)*.

<sup>141</sup> However, in the case of Aelia Catella (*PFOS* 10), the cognomen may have been derived from *Catus* (cf. 4.3.1.2).

<sup>142</sup> *CIL* VIII 7249 (Cirta); *AE* 1992, 560 (HisPELLUM, *liberta*); also one man.

This could also have to do with semantic factors, since most such names referred to animals that did not have a clearly distinguishable sex (ant, lobster, etc.) – in comparison with names such as *Ursa* and *Lupa*, which were clearly female.

### C. Plants.

The names of certain plants (or parts of plants) were occasionally used as female cognomina, especially in later periods and, as it turns out, in Africa. This is particularly the case with some feminine nouns of the first declension. At least the following names of this type are on record (in order of popularity): *Viola* ‘violet’ (22),<sup>143</sup> *Spica* (as ‘the top of a plant’, 19 cases),<sup>144</sup> *Rosa* ‘rose’ (8),<sup>145</sup> *Murra* ‘myrrh-tree’ (3 freedwomen),<sup>146</sup> *Oliva* ‘olive’ (2),<sup>147</sup> *Ruta* (a bitter type of herb),<sup>148</sup> *Virgula* ‘twig’ (*CIL* XIII 2873), *Urtica* ‘nettle’ (one freedwoman, *CIL* VI 22200). Perhaps also *Scopa*, in the sense ‘a stack of twigs’, can be included here (*CIL* IX 3122). *Herba*, to my knowledge, is not attested as a cognomen, but the diminutive *Herbula* is (4 cases).<sup>149</sup> Some of these names are also attested for men, as in the case of *Spica* (four men)<sup>150</sup> and *Rosa* (*CIL* XI 3254, Q. Vibius Rosa).

<sup>143</sup> *Viola* seems to have been mostly attested for slaves and freedwomen (at least 13 cases out of 22, also 4 Christian women); cf. Kajanto 1965, 336.

<sup>144</sup> *Spica* is almost exclusively known from Africa: *CIL* VIII 17372; *AE* 2000, 1655 (Afr.), C. Anicia Spica (tria nomina); *CIL* VIII 16197; *CIL* VIII 27648; 15588; *ILAlg* II.3 9599; *CIL* VIII 19743 = *ILAlg* II.1 2453; *CIL* VIII 17702; 5670 = *ILAlg* II.2 4217; *ILAlg* II.2 5826; 5993; *ILAlg* II.1 331; *BCTH* 1909, 108 (Numidia); also the form *Ispica* in *CIL* VIII 436; *ILAlg* II.2 5826. Also, two cases from Italy: *CIL* V 7405 (Liguria, 4th–6th c.); *CIL* VI 26517 (2nd c.); *CIL* V 2688 = *AE* 2001, 1053 (Ateste).

<sup>145</sup> Again, almost all cases in Africa: *CIL* VIII 12077, Consulia Rosa; *BCTH* 1925, CLXXIX (Maur. Caes.), *Rosa filia*; *CIL* VIII 9426, *Rosa uxor*; *ILAlg* II.3 8137, Iulia Rosa; *BCTH* 1946/49, 180 (Numidia), Iulia C. f. Rosa; *CIL* VI 6513, a freedwoman; *ICUR* 5462 (4th/5th c.); *CIL* IX 6219 = *ILCV* 4906 (570–600 CE).

<sup>146</sup> Three cases in *CIL* V; cf. Kajanto 1965, 335.

<sup>147</sup> One case in Numidia (*ILAlg* II.1 3138, 2nd c.). There is also one much later case from Canusium, from the 6th century, recording a woman simply as *Oliba* (*CIL* IX 412 = *ILCV* 2444 = *AE* 1981, 254).

<sup>148</sup> One Christian woman from the late 4th c. (*ICUR* 23266).

<sup>149</sup> *CIL* XI 7221a (Clusium); *CIL* X 2781 (Puteoli); *CIL* IX 2608 (Terventum); *CIL* XI 5781 (Sentinum).

<sup>150</sup> *ILAlg* I 1904, *Spica Barechal(i)s f(filius) pius*; *Gorga* I, 164, M. Fabius Spica, *tr. coh. III pr.*, attested through the nomenclature of her freedwoman Fabia Arescusa; *AE* 1997, 494 = 2013, 484 (Umbria), C. Corcilius L. f. Cla. Spica, *IIIvir i. d. q.*; also L. Mundicius L. f. Spica, in an unpublished inscription from the collections of the Ashmolean Museum (cf. *EDCS*-ID 72600313).

There are also occasional examples with other terminations, e.g. *Lauris* (at least *CIL* VI 12881/12882, Livia Lauris; unclear if variant of *Laurus* or a Greek suffix). Kajanto also documents a woman called *Botrys* (*CIL* VI 7741), but in this case it seems to me that we are dealing with a man rather than a woman.<sup>151</sup> There is, furthermore, one woman on record with the name *Flos* (m.) in Rome (*CIL* VI 4738).

Related to this category is the cognomen *Flora*, if interpreted as referring to the goddess of flowers (although probably more often the feminine form of the adjective *florus*; 208 cases documented by Kajanto 1965).

#### D. Parts of the body

This group was not significant for women. In fact, there are only a few names and these seem to be primarily attested for freedwomen and provincials. The following cases are on record:

*Bucca* ‘mouth’ (4): *AE* 1976, 341 (Hispania), Cornelia mulieris l. Bucca; *AE* 1994, 1333 (Noricum), Bucca Gannici f.; *CIL* III 3788 = 10727 (Emona), Bucca Valentis f.; *AE* 1981, 452 (Altinum), Vettia P. l. Bucca. The name is also attested for men (e.g. *CIL* XI 1249, L. Messius M. f. Bucca; *CIL* XII 3095, Q. Iuliu[s ---] Bucca).

*Coma* ‘hair’ (a Greek loan): *CIL* VI 27961, a freedwoman (also the name *Auricoma* in *CIL* VI 18006).

*Gula* ‘throat’: *CIL* VIII 7490 (Cirta), Iulia Gula.

*Pollex* ‘thumb’: *CIL* VIII 22781 (Afr. proc.), Antonia Pollex. The name is also attested for a (male) slave of Cicero (*Cic. fam.* 14,6,1; *Att.* 8,5,1; 13,46,1).

Perhaps also *Ossucula* (dim. of *os*, ‘mouth?’), recorded in *CIL* X 8197 (Puteoli; no nomen mentioned) – though the text should perhaps be read *Os(sa) Sucul(a)e*, suggested by, among other things, the interpunct after *OS* (though the punctuation does not seem to be very consistent; cf. the picture in the *EDR*). The cognomen *Sucula* is in fact attested as a cognomen, for a man in *AE* 1982 ((-) Axius L. f. Pap. Suc[ula]) and possibly for a woman in *CIL* IV 159. In addition, there are some adjectival cognomina coined from parts of the body, e.g. *Mammosa* (from *mamma*, in the sense ‘breast’).

Men, on the other hand, had names signifying parts of their bodies more frequently. Such names, as one can imagine, often had pejorative connotations, which explains why they were not popular in women’s nomenclature (cf. 2.6.2).

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There is furthermore *CIL* VIII 21564, Iul. Spica (sex inexplicit but probably man).

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 337.

## E. Inanimate objects and natural phenomena

There are several female cognomina of this type, but none of them are frequently attested. The most popular one seems to be *Aura* ‘breeze’, with 15 attestations documented by Kajanto.<sup>152</sup> Other female cognomina of this type include, amongst others, *Margarita* ‘pearl’ (8), *Silva* ‘woodland’ (6), *Gutta* ‘drop’ (3),<sup>153</sup> *Gemma* ‘gem’ (2),<sup>154</sup> and *Luna* ‘moon’ (2?).<sup>155</sup> Cognomina referring to inanimate objects are attested already for men of the Republican aristocracy, e.g. *Scipio*, ‘staff’, and *Dolabella*, ‘hatchet’, but the name type never became particularly common among women, probably since such names were somewhat impractical as personal names and could often be interpreted in a pejorative sense. Suffixed forms, such as *Scipionilla* and *Dolabellina* are attested, but only rarely.<sup>156</sup> It was also possible to form a sort of verbal or adjectival form of an inanimate object, e.g. *Torquata*, ‘adorned with a necklace’ or ‘collared’ (from *torquis*, ‘necklace’, ‘collar’)

## F. Abstract nouns

This group was significant for women, partly because names belonging to this category were primarily used by women and partly because some of these cognomina were among the most popular female names (for unisex names, see 2.6.3 below). In general, abstract nouns used as female cognomina are characteristic of later rather than early periods (mostly attested from the second century CE onwards). Most names of this type correspond to feminine words of the third declension with the termination *-(i)tas*:

*Felicitas* (458, also 1 man),<sup>157</sup> *Hilaritas* (48), *Pietas* (28), *Voluptas* (24), *Potestas* (23), *Bonitas* (14), *Civitas* (13), *Dignitas* (9), *Facultas* (6),<sup>158</sup> *Probitas* (5),

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 338.

<sup>153</sup> *CIL* VI 5163; *ICUR* 20084; *AE* 2017, 327 (Aeclanum, 538 CE); perhaps also *ICUR* 20084 (390–425 CE). However, one of the two cases documented by Kajanto 1965 (*ICUR* 3323, *Aur. Guttini*) does not seem to belong here.

<sup>154</sup> *CIL* XIII 2975 (prov. Lugud.); Labruna 2013, 39 (Abellinum, 542 CE).

<sup>155</sup> *CIL* XIII 6107; *CIL* XIII 11296 (uncertain).

<sup>156</sup> *Scipionilla* is attested in Mauretania Caesariensis for a certain Val(eria) Scipionilla, whose brother bears the cognomen *Scipio* (*CIL* VIII 20965 = *AE* 1888, 156, 2nd/3rd c.). *Dolabellina* is known from (Cornelia) Dolabellina (*PFOS* 283), daughter of Cornelius Dolabella (*cos.* 10).

<sup>157</sup> 131 of the cases are from Christian sources. Almost half of all the cases are from the city of Rome.

<sup>158</sup> *AE* 1993, 329 (Rome); *CIL* VI 11619; IX 3327; 3584; 8294; 4079 (*liberta*).



*Stabilita(s)* (4),<sup>159</sup> *C(h)aritas* (3),<sup>160</sup> *Securitas* (3),<sup>161</sup> *Prosperitas* (2),<sup>162</sup> *Aequitas* (2, also 2 men),<sup>163</sup> *Aeternitas* (2?),<sup>164</sup> *Veritas* (2, also 1 man),<sup>165</sup> *Anim(a)equitas* (*CIL* X 3594, 150–230 CE), *Auctoritas* (*CIL* VI 12795, 3rd c.), *Celeritas* (*CIL* XIV 410, 100–135 CE), *Iucunditas* (*ILAlg* II.1 951, 170–230 CE), *Liberitas* (*CIL* X 2151, 3rd c.).

The second largest group is formed by first declension words with the termination *-a* or *-ia*: *Victoria* (750, of which 165 Christians),<sup>166</sup> *Concordia* (70), *Fortuna* (41),<sup>167</sup> *Gratia* (9), *Luxuria* (4), *Gloria* (2), *Historia* (*CIL* XIV 1144/1188), *Tutela* (*CIL* XII 1897; 1901 (same woman)), *Angina* (*CIL* VIII 4987), *Opera* (*CIL* VI 23494, if a woman).

Some abstract nouns with other terminations are also attested as cognomina:

*-ēs*: *Spes* (139, also 4 men),<sup>168</sup> *Species* (3), *Fides* (1 woman, 3 men).

*-olio*: *Conditio* (6), *Origo* (4, also 2 men), *Obsecratio* (1).

*-x*: *Pax* (2 women, 5 men).<sup>169</sup>

*-us* (3rd declension): The name *Salus* is attested for a female slave in *CIL* XIV 551 (Ostia) and possibly for one freedwoman in Rome in the late first century BCE (*CIL* VI 33154 = 37555 = *AE* 1995, 112) – although in the latter case the name (carved simply as *SALV*) could also be interpreted as *Salv(ia)* rather than *Salu(s)*. There is also an African inscription, which records *Salus Rogati vixit annnis [sic] LXXVII ux(or?)* (*ILAlg* I 2680), in the case of which we seem to be

<sup>159</sup> *CIL* VI 16021; 20689; X 263 (Grumentum); 270 (ibid.; eadem?).

<sup>160</sup> *CIL* VI 18677a (98–150); III 4087 (170–250 CE; *Karita*); *PCM* 2020, 181 no. 15 (Misenum).

<sup>161</sup> *CIL* VI 24648; VIII 13751 (Christ.).

<sup>162</sup> *EE* IX 716a (Tusculum); *NBAC* 1914, 132 (Rome, Christ.).

<sup>163</sup> The women: *AE* 1978, 181 (Brundisium, 50–100); *CIL* X 257. In the case of the two men (both *liberti*), the name seems to be an agnomen: *CIL* VI 282 (= *AE* 1980, 54) *N. Lucius Hermeros Aequitas*; *CIL* VI 10003 *C. Popilius C. l. Phileros Aequitas*.

<sup>164</sup> A woman called Ulpia Aeternitas is known from *CIL* VIII 3244; 4158; 4159. It is possible that we are dealing with the same woman in all three inscriptions, almost certainly in *CIL* VIII 4158/4159.

<sup>165</sup> The women: *AE* 1990, 301 (Firmum Picenum, 180–190 CE); *JCUR* 10866 (4th c.). The man is mentioned on line 27 in *CIL* XI 5748 (Sentinum, 260 CE).

<sup>166</sup> *Victoria* is primarily known from Africa (almost two thirds of all the cases).

<sup>167</sup> *Fortuna* may obviously also be interpreted as the name of the goddess.

<sup>168</sup> Interestingly not at all attested in Christian sources. Many of the cases are from the city of Rome, cf. Kajanto 1965, 286.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 262 (also uncertain sex in *AE* 1983, 415).

dealing with a woman (if the last item really stands for *uxor*).<sup>170</sup> The name is also attested in Numidia (*CIL* VIII 10817), but the gender is unclear. Even more dubious is *CIL* II 6257,171.<sup>171</sup> In addition there are some men, known from Africa, who bear the cognomen *Salus* (*ILAlg* I 1873; *CIL* VIII 20495).

There are also some masculine words in *-or*: *Amor* (10 women, 11 men), *Favor* (4 women, 63 men),<sup>172</sup> *Memor* (*CIL* VI 7700 *liberta*; also 62 men).

The grammatically neuter *Studium* is also attested as a cognomen for at least one woman (*CIL* IX 2720, Aesernia, 1st/2nd c., [*H*]ermia *pater et Studium mater*). In such cases one could suspect Greek influences (compare Greek female names with the termination *-ion*).

### 2.3.2.2 Proper names

There is also a small group of substantival cognomina which consists of onomastic rather than lexical items. These were mostly Latin toponyms as well as some names of gods and divinities. The following cases will suffice to illustrate this aspect:

Countries and provinces:

*Italia* (60 cases documented by Kajanto),<sup>173</sup> *Dacia* (*CIL* VI 28848a; V 3647), *Germania* (Pais 768, *Cassia Germania*), *Histria* (*CIL* V 243, in Histria), *Macedonia* (*CIL* XII 2280), *Pannonia* (3: *CIL* VIII 3588; 3799; 4277), *Sardinia* (*SICV* 76), *Sicilia* (*CIL* II 4014, a slave).

Towns and cities:

*Aquileia* (*CIL* V 2831 = X 40, Ravenna; also *ICUR* 22333, 326–375 CE),<sup>174</sup> *Bononia* (*CIL* V 875, Christian), *Cosa* (*CIL* V 4074, Mantua), *Interamnia* (*CIL* X 4953, sex unclear), *Karthago* (*CIL* XI 1695, *Cartaco*; also *CIL* VIII 25813, sex unclear), *Mantua* (*CIL* II 5321, sex unclear), *Napoca* (*CIL* VI 269; a town in Dacia), *Roma* (*CIL* VI 22065; though may also correspond to the Greek name Ρώμη), *Sala* (*ILAlg* I 2253; town in Africa), *Siscia* (*CIL* III 10257, after the

<sup>170</sup> Though Kajanto has labelled this as “unknown gender”, cf. Kajanto 1965, 232 (= 364).

<sup>171</sup> The text reads simply *Salus*, with nothing else. We do not even know if the person – that is, if we are dealing with a person – was a man or a woman, even though Kajanto has for some reason labelled this case as a man. Cf. Kajanto 1965, 232 (= 364).

<sup>172</sup> At least three of the four women were *libertae* (*CIL* VI 12840; 21924; 39637; V 3004).

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 180.

<sup>174</sup> Kajanto also documents *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1196 = VI 8395 as a possible case, but this is very uncertain.

Pannonian town Siscia), *Tergeste* (*CIL* V 100 = *InscrIt* X.1 176, Pola, dubious), *Venusia* (*IRTr* 750). Moreover, names such as *Florentia* (44) and *Valentia* (17) may have sometimes been chosen after the cities with the same name – although in many cases we are surely dealing with suffixed formations, derived from *Florens* and *Valens*.

Mythological names and names of divinities:

While theophoric cognomina, i.e. names *derived* from names of deities with different suffixes, were widely spread, the use of theonyms as anthroponyms *in identical form* seems to have been largely restricted to the nomenclature of slaves and *libertae*:

*Latona* (?) (*CIL* VIII 1747 = 15845, ‘*Latonna*’), *Matuta* (2: *ILAlg* II 2916; 3165), *Camene* (*CIL* IX 845, slave?), *Ceres* (*CIL* V 2746, slave?), *Diana* (?) (*CIL* IV 2390a, ‘*Deana va(le)*’, slave?), *Iuturna* (*CIL* III 14359,22), *Laverna* (*CIL* VI 20719), *Minerva* (*AE* 2019, 754, liberta), *Urnica* (?) (*CIL* V 1696 = *ILCV* 4600, 4th c., Christian),<sup>175</sup> *Vesta* (*CIL* IX 2748, freedwoman), *Venus* (*CIL* XIV 1737, daughter *Voluptas*, cf. 4.7.4).

Kajanto also includes *Bellona* (*CIL* XIII 5679,10) as a cognomen, but since the source text only consists of the name (in the dative form) I would be inclined to treat it as a genuine dedication to the divinity (unless a slave name).<sup>176</sup> There are, furthermore, three cases of the name *Aurora*, but *aurora* was also an appellative, ‘dawn’, and should perhaps not be included here.<sup>177</sup> *Flora* (208) could also be included in this category if interpreted as the name of the goddess, although the name, perhaps more commonly, also corresponded to the adjective *flora* ‘flourishing’ (cf. 2.3.1.1 above). *Romula* (46 women documented by Kajanto; in comparison 151 men called *Romulus*) could also be included in this category if interpreted as a mythological name (from *Romulus*).<sup>178</sup> The name, however, could also be interpreted as a geographical name (e.g. the town of Romula in Spain).

<sup>175</sup> Kajanto interprets the name as representing a Celtic-Roman divinity of fountains (Kajanto 1965, 216), but another, perhaps more likely, solution – as pointed out to me by Mika Kajava – is that the name was, in fact, *Ur(a)nia*, i.e. a Greek name referring to one of the Muses. *Urania* is attested several times in the Christian epigraphy of Rome.

<sup>176</sup> The name is considered a cognomen by Kajanto 1965, 216.

<sup>177</sup> *CIL* XIII 11091; V 5420 (463 CE); XI 6289; two of these women furthermore being Christians.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 179.

### 2.3.3 Feminine forms of typical masculine praenomina (-a < -us)

There are also some female cognomina of the simple type that were identical to some praenomina used by men (primarily *Lucius*, *Publius*, and *Quintus*).<sup>179</sup> While women also had cognomina corresponding to the praenomina *Marcus* and *Titus*, it should be noted that the female forms of these were normally coined with the suffix *-ia* (i.e. *Marcia* and *Titia* instead of *Marca* and *Tita*). These forms will be discussed separately below in 2.4.7.2. I now present some cases of women whose cognomina were identical to a praenomen that was used in the family (in most cases the father's). Exact dates have been difficult (or impossible) to establish, but the cases range from the first to the third century CE.

#### *Lucia*:

*CIL* II.14 644 = 3896 = *AE* 2016, 854 (Saguntum, 1st c.): Cornelia L. f. Lucia.

*CIL* VIII 7719 (Cirra, 1st c.): Seia L. f. Lucia.

*ILAlg* II.1 3111 (Numidia, 2nd c.): Oppia L. f. Lucia.

*ILAlg* II.2 5061 (Thibilis, Imperial): Capula L. f. Lucia.

*AE* 1977, 735 = *IMS* VI 140 (Moes. sup. 150–300 CE): Petronia Lucia (father L. Petr. Valens).

There are also other women with the cognomen *Lucia*, e.g. Didustria C. f. Lucia (*ILAlg* II.2 6261, Numidia, 2nd c.); Iulia C. f. Lucia (*ILAlg* II.2 5467, Thibilis, 2nd c.); but in these cases it is unclear whether the name was taken after a family praenomen or for some other reason (*Lucia*, for example, is also attested as a nomen). Note also that *Lucia* as a cognomen seems to be particularly well attested in Africa, as the cases above show.

#### *Quinta*:

Since *Quinta* was also a typical numeral cognomen, it is often difficult to establish if it had something to do with the praenomen *Quintus*. In the following cases, however, the praenomen is attested in the family:

*CIL* XIV 1116 (Ostia, 2nd c.): Allia Q. f. Quinta, daughter of Q. Allius Tertius.

*CIL* V 7698 (Augusta Bagiennorum, 1st c.): Caesia Q. f. Quinta.

*CIL* III 9052 (Salona Etruvia, 150–200): Quinta, daughter of Q. Etruvius Etruscus.

*IMS* VI 65 = *AE* 1984, 749 (Moes. sup., 2nd c.): Terentia Q. f. Quinta.

<sup>179</sup> Men could obviously also have cognomina that were identical to praenomina. For this practice, see Salomies 1987, 165f.; cf. also Salomies 2008, 89f.

Also, the following African inscriptions of unclear date (Imperial in any case):<sup>180</sup>

*CIL* VIII 1280: Vettia Q. f. Quinta.

*CIL* VIII 1805: Herennia Q. f. Quinta.

*CIL* VIII 6522: Marcia Q. f. Quinta.

*CIL* VIII 16118: Lucretia Q. f. Quinta.

*Sexta*: Another praenomen whose female form appears as a numeral cognomen is *Sextus*. There seems to be only one potential case on record, in which the female cognomen was most probably chosen after the praenomen, i.e. a fragmentary inscription from Spain that records [--]a *Sex. f. Sexta sor(or)* (*IRC* IV 75 = *HEp* 1997, 210). In most other cases, however, we should assume that the name was chosen as a numeral cognomen, since these were typical in women's nomenclature (see 2.3.1.3).

I haven't been able to trace similar examples of *Publia*, but one might suspect that when found alongside the nomen *Aelius/Aelia*, thus recalling the Imperial name combination *P. Aelius* (after Hadrian), the name was probably chosen after the praenomen. Two cases of this type, recording a woman called Aelia Publia, are known (*AE* 1939, 123, 150–200 CE; *AE* 2000, 224, mid-3rd c.). In an inscription from Apulum (*CIL* III 1249) we also have a woman called *Viria Publia Viri Publi filia*, but in this case *Publius* was not the father's praenomen but cognomen, which was then transmitted to the daughter. *Publia* also appears as a cognomen in some other cases but no clear connection can be established to a praenomen used in the family, e.g. *CIL* VIII 27564 (Iulia Publia); *CIL* VIII 16084 (Iulia Publia Q. f.); *CIL* V 216 = *InscrIt.* X.1 177 (Abudia Publia). The name appears more commonly as a female praenomen.<sup>181</sup>

Clear examples of *Caia/Gaia* are not numerous. Like in the case of *Publia* above, there are some cases in which we may be dealing with an Imperial or famous name combination, e.g. Iulia Caia/Gaia (after C. Iulius): *CIL* VIII 16078; *CIL* VIII 21876. There are also a number of other hypothetical cases, in which the name seems to appear as a cognomen but with no clear connection to a praenomen: *CIL* V 1841 (Retinacia L. f. Gaia; the inscription also mentions a certain C. Retinacius C. f. *Ilvir*, but his exact relation to Retinacia Gaia is unclear to me); *CIL* VIII 5080 (Agrinia Gaia); *CIL* X 3431 (*D(is) M(anibus) ... Caiae matri*); *CIL* III 12309 (Olia Quarti f. Gaia, daughter of Manius Olius Quartus);

<sup>180</sup> The lack of *D(is) M(anibus)* could suggest a rather early date, but without other clues or pictures, this remains speculative.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Kajava 1994, 63.

*IAM* II,2 534 (Antonia Caia); *AE* 1981, 742 (Valeri(a)e Gai(a)e); *AE* 2015, 1234 (Ulpia Gaia); *CIL* III 1665 (Ulpia Caia); *AE* 1981, 730 (Aur(e)l(ia) Caia); *IMS* III,2 63 (Aelia Gaia). Furthermore, in some cases the forms *Caia* and *Gaia* should probably be interpreted as completely different names, since the nomen *Caius* is also known.<sup>182</sup>

As stated above, the forms *Marca* and *Tita* (feminine forms of *Marcus* and *Titus*) are rare and the more commonly attested female forms are *Marcia* and *Titia* (see 2.4.7.1 below). Kajanto 1965 records two cases of *Marca*: *CIL* III 12969 (Clodia Marca) and XII 118 (Nigria Marca).<sup>183</sup> Of these, however, only the first one seems useful. As for the second, the picture provided in the *EDCS* gives sufficient reason to think that the cognomen was in fact *Marcia* rather than *Marca*. There are also two dubious cases (*CIL* IV 2235 and X 8056,536, both simply ‘*Marca*’) which ought to be left without further attention. As for *Tita*, the form is attested in some archaic inscriptions, e.g. *AE* 1954, 219 (*Tita Vendia*), *AE* 1991, 396 (*Salvetod Tita*). *AE* 1994, 215 (*[Ti]ta Varia T. f.*), and it is furthermore attested as a praenomen, or perhaps rather an inversed cognomen, in an African inscription of Imperial date (*CIL* VIII 5133, *Tita Flavia*). There are also some individual examples of *Tita* as a cognomen, e.g. *CIL* XII 2299 (*Uritea Tita*, from Cularo) and *AE* 1931, 16 (*Successinia Tita*, from Bonna); as well as some cases from Africa: *IL Afr* 177,5; *AE* 1993, 1722, ‘*Secunda Tita*’. The form *Titia*, however, is much better attested.

### 2.3.4 Old female praenomina used as cognomina

M. Kajava, in his book of female praenomina, briefly discussed the use of old female praenomina as cognomina.<sup>184</sup> Some of the important aspects will furthermore be discussed later in Chapter 3. It will suffice here to recapitulate the key points. First, it should be pointed out that the repertoire of female praenomina in the Republican period was often different from the common praenomina used by men and, thus, this category is discussed separately from the female cognomina derived from men’s praenomina (cf. 2.3.3 and 2.4.7.2). There were, to be sure, female praenomina of the type *L(ucia) M(arcia) P(ublia) Ti(beria)* but the use of such names is rather limited in the Republican period. The common female praenomina of the Republic were often ‘descriptive’ names.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*, 41.

<sup>183</sup> Kajanto 1965, 173.

<sup>184</sup> The discussion, though, is mainly restricted to senatorial women. Kajava 1994, 125ff.

Kajava records the following list of female praenomina for the Republican and early Imperial period:<sup>185</sup>

*Appia* (?),<sup>186</sup> *Aula* (3), *Bona*, *Brata* (2), *Caesia*, *Caesulla* (2), *Fausta* (4), *Gaia* (6), *Galla* (2?)<sup>187</sup>, *Gavia*, *Gemella* (2), *Gemina*, *Gnaea*, *Graeca*, *HerennalHeria* (2), *Iusta*, *Lucia* (6), *Maio(s)* (10),<sup>188</sup> *Mania*, *Marcella* (2), *Maria* (3), *Max(s)imal-uma* (20),<sup>189</sup> *Mino(s)* (10),<sup>190</sup> *Numeria*, *Optata* (3), *Ovia*, *Paccia*, *Paul(l)a/Pol(l)a* (95),<sup>191</sup> *Posilla/Pusilla* (7), *Prima* (13), *Prisca* (4), *Publia* (5), *Pupa*, *Quarta* (11), *Quinta* (4), *Rufa* (6), *Rutila* (5), *Sabina* (2), *Saluta* (8), *Salvia* (10), *Secunda* (42),<sup>192</sup> *Septuma*, *Severa*, *Spuria*, *Statia* (3), *Tertia* (56),<sup>193</sup> *Tital/Titia* (3), *Vera*, *Verecunda*, *Vibia* (8).

Many of these names, perhaps unsurprisingly, are also found as early female cognomina (see Chapter 3). In other words, as the use of cognomina became more popular throughout Roman Italy, many of the names that previously had been prefixed to the nomen started to be placed after it. This, as Kajava notes, was not a sudden change but rather a gradual process and both styles were in contemporaneous use for a while, sometimes even in the same inscription or in reference to one and the same person, as will be shown by some of the evidence in Chapter 3.<sup>194</sup>

Kajava makes an important observation with respect to the social distribution of the names. While many of the descriptive praenomina in the list above were used by upper-class and lower-class women alike, their use as cognomina were generally avoided by women of the upper-most class. Indeed, the survey in 3.3 below illustrates that women belonging to noble houses of the Republic did not have cognomina of the type *Paulla* or *Maxima*, even if such names were used as hereditary cognomina by the men of the family. Among the upper-classes, cognomina of the 'descriptive' type are mostly restricted to women of municipal origin and recent senatorial status (cf. 3.3.2 below).<sup>195</sup>

<sup>185</sup> For references, see Kajava 1994, 34ff.

<sup>186</sup> Technically, the name in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2381 could also be a nomen; cf. Kajava 1994, 35.

<sup>187</sup> In *CIL* II 492, we may be dealing with an inversed cognomen.

<sup>188</sup> Of these, eight cases are from Praeneste.

<sup>189</sup> 12 of them in Venetia and Histria.

<sup>190</sup> 9 of the cases in Praeneste.

<sup>191</sup> 53 cases in the Greek East and 20 in Rome and Latium.

<sup>192</sup> 15 cases in Venetia & Histria and 10 in the Greek East. Only case in Southern Italy.

<sup>193</sup> 18 of these in the Greek East and 9 in Venetia & Histria.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Kajava 1994, 125.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. 3.3.2 and Kajava 1994, 127ff.

## 2.4 Suffixed forms

### 2.4.1 General discussion

As has been noted above, a typical characteristic of Latin onomastics is the extensive use of different suffixes. Table 2 below (based on the material in Appendix 1) shows that there were clearly more suffixed female names than there were non-suffixed ones. This is hardly surprising, as a single name could produce many suffixed variants. However, the number of name-bearers with a non-suffixed name exceeds, by far, that of suffixed ones. The reason for this is that some names in the ‘simple’ form were extremely popular, as has been seen above in 2.1 above. In fact, of the 50 most frequently attested female cognomina, 41 are of the ‘simple’ type and only nine are suffixed forms. When, however, looking at names that are attested only once, we end up with 1 257 names of which 885 (c. 70%) are suffixed.

Table 2: Non-suffixed vs. suffixed female cognomina

	Non-suffixed		Suffixed		Total
Names	981	37%	1 704	63%	2 685
Women	26 025	67%	12 637	33%	38 662

Before further discussing the use of suffixes, it ought to be clarified what is meant by a ‘suffixed form’. A suffixed form, in this chapter, is basically any name that is derived independently from an existing word or name with a suffix (e.g. *Clementina* from *Clemens* with the suffix *-īna*). If the word, however, already exists as lexical item, then the name is generally speaking not considered a suffixed form (e.g. *Asiatica*, ‘Asiatic’, is not considered a suffixed form here, although it clearly has the suffix *-ica*). To be sure, we do not know all Latin appellatives or words that once existed in the spoken language and, thus, some names that are considered suffixed forms may have in fact once been actual words, but since we are dealing with a corpus language, we have no choice but to work with the surviving texts.

Furthermore, since most cognomina were adjectival by nature, I have decided to treat some names as suffixed forms, even if the feminine form may have a corresponding word in the lexicon. These are primarily late formations ending in *-ia*, such as *Abundantia*, *Constantia*, *Florentia*, the masculine forms of which (*Abundantius*, *Constantius*, *Florentius*) are suffixed derivations from adjectives and participles, but the feminine forms also correspond to



existing abstract words or proper names (*abundantia* ‘plentifulness’, *constantia* ‘constancy’, and *Florentia*, the city of Florence). It seems, however, likely to me that these names were, at least in the majority of the cases, coined from present participles and adjectives (*abundans*, *constans*, *florens*) with the same analogy as the masculine forms, and therefore such cases have been included in the statistics below as suffixed forms.

It might also be good to briefly consider the general function of suffixes in Latin onomastics. The ‘main’ function is an obvious one: to coin new names from existing personal names or words. But there are other aspects as well. Some suffixes could have a more specific purpose, such as indicating the belonging to something or someone. Furthermore, diminutive suffixes had a special semantic role in women’s nomenclature, with their hypocoristic function and many different connotations associated with women and femininity in general. Finally, it seems that in some cases suffixes could be used to ‘blur’ the original semantic content of a pejorative name, which could make the cognomen more acceptable for a woman (cf. 2.6.2).

The range of various suffixes used in name-formation was extensive. This does not mean that all Latin suffixes were or could be employed for coining a cognomen or that they were used in equal measure. Furthermore, some suffixes are primarily – or exclusively – found in female cognomina, such as *-illa* and *-itta*, and can, thus, be classified as ‘cognomen suffixes’ (meaning that they were only rarely, if ever, employed in other functions).

The Latin suffixes used for coining female cognomina are the following: *-ālis*/*-āris* (e.g. *Fortunalis*, *Luminaris*), *-āna* (*Firmana*), *-iāna* (*Marciana*), *-ica* (*Matronica*), *-īna* (*Rufina*), *-ia* (*Crescentia*), *-īva* (*Donativa*), *-ōsa* (*Bonosa*), *-ula* (*Primula*) or *-ola* after *i* and *e* (*Fabiola*), *-cula* (*Felicula*), *-illa* (*Priscilla*), *-ella* (*Novella*), *-ulla* (*Tertulla*), and *-itta* (*Gallitta*). In addition, there are some Greek and Celtic suffixes that were occasionally attached to Latin names.

Some suffixes were clearly more productive and widely spread than others, while other suffixes are either found only rarely (e.g. *-ālis*/*-āris*, *-īva*) or mostly restricted to certain time periods (*-ia* in Late Antiquity; except for some forms of the type *Titia*, *Marcia*, *Varia*) or geographical areas (*-ōsa* in Africa). There were also some major differences between men and women. While diminutives were a rather marginal feature in men’s nomenclature (especially cognomina in *-illus*), they were a commonplace for women – which is not surprising, as this is a common feature in many languages.<sup>196</sup>

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Stüber & Zehnder & Remmer (eds.) 2009 for discussion on female names in different Indo-

I have compiled below some general numbers regarding the use of suffixes in women's nomenclature.<sup>197</sup> Note, however, that the numbers are only tentative, since they do not take into account any specifics (for instance, in some cases a name with the termination *-ella* may have been coined independently, while in many other cases we are simply dealing with a 'fossilized' form). Furthermore, the table covers a chronological range of several hundred years and not all suffixes are typical to all periods. I will discuss some of these matters in better detail below.

Table 3: Latin suffixes in female cognomina

Suffix	Women		Names	
	-īna	4 880	38.7%	333
-iāna	1 250	9.9%	329	19.3%
-illa	2 328	18.5%	351	20.6%
-ia	1 118	8.8%	204	12.0%
-ula/-ola	952	7.5%	237	13.9%
-ulla	650	5.1%	46	2.7%
-ella	437	3.5%	16	0.9%
-cula	444	3.5%	11	0.6%
-ōsa	320	2.5%	83	4.9%
-ica	106	0.8%	38	2.2%
-itta	79	0.6%	13	0.8%
other suffixes <sup>198</sup>	57	0.5%	43	2.5%
Total	12 637		1 704	

Some observations can be made. Firstly, in terms of sheer numbers, three suffixes stand out: *-īna*, *-iāna*, and *-illa*. Of these three, and all the suffixes for that matter, *-īna* has the greatest frequency in terms of name-bearers. Both *-iāna* and *-illa*, however, exhibit similar or even higher level of productivity. *-ula/(i)ola* is also relatively high up in the list in terms of both frequency and productivity, although clearly less so than *-īna*, *-iāna*, and *-illa*. The same applies to *-ia*, but

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European languages.

<sup>197</sup> For the material, see Appendix 1. For the methodology and caveats, see 1.4.

<sup>198</sup> Including *-āna* (12), *-iō* (7), *-ō* (4), *-ālis* (5), *-īva* (2), and *-āca* (1). Also, Celtic (*-issa*, *-ua*, *-ona*, *-alla*) and Greek suffixes (*-as*, *-is*).

in the case of this suffix one needs to keep in mind that almost all cases are from late Christian sources and that before the end of the 3rd century, the use of the suffix is rather limited in terms of cognomina. Another late suffix is *-ōsa*, which, furthermore, is mostly limited to N. Africa.

Secondly, a particular characteristic for women's nomenclature is the high percentage of cases with a diminutive suffix, particularly *-illa*. All of these suffixes combined form c. 40% of all the cases (and *-illa* alone over 20% of all the different names). Of the diminutive suffixes, *-ella*, *-ulla*, and *-cula* stand out in the sense that they only produced a few names, c. 4.3% of all the cognomina, but the number of attestations is comparatively high, c. 13% of the total number. This is particularly due to three popular names: *Marcella* (361), *Tertulla* (392), and *Felicula* (420). However, these figures are somewhat misleading, since *Marcella*, for example, was often not coined productively from *Marcus* or *Marcus*, but was simply in many cases a feminine form of *Marcellus*. Furthermore, *Felicula* may also be interpreted as a derivation with the suffix *-ula* rather than *-cula* (see 2.4.6.2; 2.4.11).

For the sake of comparison, I have also compiled some statistics concerning the use of suffixes in senatorial women's cognomina (until c. 300 CE; for a comprehensive list of their cognomina, see Appendix 2).

Table 4: Latin cognomen-suffixes in senatorial women's nomenclature

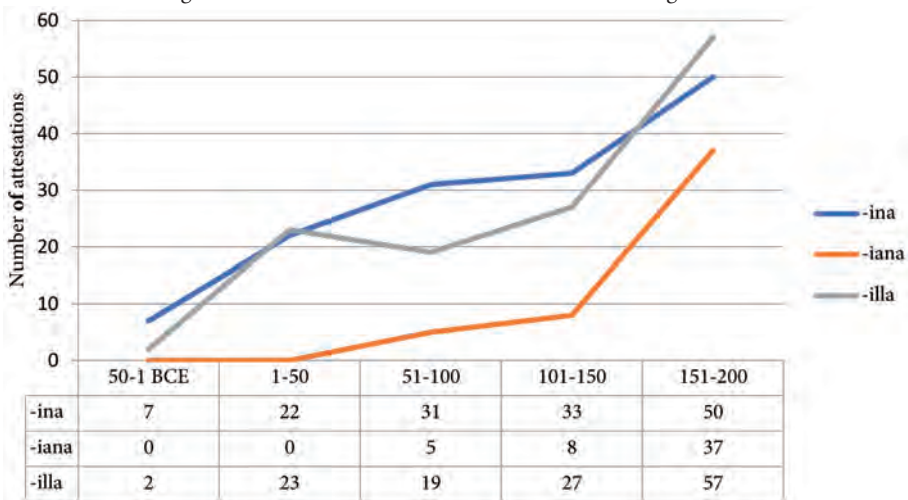
Suffix	Attestations		Names	
-īna	173	35.45%	53	23.87%
-iāna	90	18.44%	58	26.13%
-illa	159	32.58%	81	36.49%
-ula/-ola	17	3.48%	14	6.31%
-ulla	24	4.92%	7	3.15%
-ella	15	3.07%	4	1.80%
-itta	7	1.43%	2	0.90%
-ia	3	0.61%	3	1.35%
Total	488		222	

The table shows some differences in comparison to Table 3 above. Perhaps the most important one is the comparatively higher frequency of *-illa* among senatorial women (32.6% of the cases, vs. 20.1% among the 'free women'). It was also by far the most productive suffix in senatorial women's nomenclature with 81 different names. The absence, or near absence, of suffixes such as *-ia* and *-ōsa*,

on the other hand, is not surprising, since they are mostly found in later periods (and the latter is furthermore mostly restricted to Africa).<sup>199</sup>

While there are some differences in comparison to the cognomina of the Roman *plebs*, the data concerning senatorial women are in many ways more instructive, since they allow for a more detailed analysis of the diachronic use of different suffixes. Below, I have compiled a chart to illustrate the use of the three most common suffixes, i.e. *-īna*, *-illa*, and *-iāna*, over a time period of c. 250 years, from the late Republican period until c. 200 CE.

Table 5: Chronological distribution of suffixes in senatorial women's cognomina until c. 200 CE



The chart allows for some interesting observations. A striking feature is the low frequency of *-iāna* before the second century. The first few cases are from the latter half of the first century, and it is only towards the second half of the second century that names in *-iāna* become more frequent (see 2.4.4 below). The chart above does not take into consideration cases from the third century, since many of them proved more difficult in terms of precise dating and the overall number of cases is more limited. However, even in the third century, the number of *-iāna* remains stable with at least 39 cases (while cases in *-illa* are reduced to 32 and *-īna* to 31).

Both *-īna* and *-illa* are attested already during the late Republic and remain productive throughout the timeline. *-īna* shows the greatest number of attestations, which is largely due to the high frequency of three names: *Agrippina* (16), *Faustina*

<sup>199</sup> These suffixes are attested for some senatorial women in later periods, e.g. *Gaudiosa c(larissima) f(emina)* (CIL VI 31955) from 447 CE.

(14), and *Paul(l)ina* (22). It ought to be noted, however, that *Agrippina*, for example, is a slightly different case than, say, *Faustina*, since there was no separate feminine form of *Agrippa* and therefore a suffixed form was the only plausible alternative (compare appellatives of the type *rex ~ regina*). The diminutive *-illa*, however, shows the greatest productivity with 82 different names (i.e. 35.8% of all the cognomina).

#### 2.4.2 *-illa*

##### 2.4.2.1 General overview of the suffix

There were several Latin diminutive suffixes, which originated in the Indo-European *\*-lo*-stems. These were *-ula* (*-ola* after *i* and *e*), *-cula* (a combination with IE's *\*-ko-*), *-illa*, *-ella*, and *-ulla*.<sup>200</sup> The most productive and widely used of these diminutive suffixes in Latin names was *-illa*. It was also a predominantly female suffix, since it is primarily and predominantly attested for women, while masculine forms in *-illus* are rare.<sup>201</sup>

Diminutive suffixes are always multifunctional, and the 'diminutive function' in itself is not homogeneous.<sup>202</sup> As a generalization, however, it can be said that the core function was to express smallness, tenderness, and also weakness – all aspects that men associated with women in Roman society, or at least aspects that were more readily attributed to women than to men.<sup>203</sup> Alongside and tied to this function there was also the hypocoristic function of creating pet names (Ger. 'Koseform').<sup>204</sup> Naturally, this function is particularly relevant in terms of personal names.

Outside onomastics, the suffix *-illus/a* was never used in adjectives and only rarely attached to nouns.<sup>205</sup> In female cognomina, however, *-illa* was a very productive suffix and the earliest cognomina in *-illa* are attested already during

<sup>200</sup> For the origin of Latin diminutive suffixes, cf. Hakamies 1951; Leumann 1977 § 282 F; cf. also Haverling 2011.

<sup>201</sup> One only needs to take a look at the reverse catalogue of Latin cognomina in Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium* to verify this. While the catalogue does not take into account the number of name-bearers, the small amount of different cognomina in *-illus* speaks for itself. According to the statistics compiled by Kajanto (1965, 103), only 8% of all the cases in *-illus/a* are attested for men.

<sup>202</sup> Haverling 2011, 254. For a comprehensive study of the various semantic functions of Latin diminutive suffixes, see Hanssen 1953.

<sup>203</sup> For the idea of *infirmitas sexus* in Roman law, cf. Dixon 1984.

<sup>204</sup> For the different functions of Latin diminutive suffixes, cf. Leumann 1977 § 282.

<sup>205</sup> Some examples include *bovillus* (also *bovinus*), *ovillus*, *pulvillus*, *regillus*, *suillus* (later *suinus*). For more discussion, cf. Haverling 2011; Strodach 1933.

the late Republic, that is when the use of cognomina started to gain ground in women's nomenclature (see Chapter 3 for the earliest attestations). In senatorial women's nomenclature, *-illa* was in fact the primary suffix until the second century CE. There are also many cases in *-ina*, in the early period, but these are mostly coined from masculine names in *-a* which did not have separate feminine forms to start with (see 2.4.3 below).

The catalogue of Latin female cognomina (Appendix 1) includes c. 350 names coined with *-illa*. Five of these are attested more than a hundred times (numbers after Kajanto 1965): *Primilla* (148), *Priscilla* (141), *Maximilla* (130), *Lucilla* (118), *Secundilla* (103). It seems that *-illa* could be attached to almost any type of cognomen, including other suffixed cognomina (see 2.4.2.2), and it was also used to coin cognomina from gentilicia (2.4.2.3) and from praenomina (2.4.2.4). The only 'limitations' seem to have been set by phonetic factors (avoiding forms of the type *\*(i)l(l)illa*; see the discussion below). It follows that it is sometimes difficult to know if the cognomen was derived from a nomen or another cognomen. For instance, a cognomen such as *Licinilla* could technically be from the nomen *Licinius* or the cognomen *Licinus*.

#### 2.4.2.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-illa*

When looking at the most frequently attested cognomina with the suffix *-illa*, we can see that most of these were coined from other cognomina. If we take into consideration all *-illa*-names with 15 or more attestations (cf. Appendix 1), we end up with the following list of names:

*Primilla* (148), *Pricilla* (141), *Maximilla* (130), *Lucil(l)a* (118), *Secundilla* (103), *Quintilla* (75), *Quartilla* (74), *Faustilla* (73), *Procilla* (66), *Rufil(l)a*, *Atticilla* (63), *Bassilla* (54), *Salvilla* (31), *Flaccilla* (30), *Gratilla* (28), *Clementilla* (27), *Crescentilla* (26), *Ursilla* (25), *Firmilla* (22), *Pudentilla* (22), *Severilla* (22), *Martil(l)a* (19), *Nepotilla* (19), *Urbanil(l)a* (19), *Balbilla* (18), *Quadratilla* (18), *Crispinilla* (17), *Mercatilla* (17), *Domitilla* (15), *Sabinilla* (15).

With the exception of *Domitilla*, which must have been derived from the nomen *Domitius*, all of the names above were or could be derived from other cognomina. To be sure, names such as *Quintilla*, *Severilla* and *Sabinilla* may have sometimes been derived from the nomina *Quintius*, *Severius* and *Sabinus* rather than *Quintus*, *Severus* and *Sabinus*, but it is safe to assume that most of the cases were, indeed, derived from cognomina (for evidence regarding cognomina derived from nomina with *-illa*, see 2.4.2.3 below).

As noted above, *illa* could be attached to practically all types of cognomina, be they names of the first and second declension (*Faustilla*, *Priscilla*, *Rufilla*) or

names of the third declension (*Clementilla*, *Falconilla*). In fact, *-illa* seems to have been the primary *-lo*-suffix when coining cognomina from names and words of the third declension. Furthermore, *-illa* was the only *-lo*-suffix that was used to derive cognomina from present participles and adjectives similar to them (*Amantilla*, *Crescent-illa*, *Florent-illa*, *Prudent-illa*, *Valent-illa*, etc.). However, whilst *-illa* was attached to names of the first/second declension already at an early stage (e.g. *Rufilla*, *Drusilla*; see Chapter 3), cognomina derived from names of the third declension, especially *onstems* (e.g. *Falconilla*, *Varronilla*), are rare before the mid-first century CE.<sup>206</sup> With certain stems, the suffix could produce a seemingly irregular form through haplology. For derivations of the type *Procilla* (instead of *\*Proculilla*), *Caepilla* (instead of *\*Caepionilla*), and *Frontilla* (vs. *Frontonilla*), see 2.4.14 below.

*-illa* could also be attached to other suffixed formations. In later periods it was combined, in particular, with formations in *-iānus*, resulting in the termination *-iānilla*. As will be seen below, names of this type occur regularly in the Christian material, dating mostly from the third, fourth and fifth centuries CE, but the style seems to have been also common in African inscriptions. I have been able to find the following cases:

*Altianilla* (*ICUR* 21212, 4th/5th c.), *Anthianilla* (2),<sup>207</sup> *Appianilla* (*IRT* 579, Lepcis Magna, 250–300 CE), *Arrianilla* (2),<sup>208</sup> *Attianilla* (*CIL* III 9766, Aequum, 1–150), *Cantianilla*,<sup>209</sup> *Cassianilla* (*AE* 2008, 1055, Spalatum, 3rd/4th c.), *Donatianilla* (*ILCV* 331, Afr.; late), *Fabianilla* (2),<sup>210</sup> *Fadianilla* (*IL Afr* 512 = *AE* 1912, 165; 228 CE), *Faustianilla* (*ILTun* 263), *Flavianilla* (7),<sup>211</sup> *Fulvianilla* (*CIL* II 4522, Barcino, 130–200), *Fuscianilla* (*AE* 1981, 348, Volsinii, 2nd/early 3rd c.),

<sup>206</sup> The first senatorial woman attested with a name of this type is a Varronilla, Vestal virgin who was condemned to death by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 8; her nomen is not known). Other cases are Pompeia Sosia Falconilla (*PFOS* 632), daughter of Q. Pompeius Sossius Priscus (*cos.* 149), and Caninia Gargonilla (*PFOS* 188), wife of Ti. Claudius Severus (*cos.* during the Severan period).

<sup>207</sup> *AE* 1910, 203 (Brundisium, 144 CE), Clodia L. f. Anthianilla, *splendissima puella* (for her father L. Clodius L. f. Pollio, *eques Romanus*, cf. *AE* 2008, 415); also *CIL* VI 11856.

<sup>208</sup> *CIL* VI 12404 (3rd c.) Arria Arrianilla; *CIL* V 3459 (Verona), Arianilla (*sic*).

<sup>209</sup> *ILCV* 1910a (Aquileia), *Sanctus Cantius san(ctus Can)tianus Sancta Cantianilla san(ctus) Quirinus san(ctus) Latinus*.

<sup>210</sup> *ASRSP* 1987, 10a (Rome, 3rd c.); *ICUR* 16193 (4th/5th c.).

<sup>211</sup> Duval 1975, no. 129 (Africa); *ILAlg* I 1082; *ICUR* 2741 (5th c.); 7060 (4th/5th c.); 13535 (4th/5th c., 'Flabianilla'); 16226 (325–375, [Fl]abia Flabianilla); 16318 (4th/5th c.). For Flavia Flavianilla, *c(larissima) p(ue)lla*, see below.

*Gaianilla*/*Caianilla* (2),<sup>212</sup> *Lavianilla* (*CIL* X 6419 = *ICUR* II 4535, 4th/5th c.), *Marcianilla* (2),<sup>213</sup> *Marianilla* (5),<sup>214</sup> *Muccianilla* (*AE* 1986, 196, Aquileia, 4th c.), *Mucianilla* (*ICUR* 8785, 290–325 CE), *N(a)evianilla* (*AE* 2012, 1587, Ancyra), *Octavianilla* (*IL Afr* 162,36), *Peticianilla*,<sup>215</sup> *Rogatianilla* (*CIL* VIII 23792, Afr.), *Salvianilla* (*CIL* VIII 1675, Afr.), *Servianilla* (see below), *Statianilla* (2; see below), *Valerianilla* (*AE* 1994, 554, Tibur, 70–150; daughter of Valeria Apollonia).<sup>216</sup>

Of these cases, at least 14 are attested in Africa. There are, notably, several senatorial women from the African provinces, who had a name of this type during the third century: Flavia Flavianilla, *c(larissima) p(uella)* (*CIL* VIII 12545 = *AE* 1993, 1748, 250–300 CE); [V]aleria P. f. Marianilla, *[c]larissima f(emina)* (*CIL* VIII 26273); Cornelia Servianilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)*, daughter of M. Cornelius Bassus Servianus (*IRT* 443/524, Severan period); Fl(avia) Statianilla, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* (*CIL* VIII 11335); as well as Servaea Fl(avia) Statianilla Valeriana, *c(larissima) p(uella)*, relative of the former (*CIL* VIII 238 = 11337, 3rd c.). Kajanto 1965 also lists the following names, which are attested in other sources: *Martianilla*, *Papianilla*, *Pontianilla*, Κατιανύλλα.<sup>217</sup>

Most of the names in *-iānilla* were coined from nomina gentilia (e.g. *Fabianilla*, *Flav-ianilla*), which is not a surprise, given the fact that *-iānus/a* was primarily attached to gentile names (cf. 2.4.4.3). There are, however, also names that originate in other cognomina, e.g. *Donatianilla* (< *Donatus* + *-iān-* + *-illa*) or *Faustianilla* (< *Faustus* < *-iān-* < *-illa*).

<sup>212</sup> *IL Afr* 412,41 (Carthago); *AE* 1965, 111 (Pann. sup., 3rd c.).

<sup>213</sup> Antonia Marcianilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)* (*CIL* VI 1723, 355/356 CE); *ICUR* 17925 (390–425 CE).

<sup>214</sup> [V?]aleria f. Marianilla, *[c]larissima f(emina)* (*CIL* VIII 26273, Afr., 3rd c.); *IL Alg* II.3 8866 (Afr.); *ICUR* 19087 (4th c.) [M]arianilla; two cases from Alpes Maritimae: *CIL* V 7945 & *ILAM* 375.

<sup>215</sup> *AE* 1977, 22 (Rome, 230–270 CE): Fl. Veratia Peticianilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)*.

<sup>216</sup> There is also a senatorial woman, whose cognomen has sometimes been restored as *H[adrianil]la* but this is pure speculation and can hardly be taken as serious evidence. Cf. *PFOS* 352, in which the restorations *H[adrianil]la* and *H[ispanil]la* are suggested, but these are extremely doubtful and, as far as I see it, the name could be many other things as well, e.g. *H[erennil]la* or *H[ortensil]la*. Even the initial letter of the cognomen is somewhat obscure, and in lack of more evidence it is best to leave the name simply as *Fabia H?[-]la*, or even *Fabia ...la*, as documented in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 73.

<sup>217</sup> The name *Martianilla* is attested for a Christian woman, the wife of a certain Geminus Valentius, both attested in *Tab. Albertini* 23 dating from from 495 CE; *Papianilla* is attested for three women, all from the 5th c. (including the wife of Sidonius Apollinaris; cf. *PLRE* II 830); *Pontianilla* is known from *Cod. Inst.* 6,53,4 (in 204 CE; cf. Kajanto 1965, 153).



The combination of these two suffixes also occurs the other way around, viz. *-illa* + *-iāna*, thus resulting in *-illiana*, although this suffix is only rarely found in women's nomenclature (see below under the suffix *-iāna*).

The suffix *-illa* was also frequently attached to cognomina in *-īnus/a*, thus resulting in the ending *-īnilla*. One needs to be cautious, however, since there were many other cognomina ending in *-īnilla* that were not productively coined with the two suffixes. These were, on the one hand, names of the type *Sabinilla*, *Latinilla* (from the cognomina *Sabinus* and *Latinus*) and, on the other hand, names of the type *Licinilla*, *Gabinilla* (from the gentilicia *Licinius* and *Gabinus*). I will now only focus on genuine formations in *-īnilla*. It is certainly not always easy to discern whether a name (e.g. *Firminilla*) derives from a cognomen (*Firmus* + *-in* + *-illa*) or from a nomen (*Firminius* + *-illa*), but I have in principle assumed that the name derives from a cognomen if the nomen is only rarely attested. At least the following names are on record:

*Albinilla*,<sup>218</sup> *Celsinilla* (*IL Afr* 414 = *AE* 1915, 37, 3rd c.), *Censorinilla*,<sup>219</sup> *Crispinilla* (22),<sup>220</sup> *Faustinilla*,<sup>221</sup> *Firminilla* (2),<sup>222</sup> *Flaccinilla* (2),<sup>223</sup> *Fuscinilla* (4),<sup>224</sup> *Longinilla* (*IMS* III,2 63 = *IL Jug* III 1319, 130–200 CE), *Macrinilla* (*CIL*

<sup>218</sup> *CIL* II 771 (Lusitania, 70–200 CE): *Albinilla Albini f(ilia)*.

<sup>219</sup> *CIL* III 4191 = *RIU* I 66 (Savaria, 100–150 CE), Valeria Censorinilla (compare also her father L. Val. L. f. Cl. Censorinus and brother Valerius Censorinianus).

<sup>220</sup> Iulia L. f. Valeria Marciana Crispinilla, *c(larissima) m(emoriae) f(emina)* (*PFOS* 463) and her daughter Flavia Crispinilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)* (*PFOS* 366), attested in *AE* 1986, 155 (Puteoli, 165–172 CE); Calvia Crispinilla (*PFOS* 184; active under Nero); Varinia Crispinilla, equestrian elite, 2nd c. (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 266); Telesinia Crispinilla, equestrian, 2nd c. (*CIL* IX 2228/2229); *SupplIt* 8-Ba, 6 = *AE* 1988, 365 = *AE* 1991, 507 (Barium, 50–79); *AE* 1972, 102 (Tarentum, 61–96 CE); *CIL* XI 703 (Bononia, 3rd c.); *CIL* III 1988 = 1989 = *IL Jug* III 2077 (Dalmatia, 1–130 CE); *AE* 1981, 703 (Dalmatia, 3rd/4th c.); *CIL* XIV 389 (Ostia, 2nd c.); *IMS* III,2 62 = *IL Jug* III 1320 (Moesia sup., 130–200); *AE* 2001, 357 (Rome, 70–200 CE); *CIL* VI 9062 (2nd c.); 14290 (2nd c.); 16586; 24511; 25514; 25677; 26267 (dates unclear); *CIL* IX 6888 (Rome, 2nd/3rd c.); *ILCV* 753 (Rome, 3rd c.).

<sup>221</sup> [--]nia Faustinilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)*, attested during the third century together with [A]urelia Nemesiana, also *c(larissima) f(emina)* (*CIL* XV 7414; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 126).

<sup>222</sup> *CIL* XIII 8401 (Germania, 2nd/3rd c.); *CIL* III 14086 = *AE* 2012, 1138 (Pannonia sup., 150–300 CE).

<sup>223</sup> Iunia Flaccinilla (*PFOS* 471), wife of M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex (*cos. suff.* 175?); Acutia Flaccinilla, wife of Aelius Processus, *eques Romanus*, attested at Lambaesis during the 2nd/3rd c. (*CIL* VIII 3296).

<sup>224</sup> Fabia Fuscinilla, *clarissima et omnium virtutum fecundissima femina* (*CIL* VI 31711 = *CLE* 1306, 3rd c.; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 76); *CIL* IX 6083,28 (Aeclanum, 220–230 CE); *CIL* III 4375 = *RIU* I 275

III 11977, 170–250 CE), *Murinilla* (AE 1905, 240, Carnuntum, 150–200 CE), [N]igrinilla (ILAfr 588,63, Thugga, 150–270), *Rufinilla* (2),<sup>225</sup> *Spesinilla* (AE 1974, 704, Madaurus., 4th/5th c.), *Subulcinilla* (CIL IX 5551, Picenum, 75–150 CE), *Tuscinilla* (BCTH 1943/45, 126, Afr. proc., 2nd/3rd c.).

As can be seen, *Crispinilla* was, by far, the most popular name of this type with 22 attestations, nearly half of all the 48 cases. Like in the case of *-iānilla*, names in *inilla* are mostly attested from the second century onwards. The exception, again, is *Crispinilla*, which is attested already during the early first century, clearly because *Crispina* appears already early in women's nomenclature.<sup>226</sup>

#### 2.4.2.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-illa*

While most of the frequently attested names in *-illa* were coined from cognomina, the suffix could also be attached to nomina. In fact, women's cognomina coined from nomina exhibit significantly more variation in terms of suffixes than similar cognomina used by men, which were almost exclusively coined with the suffix *-iānus*. Names of the type *Antonilla*, *Baebilla*, *Claudilla*, *Clodilla*, *Gabilla*, *Granilla*, *Domitilla*, *Fadilla*, *Flavilla*, *Fulvilla*, *Furnilla*, *Iunilla*, *Licinilla*, *Naevilla*, *Plautilla*, *Plotilla*, *Septimilla*, *Servilla*, *Urgulanilla*, *Valerilla* were surely in most cases derived from nomina. The only technical limitation seems to have been a phonetic one. In other words, endings of the type *\*(i)l(l)illa* were generally avoided. There are, for instance, no cases of *\*Iul-illa* on record (from *Iulius*), while *Iun-illa* (from *Iunius*) exists; nor are there any clear cases of *\*Ael-illa* (from *Aelius*) or *\*Quintil-illa* (from *Quintilius*),<sup>227</sup> even if *Quintilla* was a common name (from *Quintius* or *Quintus*).<sup>228</sup> In theory, *Quintilla* could in some cases be a derivation from *Quintilius* (through haplology), in the same way as the cognomen *Lucilla* could be used as a derivation of *Lucilia*, but there is no clear evidence to support this.

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(Arrabona, 2nd c.), recording Iulia Fuscinilla and her son Iulius Fuscus; CIL XV 7523d = AE 1889, 9 (Rome, date unclear).

<sup>225</sup> AE 1995, 1249 (Savaria, 100–250); CIL VI 12009 = CLE 1218 (Rome, 2nd/3rd c.), recording Antonia Rufinill(a) as well as her mother Antonia [Ru]fina and brother [Antonius] Rufinus.

<sup>226</sup> For a senatorial *Crispina* of the Augustan period, see 3.3.1 below.

<sup>227</sup> There is one possible, yet dubious case of *Quintillilla*: CIL III 15159 (Aquincum, 170–230) has the following reading in the EDCS: ... *Quintili/ll}ano filio posu(it) Aurelia Qu(i)n/til{i}la coniu(gi) et filibus* ... It seems, however, possible that instead of *Qu(i)ntil{i}la* the mother's name could be read *Qu(i)ntilil(l)a* or perhaps *Quintili}la*.

<sup>228</sup> There are some names of the type *Paililla* (CIL VIII 14646), but in this case the antepenultima is a diphthong (*-ai-*).

Cognomina coined from nomina with *-illa* are particularly well attested for senatorial women already from early on. The earliest clearly datable cases are from the beginning of the Empire: (AELIA) IUNILLA (*PFOS* 14), daughter of L. Aelius Seianus (the praetorian prefect under Tiberius) and granddaughter of a Iunia;<sup>229</sup> IUNIA CLAUDILLA (*PFOS* 470), daughter of M. Iunius Silanus and wife of the emperor Caligula, whose paternal grandmother was a patrician Claudia;<sup>230</sup> and PLAUTIA URGULANILLA (*PFOS* 619), daughter of M. Plautius Silvanus (*cos.* 2 BCE) and an otherwise unknown Urgulania.<sup>231</sup> The cognomen *Livilla* is attested for IULIA LIVILLA, one of the daughters of Germanicus and Agrippina. In her case, though, the name derives from her aunt (Claudia) Livia, in whose case *Livia* was a nomen used as a cognomen rather than a genuine gentilicium (and in some sources she is called *Livilla*)<sup>232</sup> – though it is clear that the name also established a connection to the empress Livia, wife of Augustus, and to the Livii more generally.

There are plenty of examples of upper-class women with a cognomen, which evidently or most probably was derived from a gentilicium with *-illa* (and not, for instance, from another cognomen):<sup>233</sup> ANTONIA FURNILLA (*PFOS* 77), daughter of L. Antonius Rufus (*cos.* 45 CE) and possibly a Furnia;<sup>234</sup> VERANIA OCTAVILLA

<sup>229</sup> Tacitus informs us that Seianus's *avunculus* was Iunius Blaesus (*Tac. ann.* 3,72; 4,26), which means that Iunilla's grandmother was a Iunia.

<sup>230</sup> She is often thought to have borne the praenomen *Appia* (hence *PFOS* 214, *Appia* (Claudia); cf. also *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 824), which indeed seems appropriate given the context. The existence of the praenomen is based on U. Weidemann's (1963) emendation of *Tac. ann.* 3,68,2 as *Appia pro alia*, which has been largely accepted (thus H. Heubner in the Teubner edition of 1983; cf. also Syme 1986, 194; and recently Salomies 2017, 121). One should, however, also take into consideration the idea proposed by Kajava 1994, 138, namely that her name, in reality, was 'Claudia A. f. Silani' and that Tacitus (or his source) simply made an error. *Appia*, in this case, ought to be understood as 'the daughter of Appius'. Kajava's idea is to a certain extent supported by the fact that all other daughters of the Silani are recorded either with only their nomen or with a combination of their nomen and cognomen (and since no other Claudiae are known to have been called by the name *Appia*). However, I would not refute the possibility that she was indeed called *Appia* (Claudia).

<sup>231</sup> Compare also the nomenclature of her brother A. Plautius Urgulanius.

<sup>232</sup> For her nomenclature, see Nuorluoto 2020.

<sup>233</sup> For example, in the case of Arria Fadilla (*PFOS* 99), daughter of Arrius Antoninus (*cos. suff.* 69, II 97), we cannot be entirely sure if the cognomen was derived from the nomen *Fadius* or the cognomen *Fadus*.

<sup>234</sup> A connection can be established to C. Furnius (*cos.* 17 BCE), whose daughter or (more likely) granddaughter was perhaps married to L. Antonius Rufus, as suggested by Salomies 2017, 128 n. 48. The name *Furnilla* was also transmitted to Antonia Furnilla's daughter Marcia Furnilla (*PFOS* 525).

(*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 393), daughter of Q. Veranius (*cos.* 49) and perhaps an Octavia;<sup>235</sup> FLAVIA DOMITILLA (*PFOS* 367), daughter of Flavius Liberalis and a Domitia; VALERIA VETILLA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 247), daughter of P. Valerius Patruinus (*cos. suff.* 82) and presumably a Vettia;<sup>236</sup> LIVIA C. F. LIVILLA (*PFOS* 499, probably not senatorial, though);<sup>237</sup> and CLAUDIA TI. F. FADILLA (*PFOS* 237), recorded together with her *parens* C. Fadius Auctus (*CIL* IX 2390).<sup>238</sup>

As for women of the lower classes, we do not often have enough information to know for sure if an *-illa*-formation was derived from a gentilicium or perhaps from some other name. It is, in any case, clear that cognomina derived from nomina with *-illa* form only a small part of the all the names coined with *-illa* (in contrast to senatorial women, among whom the frequency is higher). I mentioned above some 20 different cognomina that most likely were coined from cognomina, at least in most cases. There are also names of the type *Quintilla Sabinilla Severilla* which in some cases could be derived from nomina (*Quintius Sabinus Severius*) but in many cases they were probably derivations from other names (*Quintus Sabinus Severus*). When considering the low frequency of names of this type in general (most of the names are attested only once or twice; *Domitilla*, with the highest frequency, has 15 attestations in Kajanto 1965) and the fact that we know over 350 female cognomina in *-illa* in general, it becomes evident that derivations from nomina with *-illa* were relatively few.

One should also take into consideration names of the type *Flavianilla* and *Valerianilla*, which obviously can be traced back to the nomina *Flavius* and *Valerius*. It is, however, clear that the termination *-iānilla* is the combination of two suffixes (*-iānus* + *-illa*) and, thus, we are primarily dealing with derivations from other cognomina rather than nomina (*Flavianus/Valerianus* + *-illa*).

Sometimes we are lucky to have evidence that clearly shows that a cognomen was derived from a nomen. Take, for instance, the following cases: *CIL* X 2701

<sup>235</sup> Cf. the discussion regarding Octavilla and her sister Gemina in 3.3.2 below.

<sup>236</sup> She is attested in Xanthos (*F. Xanthos* VII n. 42 = *AE* 1981, 826b) as Οὐαλέρια Βετίλλα. Her mother, it is assumed, was an unknown daughter of M. Vettius Marcellus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 477) and Helvidia Priscilla (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 62). For her possible granddaughter Domitia Vettilla, cf. Appendix 4e.

<sup>237</sup> She is known from an inscription from Tibur, dating from the first century CE (*CIL* XIV 3796). Nothing else is known of her, and it seems to me dubious that she even belonged to the Roman aristocracy. The assumption seems to be based purely on her nomenclature – but this is hardly sufficient evidence for anything, since none of the onomastic items are particularly distinct. In any case, her cognomen was clearly derived from a nomen – in this case her own.

<sup>238</sup> She is also attested as *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* in her epitaph at Beneventum (*NSA* 1910, 283) and as *c(larissima) f(emina), sacerdos divarum Augustarum* at Allifae (*CIL* IX 2347).

(Puteoli), Marcia Drusilla, daughter of Drusius Valens; *CIL* II 5378 (Italica), Licinia Licinilla; *AE* 1905, 208 (Praeneste), Plotia L. f. Plotilla; *CIL* XII 3175 = 3368 (Nemausus), Adgennia Licinilla, daughter of Sex. Adgennius Macrinus and Licinia L. f. Flavilla (also the mother's cognomen is perhaps coined from *Flavius*); *CIL* VI 23431 (Rome), Plotia Plotilla; *CECapitolini* 134 (Rome), Sabinia Sabinilla; *CIL* III 168 (Berytus), Vettia Vet(t)illa; *CIL* III 9187 (Salona), Iunilla, daughter of Iunia Epagathinaris; *CIL* IX 2614 (Terventum), [Nu]misilla and Numisia N. f. Marcella (relationship unclear but they were clearly related); *CIL* VI 2063 (Lugdunum): Ant[onia] Antonilla; *ILAlg* I 2610 (Madaurus): Maria Plautilla, daughter of C. Marius Securus Rogatianus and Plautia Romana; *BCTH* 1938/40, 334 (Numidia), Spania Spanilla; *SEG* XXXIII 1195 (Cappadocia): Κοισία Γράνιλλα, daughter of Κοίστιος Φλώρος and Γρανία Νίγελλα; just to give some examples.

There are also cases, in which a name in *-illa* was clearly chosen because it resembled a gentilicium, even if it was not technically coined from it according to the grammatical rules, e.g. *CIL* XIII 11862 (Mogontiacum), *Lucania Lucilla* (cf. the discussion in 2.4.14).

#### 2.4.2.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-illa*

Sometimes *-illa* was attached to men's praenomina, particularly to *L(ucius)* (>*Lucilla*) and *Q(uintus)* (>*Quintilla*). The cases cannot be dated with precision, but they are primarily from a period between c. 75 and 250 CE.<sup>239</sup>

##### *Lucilla*:

*CIL* VI 9664 = *ILS* 7536 (Roma, late 1st/2nd c.): Lepidia L. f. Lucilla.

*CIL* VI 9747 (2nd c.): Iulia L. f. Lucilla.

*CIL* X 1686 (Puteoli, late 1st/early 2nd c.): (Bovia) Lucilla, daughter of L. Bovius L. f. and Sexia L. f. Nerula (for the parents, cf. *CIL* X 1685).

*AE* 1982, 212 = 1988, 357 = 1989, 190 (Herdonia, 200–222 CE): Axia L. f. Lucilla.

*CIL* II 1081 (Naeva, 2nd/early 3rd c.): Tatia L. f. Lucilla.

*CIL* II 1342 = Navarro Caballero 2017, p. 45 no. 140 (Lacilbula, 2nd c.): [Iu]nia L. f. Lucilla.

*CIL* II 1375 = *CILA* II.3 909 (Basilippo, mid-2nd c.): Marcia L. f. Lucilla.

*CILA* II.3 1000 = *HEp* 1997, 863 (Nebrissa Veneris, late 2nd/early 3rd c.): Cornelia L. f. Lucilla.

<sup>239</sup> Judging, amongst other things, by the abbreviated *D(is) M(anibus)* in most of the cases.

- CIL* II.13, 324 = *HEp* 1990, 373 (Segobriga, 70–130 CE): Porcia L. f. Lucilla.  
*CIL* III 1988 (= 1989) = *ILJug* III 2077 (Salona, 1st/early 2nd c.): Caedicia L. f. Luc[illa?] (the cognomen is not certain).  
*CIL* XII 885 (Arelate, date unclear): Syria L. f. Lucilla.  
*CIL* XII 901 (Arelate, 75–250 CE): Valeria L. f. Lucilla (her son was called Cn. Cornelius Lucilianus).  
*CIL* VIII 26965 (Thugga, 2nd c.): Iulia L. f. Lucilla.  
*ILAlg* II.2 6022 = *AE* 1906, 96 (Thibilis, 75–200): Vitruvia L. f. Lucilla.  
*CIL* VI 29558 (date unclear), Volusia Lucilla L. l., freedwoman of L. Volusius Logismus.  
*ILAlg* II.1 3758 (Castellum Tidditanorum, date unclear): Grania L. f. Lucilla.  
 There is also *CIL* VIII 23327 (Afr. proc., 2nd c.), recording Aufidia Lucilla Aufidiana, daughter of L. Aufidius Restutus, in whose case the first cognomen seems to derive from the father's praenomen (with *-illa*) and the second from his nomen (with *-iāna*).

*Quintilla* was often probably derived from the nomen *Quintius*, but there are some cases, in which the name seems to have derived from the praenomen *Quintus*:

- CIL* IX 1421 (Aequum Tuticum, late 1st/2nd c.): Paccia Q. f. Quintilla.  
*CIL* VI 19148 = *AE* 1982, 77 (Roma, 100–125 CE): Hateria Q. f. Quintilla.  
*CIL* II 5068 = 5550 = *HEp* 2009, 52 = Navarro Caballero 2017, p. 56 nr 289 (Lacimurga, early 2nd c.): Norbana Q. f. Quintilla.  
*AE* 1962, 143 (Vasio, Flavian period?) Antistia Q. f. Pia Quintilla, *flaminica colonia Flavia Tricastinorum*.  
*CIL* II 5187 = *IRCP* 295 (Pax Iulia, mid-2nd c.): Iulia Q. f. Quintilla.  
*CIL* II 245 (Olisipo, 75–200 CE): Postumia Q. f. Quintilla.  
*CIL* II 267 (Olisipo, 1st c.): Cassia Q. f. Quintilla.  
*ILAlg* II.1 3045 (Celtianis, 2nd c.): Manilia Q. f. Quintilla.  
*AE* 1962, 143 = 1979, 402 (Vasio, early 1st c.): Antistia Q. f. Pia Quintilla.

There is also *CIL* II 3799 (Edeta): *Q(uinto) Caecili[o] / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Gal(eria) / Potito / Quintillae patronae*. The relationship of the two individuals is not clear, but they were obviously related, perhaps father and daughter. In any case it is clear that Quintilla was not the *patrona* of the freeborn Q. Caecilius Q. f. Gal. Potitus but of the otherwise unknown commissioner of the monument.<sup>240</sup>

<sup>240</sup> In *HEp* 12346 Quintilla is erroneously presented as the *patrona* of Q. Cornelius Potitus: “Dedicatoria a Q. Cornelius Q. f. Gal. Potitus y Quintilla, su patrona” (and the nomen is also erroneously *Cornelius* instead of *Caecilius*).

There are also cases of the type *Quintilla Quinti filia* (*CIL* II 347, Olisipo; *CIL* III 5032, Noreia), but in these cases it is unclear how to interpret the father's name.

One also needs to be cautious when drawing conclusions based on the filiation alone. For example, in *CIL* XII 2739, we have a woman called Iulia Q. f. Quintilla, daughter of Q. Iulius Quintinus. If the father's full name was not on record, one would not be aware of the resemblance between his and the daughter's cognomina (though it seems equally clear that the father's cognomen was derived from his praenomen). A similar case is *CIL* XII 2793, recording F(rontonia) Quintilla, daughter of Q. Frontonius Quintinus.

As for female cognomina derived from other praenomina with *-illa*, there is only little evidence available. The form *Gailla* is attested as a cognomen, but a clear connection to the praenomen *C(aius)* cannot be established (e.g. *AE* 2008, 1090, Aurel(ia) Gailla). The same applies to *Publilla*, which is found as a cognomen once in an African inscription of Imperial date (*CIL* VIII 16263), and to *Marcilla*, which is attested as a cognomen in Lepcis Magna (*IRT* 754u). In the case of the latter, it is, in fact, possible that the name was simply an orthographic variant of *Marcella* or rather a derivation from *Marcus* (compare also L. Acutius Marcillus in *AE* 1956, 36 = 2014, 501, Tarvisium). In any case, it is probable that the name was not derived from the praenomen *Marcus*. Nor is there clear evidence of *Sextilla* being coined from the praenomen *Sextus*. In fact, it is more probable that the name (14 cases recorded by Kajanto 1965) was normally derived from the numeral cognomen *Sexta*.

### 2.4.3 *-ina*

#### 2.4.3.1 General overview of the suffix

Unlike *-illa*, the suffix *-inus/a* was widely used in Latin to derive not only names but also words of the lexicon.<sup>241</sup> As for names, the catalogue of cognomina in Appendix 1 includes over 330 female cognomina in *-ina*, which are attested for 4 869 women. Some of these names were particularly popular, as will be seen.

One function of the suffix, like that of several other Latin suffixes, was to indicate the 'belonging to'. In early times the suffix could, for instance, be added to a cognomen in the simple form to indicate kinship, e.g. *Alb-inus* would have initially been 'the son of Albus' or 'Albus junior' (that is, when coined from *Albus*

<sup>241</sup> For *-inus/a* in Latin word-formation, cf. Leumann 1977 § 228.

and not from the nomen *Albius*).<sup>242</sup> But the suffix could also initially indicate one's 'having to do' with something. Take for instance the cognomen *Censorinus*, which was earned by M. Rutilius Censorinus (*cos.* 310 BCE) for having been censor twice, in 294 and 265 BCE (thus, 'Ex-Censor').<sup>243</sup> During the Empire, however, the primary function of the suffix in name-formation must have simply been that of name-variation.<sup>244</sup>

From a formal point of view, *-īna* could be attached to almost any stem (*Agrippa* > *Agrippina*; *Albus* > *Albina*; *Constans* > *Constantina*; *Piso* > *Pisonina*; *Antonius* > *Antonina*).

As for the chronology, female cognomina in *īna* are attested already from the late Republican/Augustan period onwards and they remain popular throughout the Empire. It might, however, be worth pointing out that most of the early forms were derivations from men's cognomina which did not have a separate feminine form to start with (*Agripp-ina*, etc.). The cognomen *Paullina* is also attested in this period, but the non-suffixed *Paulla/Polla* was far more common among the general populace (see Chapter 3). Other than that, formations in *īna*, of the type *Rufina*, *Quartina*, are generally speaking more typical to later times (from the mid-first century onwards) – but this, in general, applies to most suffixed forms, which become more and more numerous in the course of the Imperial period.

In later Latin, *-īnus/a* also obtained a certain diminutive function (compare for example the many Italian diminutive forms of the type *camerino*, *poverino*). In personal names, however, this function does not seem to have been very significant, at least during the focal period of this study.<sup>245</sup> This is suggested by the fact that *-īnus* was also a popular suffix in men's nomenclature (whilst diminutives in general were predominantly used in women's nomenclature)

#### 2.4.3.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-īna*

The suffix *-īna* did not produce as many names as *-illa*, but, due to several particularly popular cognomina, it did have a higher frequency. These popular names were almost exclusively coined from other cognomina, as is evident from the following cognomina in *-īna* with more than 100 attestations in Kajanto

<sup>242</sup> See Leumann 1977 § 296.

<sup>243</sup> *Censorinus* then became hereditary in his family. The female form *Censorina* is also attested for a Marcia in the late Republic; see 3.3.1.

<sup>244</sup> As Leumann (1943, 151) puts it: "Im Latein kann der Betrachter dieses Suffixes *-īnus* bei Namen zunächst keine andere Funktion erkennen als die der Namensvariation."

<sup>245</sup> For the diminutive function of *-īnus* in late Latin, see Niedermann 1954.



1965: *Rufina* (403), *Victorina* (357), *Secundina* (296), *Faustina* (287), *Paul(l)ina* (228), *Marcellina* (218), *Valentina* (209), *Severina* (143), *Iustina* (124), *Crispina* (115), *Maximina* (110). The corresponding masculine forms in *inus* produce similar numbers: *Rufinus* (579), *Victorinus* (527), *Secundinus* (413), *Faustinus* (250), *Paul(l)inus* (235), *Marcel(l)inus* (309), *Valentinus* (287), *Severinus* (171), *Iustinus* (171), *Crispinus* (187), *Maximinus* (145). In the senatorial elite some of the most popular female cognomina were also of this type, in particular *Agrippina* (15), *Faustina* (13), *Paul(l)ina* (16), as is evident from the catalogue of Raepsaet-Charlier.<sup>246</sup>

Furthermore, *-ina* seems to have been often employed when deriving a female cognomen from another cognomen that did not have a separate feminine form. This is particularly the case with cognomina coined from male names with the masculine suffix *-a*: *Agrippina* (< *Agrippa*), *Messallina* (< *Messalla*), *Pansina* (< *Pansa*), *Ocellina* (< *Ocella*).<sup>247</sup> It should also be noted that in most such cases the cognomen was derived from the father's cognomen (examples of which are numerous; see 4.3.1.2), which is not surprising, given that the suffix was already from early on used to imply kinship and the belonging to someone/something (see the discussion above).

In fact, the suffix seems to have been often used in a similar way with names of the third declension, which did not have a separate feminine form; e.g. *Clemens* > *Clementina*; *Piso* > *Pisonina*; *Valens* > *Valentina*. Similarly, *Victorina*, with 357 cases documented by Kajanto, was the primary female form of *Victor*, one of the most popular male cognomina (1 677 cases), rather than *Victrix* (with only 20 cases in Kajanto 1965).<sup>248</sup> This, however, is not a general rule and certainly does not apply to all cognomina which did not have a separate feminine form. For instance, the standard female variant of the popular cognomen *Felix* was not \**Felicina* (of which no cases are known) but rather *Felicitas* and *Felicula* – and even the female *Felix* (cf. 2.6.3).

The suffix was also attached to some other suffixed formations, particularly to those formed with *-ullus/a*. The most popular name of this type was *Tertullina*

<sup>246</sup> *Agrippina*: PFOS 23, 56, 76, 113, 256, 348, 426, 427, 592, 619bis, 724, 740, 806, 811, 812. *Faustina* (most cases from the Antonine dynasty): PFOS 3, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 323, 358, 394, 674, 820, 827. *Paul(l)ina*: PFOS 12, 35, 91, 97, 140, ?207, 330, 389, 452, 504, 505, 512, 630, 644, 703, 775.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Leumann 1977 § 269 B.5. Also, *Sullina* is known (CIL VI 28306), but the name could also be derived from the nomen *Sullius*.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 278.

(52 cases in the *EDCS*),<sup>249</sup> but also *Catullina* (24) and *Marullina* (14) are attested frequently (though *Marullus* and *Catullus* were in many cases not suffixed derivations from *Marus* (or *Maro*) and *Catus* but well-established cognomina in their own right).<sup>250</sup> Other names of this type include *Amullina* (2; *CIL* III 2549; 8872), *Pedullina* (*CIL* XII 4061), *Pompullina*,<sup>251</sup> *Sabullina* (*CIL* VIII 27544), *Situllina* (*CIL* II 548), *Titullina* (3; *CIL* XII 3242; XIII 11412; 5135), perhaps also *Anull[ina]* (*CIL* II 951 = *HEp* 2007, 443 = *AE* 2007, 741). Names of this type are also attested in men's nomenclature (Kajanto, for example, documents 33 cases of *Tertullinus*).<sup>252</sup>

#### 2.4.3.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-ina*

Kajanto lists 40 female cognomina (attested for 178 women) that are coined from gentilicia with the suffix *-ina*. While the names in most cases may certainly derive from gentilicia, there is often some ambiguity. For instance, *Martina*, the most popular cognomen of this type in Kajanto's catalogue (with 62 attestations), can also be interpreted as a theophoric name.<sup>253</sup> It is also worth noting that *Martina*

<sup>249</sup> *CIL* VIII 1688; 422 (2nd/3rd c.); 11627; 11390; *AE* 1979, 339 = 1984, 528 (Baetica, 130–170); *Leukanikà* 2007, 41a; *CIL* III 1328; 15031; 2740; 2798; 13980; 2890; *Lupa* 22994 (Dalmatia); *CIL* III 2152; 8970; *EDCS* 113; *AE* 1999, 1222 (Dalmatia); *CIL* III 10011; *CIL* XII 4797; *CIL* II 4078 = *AE* 1991, 1087; *CIL* II 4332; 4354; 4381; *AE* 1968, 100 (Latium); *IPOstie* A 205; *CIL* XIV 1667 = 1668 (3rd c., son Tertullus); *AE* 2015, 253 (Ostia; son Tertullinus); *CIL* V 7811; *AE* 1996, 1903 (Africa); *RIS* 426 (Noricum); *CIL* III 11751 (Noricum, 200–230); *CIL* III 5274 (Noricum, 170–300); *CIL* III 14367,1 (Noricum, 2nd/3rd c.; father Tertullianus); *ILLPRON* 714; *ILAlg* II.1 1966; *CIL* VIII 5723; *CIL* VIII 7552 (170–230 CE); *ILAlg* II.2 4485; *CIL* VIII 4099; 18912; *CIL* III 11273 (2nd/3rd c.; sister Iul. Tertia); *CIL* IX 5562; *CIL* VI 26735; *CIL* VI 29488; *ICUR* 9138; *EDCS* 690 (apparently not published elsewhere); *AE* 1995, 612 (son Tertullinus); Pais 803; *CIL* V 5902; 8336; *AE* 1993, 751; *CIL* V 520.

<sup>250</sup> *Catullina*: *CIL* VIII 4950 = *ILAlg* I 1736; *ILAlg* I 2227 = *AE* 1914, 50, Katullina; *CIL* XII 65 (100–150 CE), Quartin(i)a Catullina, daughter of T. Quartin(i)us Catullinus; *CIL* III 435 = 7131; *CIL* XII 763; *AE* 2015, 984 (Germania sup.); *CAG* 89.2 725; *IRCP* 71 (Lusitania); *CIL* III 5362 (Noricum, 3rd c.); *CIL* VIII 5732; *ILAlg* II.1 1028; *CIL* VIII 3517; 20108; *ILAlg* II.3 8381; *ILAlg* II.2 4946; 5187; 5576; *ILAlg* II.1 3920/3921; *BCTH* 1936/37, 39; *CIL* VI 17585; *CIL* VI 25791; *ICUR* 4563 (4th/5th c.); *ICUR* 12447; 15368. *Marullina*: *CIL* IX 662; 391; *CAG* 57.2, 185; *CIL* XI 1891; *CIL* XII 3169; *CIL* XII 1767; *AE* 1958, 4 (Hispania); *RIT* 398 (Hisp.); *CIL* XIII 11201; *CIL* VI 20203; 38500a; *MAAL* 1943, 153; *CIL* IX 2450, Neratia Marullina, *c(larissima) f(emina)*.

<sup>251</sup> Possibly derived from *Pompeius* or *Pomponius* (+ *-ull* + *-ina*). For formations derived from different stems with *-ulla*, see 2.4.5 below.

<sup>252</sup> Kajanto 1965, 292.

<sup>253</sup> Kajanto 1965, thus, lists all the cases of *Martinus/a* under the category “theophoric names”.

is attested for many Christian women, after the saint Martinus (23 cases out of the total 62).<sup>254</sup>

Cognomina of this type (with more than 5 attestations) include *Flavina* (21; though in some cases the name may be derived from *Flavus* rather than *Flavius*), *Antonina* (20), *Sextina* (12; in many cases probably from *Sextus* rather than *Sextius*), *Valerina* (9), *Terentina* (8), *Iuventina* (5; in some cases probably from *Iuvenis*).<sup>255</sup> It is sometimes difficult to tell if the cognomen derives from a nomen or a cognomen, even if we technically know where the name comes from, e.g. in cases of the type 'Flavia Flavi filia' (*AE* 1976, 318; *CIL* II 5800; *Gerión* 36 (2018), p. 207f (by M. Fernández Corral); *CIL* XIII 3056; *AE* 1985, 519).<sup>256</sup> As for *Sextina*, one must assume that the name in most cases originated in the numeral cognomen or the male praenomen (see 2.7.5. below), even though it will have sometimes originated in the nomen *Sextius*.

There is also sufficient evidence of cognomina that were undeniably coined from a nomen with *-īna*, e.g. *Flavia Flavina* in *CIL* VII 130 = *RIB* I 377 (Britannia); *CIL* II 3040 (Complutum); *IRPLugo* 42 = *IRG* II 74 (Hispania); *CIL* II 521 (Emerita); *AE* 1967, 366 = 1969/70, 478 (Aquincum); also, *CIL* III 4914 (Noricum), recording Spuria Flavina, sister of T. Flavius Priscus; *Antonia Antonina* in *CIL* VIII 2624 = *ILS* 4323 (Lambaesis); *Quintia Quintina* in *CIL* XIII 7102 (Mogontiacum, 2nd c.); and in *IAM* II,1 87 = *AE* 1946, 50 (Maur. Ting.) we have a woman called Pompei{ia} Valerina, daughter of Marcus Pompeius Saturninus and Valeria Fortunata. There is even similar evidence for *Severina*, which, however, in most other cases will have derived from *Severus* rather than *Severius*: *CIL* III 261 (Ancyra): Aquilia Severina, daughter of Severia Martinula and Q. Aquilius Lucius.

Furthermore, it seems that the suffix could be added to nomina in *-(i)enus*, e.g. Secundiana Secundina in *CIL* V 5646 (Comum, 1st/2nd c.).

There is also one case of *Martina*, which is seemingly derived from the nomen *Martinia* (Martinia Martina, *CIL* XIII 6733 = *ILS* 7079), but we may simply be dealing with the convenient use of the existing name *Martina* (cf. the discussion in 2.4.14).

<sup>254</sup> Kajanto 1965, 162 = 212.

<sup>255</sup> Kajanto also lists 5 cases of *Messina* in this category, but this name is exclusively attested in Gallia Narbonensis and in some cases seems to simply be a female form of *Messinus* (which, however, probably originates in *Messius*), e.g. *ILGN* 479, *Messina Messini filia*; *CIL* XII 4160, *Messina ... Messinus v. s. l. m.*

<sup>256</sup> This is obviously due to the fact that in Latin inscriptions the genitive form of names with the termination *-ius* is usually written *-i* (and not *-ii*).

2.4.3.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-īna*

Evidence concerning female cognomina derived from praenomina with *īna* is not widespread in existing record. There are, to be sure, multiple attestations of cognomina such as *Quintina* (54), *Lucina* (24), and *Marcina* (5) and it is likely that in some of the cases these cognomina were derived from the praenomina *Q(uintus)*, *L(ucius)*, and *M(arcus)*. This was probably more often the case with *Lucina* than with *Quintina* or *Marcina*, which could also derive from the nomina *Quinti* (cf. *Quintia Quintina* above) or *Marcius*. In the following cases the cognomen was very probably from a praenomen:

*Aulina* (?): *CIL* IX 4881 (Trebula Mutuesca, 50–100 CE): Egnatia A. f. Aul[ina?].

*Lucina*: *CIL* X 401 = *InscrIt* III,1 72 (Atina, 170–250): Porcatia Lucina, daughter of L. Porcatius L. f. Faustinus *IIIvir* and Isteia Marciana (compare also her brother Porcatius Marcianus); *CIL* XII 2297 = *ILN* V,2 420 (Cularo, 50–150): Veratia Luci filia Lucina; *CIL* V 7066 (Augusta Taurinorum, 170–200): Attia L. f. Lucina. Possibly also *CIL* VI 14586 (50–200): Catilia Lucina, sister of L. Catilius Felix. *Lucina* is attested as a cognomen for several other women as well, but there could be other reasons for choosing the name, e.g. after the epithet of Iuno Lucina.

*Marcina*: *CIL* XII 4203 (Sextantio): Munatia M. f. Marcina.

*Quintina*: *AE* 2011, 910 (Dalmatia): Octavia Q. f. Quintina; *CIL* XI 1773 (Volaterrae): Didia Q. f. Quintina; *CIL* XII 290 = *ILNI* 161 (Forum Iulii): Iulia Q. f. Quintina; *CIL* XII 3820 (Nemausus): Fabricia Q. f. Quintina.

*Sextina*: *NSA* 2008/2009, 347,8 (Beneventum): Hellenia Sex. f. Sextina.

*Tiberina*: *CIL* III 14386b (Heliopolis): Tiberina, daughter of Ti. Pontius Cl. Bruttienus.

2.4.4 *-iāna*

General overview of the suffix

There are at least 328 female cognomina on record with the termination *-iāna*. This means that, in terms of new names, the suffix was on par with *-īna* in productivity. The number of name-bearers (1 247 in Kajanto 1965), however, is only a quarter of those with a cognomen in *īna*. The suffix *iānus/a*, unlike *-ānus/a* from which it had developed, was largely restricted to personal names.<sup>257</sup> In men's nomenclature, *-iānus* was used in cognomina already during the Republic,

<sup>257</sup> Leumann § 295.2. The suffix *āna* instead was more often found in appellatives.

primarily in adoptive names (e.g. P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, originally the son of L. Aemilius Paullus), and later, during the Empire, in other functions as well, not least when coining a cognomen from the mother's nomen (e.g. the emperor Vespasianus, whose mother was Vespasia; for more examples, see 4.9 below).<sup>258</sup> In female nomenclature, however, *-iāna* did not become common before the second century CE and it is typical for late periods (e.g. in Christian nomenclature). The suffix was particularly characteristic to cognomina coined from nomina, but in the course of the second century it also starts to appear more frequently in cognomina coined from other cognomina.

Names coined with *-iāna*, however, remain significantly less frequent in comparison to masculine forms in *-iānus*. According to the statistics compiled by Kajanto, only around 7% of all cognomina in *-iānus/a* were feminine forms.<sup>259</sup> This must be explained through the frequent use of diminutive suffixes in women's nomenclature in which cognomina could be derived from gentilicia with, for instance, *-illa*, *-ulla*, and *-(i)ola*, while in the nomenclature of men *-iānus* was the predominant suffix in this function.

The original function of the suffix, as that of many other suffixes, was to indicate the belonging to something/someone.<sup>260</sup> This also explains its popularity in cognomina derived from nomina, that is to say, indicating a connection to a certain *gens*.

As an orthographical observation, one may add that names in *-iāna* seem to have been written rather frequently with the termination *e* instead of *a*, especially in late sources (e.g. *Marciane* pro *Marciana*).<sup>261</sup>

#### 2.4.4.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-iāna*

Cognomina coined from other cognomina with *-iāna* do not become common before the second century. For instance, *Sabiniana*, one of the most common cognomina of this type, with 19 attestations documented by Kajanto 1965, is primarily attested during the second, third, and fourth centuries – and in some of these cases the cognomen may, in fact, be derived from the nomen *Sabinus*.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>258</sup> For adoptive cognomina during the Republic, see Salomies 1992, 11ff.

<sup>259</sup> Kajanto 1965, 109.

<sup>260</sup> Leumann 1977 § 295 D.2.

<sup>261</sup> This practice – and 'Greek-influenced' endings in women's names more broadly speaking – will be discussed in better detail by Rhiannon Smith in her forthcoming doctoral dissertation (Uni. Cambridge).

<sup>262</sup> The earliest datable case dates from Trajan's reign, i.e. Rutilia Prisca Sabiniana (*PFO*S 676),

The same applies to *Severiana* (22 cases in Kajanto 1965), which could be derived from the cognomen *Severus* but also from the nomen *Severius*. The suffix was also predominantly used in men's nomenclature, as noted above. Kajanto, for instance, documents 219 cases of *Sabinianus* and 139 cases of *Severianus* (versus 19 cases of *Sabiniana* and 22 of *Severiana*).<sup>263</sup>

Other names of this type, with five or more attestations, include *Clementiana* (14), *Feliciana* (9), *Faustiniana* (8), *Mercuriana* (7), *Salviana* (7), *Maximiana* (6), *Prisciana* (6), *Augustiana* (5), *Crescentiana* (5), *Faustiana* (5), *Luciana* (5), *Rufiniana* (5), *Tertul(l)iana* (5). In terms of frequency, the contrast is stark when comparing to cognomina coined from nomina with *-iāna* (e.g. *Iuliana* 116 cases, *Valeriana* 58, *Aeliana* 39; see 2.3.4.3. below).

There are also some senatorial women with a cognomen derived from another cognomen with *-iāna*, mostly from the late second or third century, e.g. Iallia Bassiana (*PFOS* 420), granddaughter (?) of M. Iallius Bassus (*cos. suff.* 159?), and Egnatia Certiana (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 38), daughter of C. Egnatius Certus (*cos. suff.* in early third century, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 20). The cognomen *Clementiana*, likely derived from *Clemens*, is also attested for two women of the late second century.<sup>264</sup> *Africaniana* in the nomenclature of Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana (*PFOS* 38), in turn, must derive from from *Africanus*, and *Honoratiana* in the nomenclature of Iulia Flavia Herennia Caecilia Honoratiana Optata (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 424) from *Honoratus*. The cognomen of Tiberia [Claudia] Frontoniana (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1094), daughter of Ti. Claudius Frontonianus, can also be highlighted here – even if the name was not directly derived from *Fronto* but was taken over from the father as such. *Sabiniana* is also attested for a senatorial woman of the early second century (*PFOS* 676), though it is unclear if the name derives from *Sabinus* or from the nomen *Sabinus*.

The suffix *-iāna* could also be attached to cognomina in *-illa*, if only rarely. In men's nomenclature, on the contrary, cognomina in *-illiānus* were far more common, as illustrated by O. Salomies who records at least 37 cognomina of this type (some of which, however, are uncertain).<sup>265</sup> Furthermore, it ought to be pointed out that names in *-illiāna* (or *-illiānus* for that matter) were not always coined from cognomina in *-illa*, but they could also be derivations from nomina

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daughter of M. (Rutilius) Clemens, attested in *AE* 1934, 241.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 154 = 186; 155 = 257.

<sup>264</sup> (Flavia) Clementiana (*PFOS* 364). Fufidia Clementiana is not in *PFOS*. See Appendix 2a ii, *s.v.* 'Clementiana' for more information.

<sup>265</sup> Salomies 2019; 2022.

of the type *Atil(l)ia*, *Lucil(l)ia* (e.g. *CIL* VI 21598 ‘Lucilia Lucilliana’). Such cases were, thus, regular derivations from gentilicia with *-iāna*. At the same time, Salomies observes that cognomina in *-illianus* were sometimes written negligently with only one *l*.<sup>266</sup>

A search in the *EDCS* yields only two names (attested for three women) that could be interpreted as female cognomina coined with the suffix cluster *illiāna*. These are *Quintilliana* (two cases)<sup>267</sup> and *Flaccilliana* (*AE* 2001, 301, Rome, 150–200) – but *Quintilliana* may be also be a derivation of *Quintillius* (rather than *Quint-* + *-ill-* + *-iāna*), in which case we would not be dealing with a suffix cluster.<sup>268</sup> In men’s nomenclature, names in *-illiānus*, as noted above, are more numerous, especially in later periods.

Salomies, in his article on names in *-illiānus*, reasonably concludes that, since female cognomina in *-illa* were common and popular, further formations of the type *-illiāna* were perhaps not needed or desirable, whereas the suffix *-illus* was never popular in men’s names and, thus, formations in *-illianus* were used instead and can be considered, to a certain extent, as forms corresponding to female names in *-illa*.<sup>269</sup>

#### 2.4.4.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-iāna*

The most typical use of *-iāna* was to derive cognomina from nomina, of the type *Fabiana* (< *Fabius*), *Iuliana* (< *Iulius*), *Valeriana* (< *Valerius*), and so on. This style, however, was far more common in men’s nomenclature, which becomes evident when comparing the gender distribution of some typical cognomina of this type (as documented by Kajanto 1965):

<sup>266</sup> Salomies 2019, 201; cf. Salomies 2022, 84 n. 2.

<sup>267</sup> *CIL* II 1090 = *AE* 2014, 608, Fabia Quintilliana, daughter of Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Gal. Rusticus); *CIL* VI 36241.

<sup>268</sup> M. Kajava has also recently discussed the case of *Hercules Romanillianus* from Rome (Kajava 2022, 73 no. 75; cf. *CIL* VI 645 = *ILS* 3468 = *AE* 1962, 294). According to Kajava’s conjecture, the epithet may be derived from the female cognomen *Romanilla* (known at least from *CIL* VI 13913; *CIL* VIII 738 = 12137; *ILAlg* I 2145 = *AE* 1907, 234; *CIL* IX 1440; as well as some later Christian inscriptions). In other words, this particular cult was probably associated with a patroness called *Romanilla* (rather than with a man called *Romanillus*).

<sup>269</sup> Salomies 2019, 206f.

Women	Men
Aeliana (39)	Aelianus (156)
Flaviana (9)	Flavianus (22)
Claudiana (18)	Claudianus (132)
Iuliana (116)	Iulianus (684)
Fabiana (15)	Fabianus (79)
Valeriana (58)	Valerianus (367)
Terentiana (2)	Terentianus (52)

There is also a stark chronological contrast. While Roman men sometimes had adoptive cognomina of the type *Aemilianus*, *Octavianus* already during the Republic (and soon after non-adoptive cognomina of the same type were also in use), female names coined with *-iāna* appear only sporadically during the first century CE, and, even then, mostly during its second half. It is only in the course of the second century that such names become more frequent.

The first senatorial woman on record to bear such a cognomen is DOMITIA DECIDIANA (*PFOS* 322), daughter of (T.?) Domitius Decidius (*quaest.* 44–46) and wife of Cn. Iulius Agricola (*cos. suff.* 76). Note also that in her case the cognomen was derived from her father's cognomen – which in any case was a nomen used in place of a cognomen. There is also a daughter of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (*cos.* 26), whose cognomen has been restored as *Caesia[na]* (*PFOS* 279), but this is uncertain and the name, in my view, was more likely *Caesia* (see n. 412 below). Another case from the late first century is (ULPIA) MARCIANA, sister of the emperor Trajan (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 877 = *PFOS* 824). The general hypothesis is that her mother was a Marcia (hence the cognomen) and, indeed, this seems reasonable. There is, however, also the possibility that the cognomen was coined after the father's (M. Ulpianus Traianus) praenomen, as was the case sometimes (for some cases, see 2.4.4.4 below).

All other cases are later. Furthermore, it ought to be noted that many female cognomina in *-iāna*, were not independently derived from nomina but transmitted from the father or some other relative as such (e.g. Claudia Titiana, daughter of Claudius Titianus, cf. *PFOS* 252). There is, however, some undisputable evidence. From the third century, for example, we know such senatorial women as CL(AUDIA) BAEBIA BAEBIANA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1079), DOMITIA DOMITIANA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 176),<sup>270</sup> and IULIA IULIANA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 673). There are also many upper-class

<sup>270</sup> Her status, however, is unclear. She is recorded in *CIL* V 5228 (Transpadana, 250–300 CE) as



women from the second century with cognomina such as *Aciliana* (PFOS 200), *Aemiliana* (PFOS 39; 417), *Claudiana* (PFOS 755), *Iuliana* (PFOS 714), *Liviana* (PFOS 190), *Maeciana* (PFOS 241), *Marciana* (5);<sup>271</sup> *Petroni[ana]* (PFOS 157); *Pompeiana* (479), *Valeriana* (PFOS 517) – all clearly originating in nomina, even if it may be difficult to say if the cognomina were independently coined from a nomen or simply taken over as such. In the case of AE(MILIA?) GAVIANA (PFOS 26), a connection can perhaps be established to L. Fulvius Gavius Numisius Petronius Aemilianus (*pr.* 169), but the relationship remains hypothetical at best.

As for non-senatorial women, the suffix *-iāna* is well attested for cognomina derived from nomina. As among the women of senatorial families, cognomina derived from gentilicia with *-iāna* are mostly attested after the earliest Empire. There are, however, some sporadic examples that may date from the early Imperial period, e.g. *CIL* V 6528 (Novaria, 1–50), Aemilia C. f. Aemiliana.<sup>272</sup> In general, there is plenty of evidence of cognomina derived from nomina with *-iāna* from various parts of the Empire, much of which is presented in Chapter 4 (for cases in which the cognomen is derived from the father's nomen with *-iāna* see 4.3.1.2 C.; from the mother's nomen, 4.3.2.2 C.).

#### 2.4.4.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-iāna*

The suffix *-iāna* was occasionally employed when coining female cognomina from praenomina. This is the case particularly from *M(arcus)* (>*Marciana*), but also other forms are attested, such as *Quintiana* and *Titiana* (from *Q(uintus)* and *T(itus)* respectively). The names *Publiana* and *Luciana* are also known from several inscriptions, but no clear connection to the praenomina *P(ublius)* and *L(ucius)* can be established. In the following inscriptions, all of them dating from after 75 CE, the filiation gives reason to suspect that the cognomen was derived from a praenomen:

##### *Marciana:*

*CIL* VIII 23093 (Afr. proc.): Sabinia M. f. Marciana.

*CIL* X 358 = *InscrIt* III, 1, 149 (Atina): [M]agia M. f. M[arci]ana.

*CIL* II 329 (Scallabis): Antonia M. [f.?] Marciana.

*CIL* VIII 7188 = *ILAlg* III.1 882 (Cirta): Alfena M. f. Marciana.

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*Domitia Domitiana c. f.* and it could also be that the abbreviation stands for *C(aii) f(ilia)* rather than *c(larissima) f(emina)* (though in that case the filiation would be misplaced).

<sup>271</sup> PFOS 33; 197; 261; 463; 590 (in addition to Ulpia Marciana discussed above).

<sup>272</sup> The dating, as far as I see it, is based on the fact that the inscription was set up by a woman styled as *Caninia*, who did not yet have a cognomen.

*CIL* VIII 2418 (Thamugadi): Cottia M. f. Marciana.

*CIL* VI 34767: Calvia M. f. Marciane.

*CIL* X 1784 = *ILS* 6334 (Puteoli): Gavia M. f. Marciana.

*CIL* X 2769 (Puteoli): Nemonia Nella M. f. Marciana.

*CIL* VI 29321: Ulpia M. f. Clodia Marciana.

*Quintiana:*

*CIL* XIII 2149 (Lugudunum): Geminia Q. f. Quintiana, daughter of Q. Geminus Priscian(us) and Geminia Aphrodisia.

*Titiana:*

*CIL* III 10884 = *RIS* 406 (Pann. sup.), Iulia Titiana, daughter of T. Iulius Marinus and (H)erennia Ingenua.

*CIL* VI 20548 = *IGUR* III 1239: Flavia T. f. Titiane.

The nomenclature of Flavia T. f. Titiana brings us to Imperial name combinations. It is reasonable to assume that in most cases of the type *Flavia Titiana*, *Ulpia Marciana*, *Aurelia Marciana*, *Aelia Publiana*, the cognomen was derived from a praenomen (compare names of the type (M.) *Aurelius Marcianus* in men's nomenclature). At least the following cases are on record:

*Aurelia Marciana* (7): *CIL* II.7 423 (Corduba); *CIL* IX 4708 (Reate); *ILAlg* II.1 2257 (Numidia); *CIL* V 53 = *InscrIt* X.1 80 (Pola); *LIKelsey* 86 (Puteoli, 3rd c.); *ICUR* 24347 (290–325 CE); *ICUR* 3327 = VIII 20722 (300–350 CE).

*Ulpia Marciana* (7): *CIL* II 5953 = VIII 10012 (Hispania cit.); *LIKelsey* 281 (Cumae, 98–105 CE); *CIL* VI 20807 (2nd c.); *CIL* IX 4804; probably also *CIL* III 8053 (150–250 CE), Ulpia [Marcia]na, and *AE* 1959, 316 (180–230 CE), [Ulpia] Marciana, both inscriptions from Dacia; see also Ulpia M. f. Marciana above. One could also think that in the case of (Ulpia) Marciana, sister of the emperor Trajan, the cognomen was coined after the father's (M. Ulpius Traianus) praenomen (compare Ulpia M. f. Clodia Marciana above). According to the general hypothesis, however, her mother was a Marcia, in which case the cognomen would have been coined from her nomen instead.<sup>273</sup> It seems indeed

<sup>273</sup> Cf. a reconstruction of the family tree in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 450, in which the mother appears as (Marcia?). This, to my understanding, is based on the daughter's cognomen and therefore one should avoid drawing any hasty conclusions regarding the cognomen's origin.

plausible that, given the aristocratic context, the cognomen would have been chosen to recall a family alliance. I would not, however, refute the possibility that the cognomen was connected to the praenomen used in the family.

#### 2.4.5 *-ulla*

##### 2.4.5.1 General overview of the suffix

The suffix *-ulla* was sometimes used in cognomina, but it appears in appellatives only rarely.<sup>274</sup> In this sense the suffix is comparable to *-illa* (not least because the variation between *u* and *i* was typical in Latin) – though *-illa* was by far the more popular suffix. The following 44 names are known (see Appendix 1 for references):

<i>Antulla</i> (16)	<i>Cuculla</i>	<i>Libulla</i>	<i>Piculla</i>	<i>Tertul(l)a</i> (392)
<i>Anulla</i> (15)	<i>Fabul(l)a</i> (14)	<i>Luculla</i> (18)	<i>Pompulla</i> (2)	<i>Titul(l)a</i> (33)
<i>Aprulla</i> (26)	<i>Faenul[la?]</i>	<i>Marculla</i>	<i>Primulla</i> (7)	<i>Trebulla</i> (2)
<i>Babulla</i> <sup>275</sup>	<i>Fibulla</i>	<i>Marsulla</i>	<i>Remulla</i> (2)	<i>Vetulla</i> (4)
<i>Caesul(l)a</i> (6)	<i>Germulla</i> (4)	<i>Matrulla</i>	<i>Satulla</i> (22)	<i>Vetulla</i> (3)
<i>Capitulla</i>	<i>Hispulla</i> (4)	<i>Narulla</i> (2)	<i>Semprulla</i> (2)	<i>Victulla</i>
<i>Caronulla</i>	<i>Homulla</i> (11)	<i>Nardulla</i> (2)	<i>Sextulla</i> (5)	<i>Vistulla</i>
<i>Catulla</i> (26)	<i>Labulla</i>	<i>Nerulla</i> (3)	<i>Statulla</i>	
<i>Creperulla</i>	<i>Lamulla</i>	<i>Pedulla</i>	<i>Terentulla</i> (7)	

Despite the relatively small number of different names, the list above shows that *-ulla* was a productive suffix in the sense that it could be attached to various different types of stems with various consequences, e.g. *Tit-ulla* (from *Titus*), *Luc-ulla* (from *Lucius*), *Pompulla* (from *Pompeius*), and *Hisp-ulla* (rather than *\*Hispon-ulla*, from *Hispo -nis*) or *Sempr-ulla* (rather than *\*Sempronulla* from either *\*Sempro* or *Sempronius*).

There were also some other names ending in *-ulla*, which perhaps should not be considered suffixed formations. For instance, *Paculla* was an old Oscan praenomen,<sup>276</sup> and *Satulla* corresponded to a Latin adjective. The latter, however, could also be derived from the nomen *Satius*, which is why it has been included in the list above.

<sup>274</sup> Niedermann 1950, 147; cf. Kajanto 1965, 128.

<sup>275</sup> Should probably be read *B(a)ebulla*, cf. *CIL* II 3767 (1st c.; *Baebia Babulla*).

<sup>276</sup> Salomies 1987, 84. As a cognomen it is known from *CIL* XII 5218 (Narbo) and *CIL* VI 11158 (Rome). It was also the personal name of the mother of Cottia A. f. Galla, daughter of a *homo novus* in the Augustan period, but it is difficult to tell if the name was a cognomen or not (see 3.3.2).

Men also had cognomina coined with *-ullus*, but clearly less often and my impression is that most of the cases are from rather late sources.<sup>277</sup> Whilst female cognomina in *-ulla* (e.g. *Tertulla*) appear already during the late Republican and Augustan periods (see Chapter 3), similar names are only rarely attested for men before the second century CE. There are, to be sure, some earlier examples as well, but these are mostly freedmen (e.g. *CIL* X 6393, Tarracina, 1–50 CE, [---] *M. l. Tertullus*). Furthermore, while *Tertullus* is a fairly well-attested name for men (142 cases in Kajanto 1965), it was clearly less popular than the female *Tertulla* (with 329 cases in Kajanto 1965). Other well-documented names in *-ullus* are *Titullus* (36) and *Lucullus* (46).<sup>278</sup>

#### 2.4.5.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-ulla*

As seen above, *-ulla* could be added to cognomina of the first and second declension as well as to those of the third declension. The most popular name of this type, by far, was *Tertul(l)a* (392 cases in Kajanto 1965). One should note that some other frequently attested names such as *Titulla* (33), *Aprulla* (26), and *Catulla* (26) could be derived not only from cognomina but, in some cases, also from nomina (*Titius*, *Aprius*, *Catius*). *Catulla*, furthermore, was probably in many cases simply a feminine form of the well-established cognomen *Catullus* rather than a genuine derivation from *Catus*.

One remarkable aspect of the suffix is that, when added to the stem *-ōn-*, it seems to have typically produced a ‘reduced’ form through haplology. We have, thus, forms such as *Hispulla* from *Hispo* (instead of *\*Hisponulla*) and *Nerulla* from *Nerol/Neronius* (rather than *\*Neronulla*). The following examples of this type are on record:

*Capitulla*: Attested once in Asia Minor (*TAM* IV.1 375, Οὐλπλία Καπιτύλλη). The name was Probably derived from *Capito -nis*. The form *\*Capitonulla* would have perhaps sounded awkward, hence the reduced form through haplology.

*Frontulla* (<*Fronto*): The cognomen *Frontulla*, as a derivation of *Fronto*, is known from two Greek inscriptions from Macedonia (*JÖAI* 6 (1903) Bbl. 4,5: Φρόντυλλα, daughter of Φρόντων; *Spomenik* 77 (1934) 45,32: Ἀιλία Φρόντυλλα, daughter of Κοτείνειος Φρόντων). For more discussion (also regarding *Frontina Frontilla Frontoniana*), cf. 2.4.14 below.

*Hispulla* (<*Hispo*): Attested for several upper-class women from Northern Italy. One of them is Terentia Cn. f. *Hispulla* (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 105 = *PFOS* 756), who was honoured at Athens during the first half of the first century CE together

<sup>277</sup> With the exception of notable Republican cognomina such as *Lucullus*, used by the Licinii.

<sup>278</sup> Kajanto 1965, 292, 171, 173.

with her son Catullus (*IG II/III*<sup>2</sup> 4159). It seems clear that she was connected to the Terentii of Milan, who used the cognomen *Hispo* (her father was probably called Cn. Terentius Hispo).<sup>279</sup> The younger Pliny also informs us of a woman called Calpurnia Hispulla, who was the daughter of the equestrian L. Calpurnius Fabatus from Comum (Plin. *ep.* 4,19; 8,11).<sup>280</sup> The cognomen *Hispulla* is also attested for two other senatorial women, mother and daughter (Hispulla, *PFOS* 418; Corellia Hispulla, *PFOS* 268). The mother's nomen is not known, but she was probably connected to the Terentii Hispones, or in any case she will have come from Northern Italy.<sup>281</sup>

*Narbull*: There are two urban inscriptions recording the cognomen *Narbull* which must be understood as a derivation of *Narbo* through haplology (instead of \**Narbonnulla*; *CIL* VI 14060; 20431).

*Pedulla* (rather than of \**Pedonnulla*): Derived from *Pedo* in *CIL* XII 3850: *Pusoniae P. f. / Pedullae / P. Pusonius / Pedo alumnus*.

*Petrulla* (rather than of \**Petronnulla*): Derived from *Petro* or *Petronius*. The name is known from a Pompeian graffito (in the form *Pet{e}rul(l)a*, *CIL* IV 4562). It is not likely that the name was derived from *Petrus* which only becomes a common name in Christian times (though in this case the derivation *Petrulla* would only be expected).

*Semprulla*: Perhaps derived from an otherwise unknown cognomen \**Sempro*, but more likely from *Sempronius* (see 2.4.5.3 below). Either way, the 'grammatically correct' form \**Sempronnulla* was clearly awkward and, hence, *Semprulla* was preferred.

*Vettulla* (instead of \**Vettonnulla*). In some cases, the name may have been derived from the nomen *Vettius*, but there is also evidence that it was sometimes derived from *Vetto* through haplology (or in any case, with a similar analogy as *Hispo* > *Hispulla*). This seems to be the case with Funisulana Vettulla (*PFOS* 395), who is attested in 82 CE as the wife of C. Tettius Africanus, *praef(ectus) Aeg(ypti)* (*CIL* III 36 = *ILS* 8759c), and who must have been related to L. Funisulanus Vettonianus (his cognomen clearly deriving from *Vetto*; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 570).

One could, furthermore, suspect that *Germulla* (attested for at least four women) could be derived from *German-* through haplology but there is no clear evidence to support this and we also know the cognomen *Germus*, from which

<sup>279</sup> Cf. Terentius Hispo, friend of Cicero (Cic. *ad fam.* 13,65,1; *ad Att.* 11,10,1).

<sup>280</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 329. For the father, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 263.

<sup>281</sup> Alföldy 1982, 355.

*Germulla* could be a derivation.<sup>282</sup> Similarly, in the case of *Matrulla* (*CIL* XVI 55), one might wonder if the name may have been derived from *Matrona* – but in the absence of evidence, we could equally well assume that it was simply derived from *mater -tris*. There is also the cognomen *Libulla* (*ILAlg* II.2 4923/3) which could be formed from *Libo* through haplology, but since we are dealing with an African inscription, we may also well be dealing with a variant of *Libylla*, i.e. a derivation of *Libya*.

There is also one case that could indicate that attaching *-ulla* to *-ōn-* may not have always resulted in haplology. An inscription from Carthage (*ICKarth* II 790) seems to record the name *Caronulla*, which was probably derived from the cognomen *Caro* or the nomen *Caronius*. Either way, the result, in this case, is *Caronulla* instead of *\*Carulla*. The text, however, is badly fragmented which makes this piece of evidence rather dubious.

*Aprulla* calls for a comment as well. Kajanto categorized it as a name deriving from both gentilicia and fauna,<sup>283</sup> but it is far more likely that in most of the cases it was derived from *Aper* rather than the rare nomen *Aprius* – and, at least in one case, the name was apparently derived from *Apro* through haplology (*CIL* VI 35534, 2nd c., mother Terentia Aprulla, son C. Iulius Apro).

#### 2.4.5.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-ulla*

The suffix *-ulla* was also sometimes attached to gentilicia. The evidence is not overly abundant but some names can be discussed here, e.g. *Fabulla* (with at least 16 attestations, including one senatorial case) was surely derived from *Fabius* and, similarly, *Terentulla* (attested in at least 7 Latin inscriptions) must have been derived from *Terentius*.<sup>284</sup> We also have at least *Trebulla* (from *Trebius*, cf. *CIL* IX 6746 *Trebia N. f. Trebulla*), *Victulla* (*HEp* 2000, 62 *Vict(ia) Victulla*), *Statulla* (*CIL* V 5663 *Statia Statulla*)<sup>285</sup>, and perhaps also *Babulla* (*CIL* II 3767 *Baebia*

<sup>282</sup> *CIL* VI 14052; IX 3241; *AE* 2014, 704; *ILAlg* II.3 10011.

<sup>283</sup> Kajanto 1965, 170 = 325.

<sup>284</sup> *Fabulla*: *HEp* 2001, 177; *CIL* II 1258 = *CILA* I 84; *CIL* X 2959; *BCAR* 1923, 96,102; *CIL* VI 14653; 15420; 17645; *CIL* XV 3736 (149 CE); *NSA* 1922, 422; *CIL* V 3441,4. For discussion regarding the senatorial woman, (Fabia?) Fabulla Asiatica (*PFOS* 351), see Appendix 4a no. 7. *Terentulla*: *CIL* II 3645/3643 (Saetabis, 100–130 CE), Terentia M. f. Terentulla; *AE* 2010, 215 = 2012, 251 (Rome), Terentia M. f. Terentulla Albini; *AE* 1997, 1637 (Afr. proc., 69-96 CE); *CIL* XII 4216 = *ILS* 4765; *CIL* XII 2985 (Narbonensis); *CIL* II.14 154a = *HEp* 2008, 167 = *AE* 2008, 743 (Edeta, 2nd c.), sisters Cornelia Terentulla and Cornelia Terentina (probably daughters of a Terentia).

<sup>285</sup> Technically, *Statius* could also function as a genuine cognomen (or an individual name of Italic

M. f. *Ba(e)bullā*). Additionally, *Caesulla* (as in *HEp* 1996, 846 = *AE* 1994, 992 *Caesulla Caesi f.*) is also a possible case, though the name may also be interpreted as a derivation of *Caesus* rather than *Caesius*.

There is also evidence that *-ulla* could be attached to nomina ending in *-eius*, e.g. *Creperulla* (*AE* 1983, 168) must have been derived from *Creperius*, since no other reasonable etymology can be proposed, and *Pompulla* is clearly derived from *Pompeius* in *CIL* XII 3123 which records a woman called *Pompeia Pompulla*.

There are also other names that could derive from nomina. For example, the cognomen *Titulla* (33 cases in Kajanto 1965) was probably in some cases derived from *Titius* – but perhaps more often from the prænomen *T(itus)*, particularly in Gallia Narbonensis (see 2.4.5.4 below).<sup>286</sup> *Quintulla* could similarly derive from the nomen *Quintius* but also from the prænomen *Q(uintus)* (see 2.4.5.4 below). Martial (4,9) also provides us with the name *Labulla*, perhaps derived from *Labius*, but this sort of evidence is of more dubious nature.<sup>287</sup> The cognomen *Vettulla*, in turn, could be derived from the nomen *Vettius* but also from the cognomen *Vetto* (see the discussion above in 2.4.5.2). *Aprulla* (26) may also have sometimes derived from the nomen *Aprius*, but perhaps more typically from the cognomen *Aper* (see above in 2.4.5.2). There is, in fact, even one case in which *Aprulla* seems to derive from the nomen *Aprusidia* (*CIL* XI 6402, see the discussion in 2.4.14 below).

This brings us to the next point. It has already been noted above that the suffix, when attached to names with *-ōn*-stems, could produce a ‘reduced’ form. This seems to have been the case also with some cognomina derived from nomina, e.g. *Antulla* (and not *\*Antonulla*) from *Antonius* (*CIL* XII 755, Antonia D. f. Antulla), *Nerulla* (instead of *\*Neronulla*) from *Neronius* (*CIL* VI 3510, Neronia C. f. Nerulla), and probably also *Semprulla* (instead of *\*Sempronulla*) from the nomen *Sempronius* (unless from an otherwise unknown cognomen *\*Sempro*).<sup>288</sup>

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extraction), but this is obviously not the case here.

<sup>286</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 171. The form *Τιττόλλα* is also attested for a woman in a Greek inscription from Sicily, possibly dating from the late 1st c. BCE or the early 1st c. CE (*SEG* XXXIV 953 = *SEG* XLVII 1444, *Κωμεδία Τιττόλλα*). It is, however, unclear if the cognomen is supposed to be *Titulla* or something else. It could also have to do with *Tit(t)elos*, a local Sicilian name (cf. *IG* XIV 287; 291; *SEG* L 1020; *SEG* LIII 1052 (2)).

<sup>287</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 170.

<sup>288</sup> *Semprulla* is documented in two rather early inscriptions: one from Asia Minor, perhaps from the Augustan period (*IK* 59, 51 = *TAMV.3* 1695), and the other one from Gallia Cisalpina, dating from the first half of the first century CE (*CIL* V 2006). Cf. also the remarks of Schulze 1966 [1904], 461 and Kajanto 1965, 178.

It ought to be noted that the suffix was also used to derive men's cognomina from gentilicia, though less often, e.g. *Fabul(l)us* (11), *Terentullus* (2).<sup>289</sup> Many of the names discussed here do not, in fact, have any attestations in men's nomenclature (e.g. there are no cases of *\*Aprullus* or *\*Vettullus* on record).

#### 2.4.5.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-ulla*

There are at least three cognomina derived from praenomina with *-ulla*: *Luculla* (<*Lucius*), *Titulla* (<*Titus*), and *Sextulla* (<*Sextus*). The cognomen *Quintulla* is also attested in two African inscriptions (*AE* 2013, 1998; 2024), but a clear connection to the praenomen *Quintus* cannot be established and the cognomina could equally well derive from the nomen *Quintius*.

##### *Luculla*:

*CIL* X 5546 (Aquinum, 50–200): Vitteia L. f. Luculla, daughter of L. Vitteius.

*ERAE* 202 (Emerita, 30 BCE–50 CE): Aemilia L. f. Luculla.

*CIL* VI 16543a (date unclear): Costilia L. f. Luculla.

There are also cases in which the cognomen clearly was *not* coined from the father's praenomen, e.g. *ILAlg* II.2 6253, Antistia P. f. Luculla. In general, there are many women called *Luculla* on record and, in some of these cases, the name was probably derived from the praenomen. However, one has to take into account that the cognomen *Lucullus* had become a 'famous' name already early, since it had been used by the Republican Licinii Luculli, which probably had an impact on the popularity of the name.

*Titulla* seems to be coined from the praenomen *Titus* at least in the following cases:

*CIL* XII 3942 (Nemausus, 1st c.): Terentia T. f. Titulla.

*CIL* XII 3938 (Nemausus, 50–200): Tavillia Titulla, sister of T. Tavillius T. f. Vol. Honoratus.

*CIL* XII 3957 (Nemausus, 50–200): Titia T. f. Titulla.

*CIL* XII 4001 (Nemausus, 50–200): Valeria T. f. Titulla.

*ILGN* 460 (Nemausus, 50–200): Decumia T. f. Titulla.

*CIL* V 7509 (Liguria, 79–200): Aufidia T. f. Titulla (cf. her daughter Pollia M. f. Marcella).

*CIL* V 6591 (Novaria, 70–150): Titulla, daughter of T. Valentius Haruspex.

*CIL* VIII 8131 (Numidia, Imperial): Rubria T. f. Titulla.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 170; 171.



It may be worth noting that five out of eight cases are from Nemausus in Gallia Narbonensis.

*Sextulla*:

*CIL* VIII 18997 = *ILAlg* II.2 5328 (Thibilis, 50–200): Iavolenia Iavoleni fil.

Quirina Sextulla Ufclia(?), sister of Sex. Iavolenius Sex. f. Quir. Victor.<sup>290</sup>

*CIL* VIII 17930 (Thamugadi, early Imperial?): Amania Sextulla Sex. 'f.'.

#### 2.4.6 *-ulal-(i)ola*

##### 2.4.6.1 General overview of the suffix

The suffix *-ula*, or *-ola* when attached to *-i/-e*-stems, is frequently found in female cognomina.<sup>291</sup> It could be attached to cognomina, primarily of the first and second declensions, but also in rare cases to names of the third declension (see below). It was also regularly attached to nomina, resulting usually in the ending *-iola* (e.g. *Aciliola*, *Fabiola*, *Manliola*; see below). While *-ulus/a* was the original Latin diminutive formative, its diminutive, or perhaps rather hypocoristic, function must have been in decline by the time cognomina became popular among women, which is suggested by the relatively low frequency of cases in *-ula* (7.5% of the cases; see Table 3 in 2.4.1).<sup>292</sup> The number of different names in *-ulal-(i)ola*, however, was large in comparison (240 names in total), illustrating the productive nature of the suffix. Furthermore, the use of the suffix was clearly more frequent in women's than men's nomenclature. There were, to be sure, men with names such as *Primulus* and *Tertiolus*, but nearly half of all the 237 female cognomina coined with *-ulal-(i)ola* are without a corresponding masculine form.

##### 2.4.6.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-ulal-(i)ola*

The suffix *-ula* is found in several names derived from other cognomina. It should be restated that it is not always a simple task to decide what is to be considered a suffixed formation and what simply a standard 'pet form' of a Latin appellation.

<sup>290</sup> Note the indication of the *tribus* in a female nomenclature, which sometimes occurs in African inscriptions.

<sup>291</sup> Cf. Leumann 1977 § 91 β; § 282 A.

<sup>292</sup> The suffix also had a range of aspectual functions, e.g. a male cognomen such as *Bibulus* (from *bibere*) does not primarily imply 'a little drinker' but instead 'one who drinks a lot/often', i.e. 'a drinker'; and *Lentulus*, the hereditary cognomen of one branch of the patrician Cornelii, had the meaning 'rather slow'. Such names, however, were pejorative and were avoided in women's nomenclature.

For example, the word *primulus* (from *primus*) is attested in the pre-classical Latin of Plautus and Terence.<sup>293</sup> In the case of the *Primula*, however, I have in principle assumed that the suffix was used independently to coin a new name from the existing cognomen *Primus/a*.

When coining new cognomina from other cognomina, the termination *-ula* is normally found attached to simple forms of the first and second declension, as the following list will illustrate (the majority of these cases are known from Africa and Gaul):<sup>294</sup>

<i>Primula</i> (85)	<i>Sabinula</i> (6)	<i>Matronula</i> (3)	<i>Restutula</i> (2)	<i>Iuencula</i>
<i>Ursula</i> (54)	<i>Venustula</i> (6)	<i>Maurula</i> (3)	<i>Sanctula</i> (2)	<i>Lenula?</i>
<i>Lupula</i> (49)	<i>Buccula</i> (5)	<i>Palmula</i> (3)	<i>Sestula</i> (=Sex-?) (2)	<i>Marcula</i>
<i>Castula</i> (45)	<i>Bassula</i> (5)	<i>Priscula</i> (3)	<i>Acceptula</i>	<i>Nepotula</i>
<i>Fortunula</i> (34)	<i>Cattula</i> (5)	<i>Pupula</i> (3)	<i>Asinula</i>	<i>Pacatula</i>
<i>Quintula</i> (27)	<i>Fuscula</i> (5)	<i>Servula</i> (3)	<i>Barbarula</i>	<i>Probatula</i>
<i>Secundula</i> (24)	<i>Qu(i)etula</i> (5)	<i>Sextula</i> (3)	<i>Bastula</i>	<i>Redductula</i>
<i>Donatula</i> (18)	<i>Rufula</i> (5)	<i>Carula</i> (2)	[B]rittula	<i>Renatul[a]</i>
<i>Rogatula</i> (18)	<i>Stercula</i> (5)	<i>Celsula</i> (2)	<i>Calvula</i>	<i>Severula</i>
<i>Albula</i> (14)	<i>Vetula</i> (5)	<i>Dammula</i> (2)	<i>Campanula</i>	<i>Sommula</i>
<i>Apicula?</i> (14) <sup>295</sup>	<i>Animula</i> (4)	<i>Decimula</i> (2)	<i>Candidula</i>	<i>Speratula</i>
<i>Quartula</i> (13)	<i>Augustula</i> (4)	<i>Faustinula</i> (2)	<i>Certula</i>	<i>Urticula</i>
<i>Domnula</i> (10)	<i>F(o)edula</i> (4)	<i>Faustula</i> (2)	<i>Cossula</i>	<i>Vespula</i>
<i>Verula</i> (10)	<i>Mammula</i> (4)	<i>Firmula</i> (2)	<i>Crispula</i>	
<i>Salsula</i> (8)	<i>Privatula</i> (4)	<i>Fructula</i> (2)	<i>Datula</i>	
<i>Gemmula</i> (7)	<i>Gratula</i> (3)	<i>Gallula</i> (2)	<i>Fidula</i>	
<i>Optatula</i> (7)	<i>Iucundula</i> (3)	<i>Maximula</i> (2)	<i>Gratinula</i>	
<i>Mulsula</i> (6)	<i>Martinula</i> (3)	<i>Pardula</i> (2)	<i>Iustula</i>	

Kajanto 1965 classifies *Felic(u)la* (420) as a derivation with *-cula* rather than *-ula*, but perhaps this name could also be included in this category (cf. 2.4.11). In some other cases we might also be dealing with orthographic variation (e.g. *Sextul(l)a*). Furthermore, in the case of some female cognomina the suffix *-ula* has been attached to other suffixed formations, particularly *-inus*, thus resulting

<sup>293</sup> Plaut. *Amph.* 2,2,105; *Men.* 5,5,18; Ter. *Ad.* 3,1,2.

<sup>294</sup> For references, cf. Kajanto 1965.

<sup>295</sup> See the discussion in 2.4.11 below.

in *-inula*. The following names are on record: *Albinula*,<sup>296</sup> *Faustinula* (3),<sup>297</sup> *Gratinula*,<sup>298</sup> *Lucinula*,<sup>299</sup> *Macrinula* (2),<sup>300</sup> *Martinula* (2),<sup>301</sup> *Paulinula* (2),<sup>302</sup> *Postuminula*,<sup>303</sup> *Quartinula*,<sup>304</sup> *Rufinula* (3),<sup>305</sup> *Secundinula*,<sup>306</sup> *U[r]sinul[a]* (*CIL* III 8316), *Venustinula* (*CIL* VIII 27241), *Verinula*.<sup>307</sup> Notably, 11 out of the total of 20 cases are known from Gaul.

There is also one example of the suffix being attached to a cognomen coined with *-ōsa*, i.e. a Christian inscription from Carthage recording a woman with the cognomen *Bonosula* (*CIL* VIII 25208).

The termination *-ola* is primarily found with *-i-* and *e-*stems, most of which consist of gentilicia (see below), but there are also some names coined from other cognomina. For example, *Tertiola* (18), *Luciola* (3) and *Corneola* are the expected formations of *Tertius*, *Lucius*, *Corneus*. *Insidiola* falls into this category as well (cf. *CIL* XIII 1404, Iul. Insidiola, daughter of Insidiator; both cognomina deriving from the appellative *insidiae*). There are also three attestations of *Suavola* (from *Suavis*), an example of the suffix being attached to a third declension name.<sup>308</sup> *Dulciola* (*AE* 1992, 1237, Lugudunensis) is probably another example (if derived

<sup>296</sup> A Christian woman attested in Rome during the early 4th century (*ICUR* 24926a).

<sup>297</sup> *EE* IX 239 (Hispania); *CIL* XIII 3728 (Belgica); *CIL* II 4569 (Barcino, 170–250 CE).

<sup>298</sup> *CIL* XII 2258 (Cularo). The inscription records two sisters Antoniae Gratinula and Grata, as well as their mother Viria Gratina.

<sup>299</sup> *CIL* XII 1390 (Vasio, 2nd/early 3rd c.). The cognomen seems to be also transmitted to her son Albius Luci[nulus] (that is, if the restoration of the cognomen is correct).

<sup>300</sup> *CIL* XII 2203 (Vienna); *CIL* XIII 2928 (Lugudunum).

<sup>301</sup> *CIL* III 261 (Ancyra): Severia Martinula (note also her daughter Aquilia Severina); *CIL* VI 9670 (50–200 CE): Iulia Martinula.

<sup>302</sup> *CIL* XII 2264; 2277 (both Cularo, 2nd c.).

<sup>303</sup> *CIL* XIII 1540 (Aquitania). The date is unclear; Imperial in any case.

<sup>304</sup> *CIL* VIII 1590 (Afr. proc., 2nd c.): [Babu]ria M. f. Quartinula; mentioned together with Ba[b]urius M. f. Cor. Quartinus.

<sup>305</sup> *ILAfr* 162,5 (Ammaedara, 2nd c.); *CIL* VIII 22814 (Thenae, 2nd c.); *ILAin* 128 = *AE* 1988, 876 (Ambrarri, Lugud.), *Rufinula Ruffiniani fil.*, neptis of *Ruffus Severus Scotti filius*.

<sup>306</sup> The same woman, Vireia Secundinula, seems to be attested in two inscriptions from Gaul during the late second century (*CIL* XII 2333; 2335).

<sup>307</sup> *CIL* XII 2272 = *ILN* V.2 403 (Cularo, 2nd/3rd c.).

<sup>308</sup> *AE* 1993, 910 = *HEp* 1995, 95 (Emerita, 150–200), Memmia Su[a]vola, with her son Memmius Suav[is]; *CIL* II 533; 534 (Emerita, 2nd c.), mother and daughter, both called Ant. Suavola.

from *Dulcis* and not from \**Dulcius*).<sup>309</sup> In some cases, however, it seems that the termination *-iola* is also found in other than stems, e.g. *CIL* XIII 2988 (Haedui), *Regiola Regalis fil(ia)*, and *CIL* XIII 1650 (Segusiavi, 70–200), recording Maria Severiola, daughter of Sacrius Severus and Maria Mariola. In the latter case it seems that the daughter's cognomen *Severiola* was derived from the father's cognomen with the same analogy as the mother's cognomen *Mariola* was derived from the nomen *Maria*, as if derived from *Severius* instead of *Severus*.

Kajanto also considers *Maximiola* (*CIL* XIII 4390) and *Marsiola* (*CIL* XII 950) *-iola*-formations coined from cognomina, supposedly from *Maximus* and *Marsus*.<sup>310</sup> This is the most likely explanation, but it is also possible that they were derivations of the nomina *Maximius* and *Marsius*.<sup>311</sup>

The name *Cervola* (at least 10 cases)<sup>312</sup> is interesting, since, from a grammatical point of view, one would perhaps expect the form *Cervula* (from *Cervus*), which, however, is attested only once (*CIL* VI 14694). It could also be assumed that the name was coined from *Cervius* instead of *Cervus*, but in this case one would expect the form *Cerviola* (attested twice, see below). Another option is that the name was derived through haplology from *Cervenius* or *Cervonius*. A similar case is perhaps *Flavola*, derived presumably from *Flavus* and not from *Flavius* (in the latter case one would expect *Flaviola*). The name is attested for (Hedia) Terentia Flavola, a Vestal virgin known from the beginning of the third century (*PFOS* 411).

#### 2.4.6.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-ula/-i)ola*

As noted above, the diminutive suffix *-ula* normally became *-ola* when added to *-i*-stems, thus resulting in the termination *-iola* when attached to most gentilicia (e.g. *Fabiola*, *Manliola*, etc.). Indeed, most Latin names ending in *-iola* were derivations from gentilicia. One of the most popular names in *-iola* (or *-eola*) was *Capriola/Capreola*, with 55 attestations in Kajanto 1965. The etymology, however, is not entirely clear. The name could derive from the nomen *Caprius*, but in many cases it must have been coined from the appellative *caprea* (at least

<sup>309</sup> At least *Dulcius* is not documented in Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*.

<sup>310</sup> Kajanto 1965, 125.

<sup>311</sup> Cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*, 113; 115.

<sup>312</sup> *CIL* XI 1079 (Parma); *ILJug* II 872 (Nedinum); *ILJug* II 931 = *AE* 1964, 257 (Dalmatia), [*C*]ervola (?); *CIL* VI 7908; 8977; 22906; *AE* 1980, 421 (Sassina); *CIL* V 1377 (Aquileia); 8305 (Aquileia); 8463 (Aquileia).

in most of the cases with the termination *-eola*.<sup>313</sup> Other than that, at least the following names were or may have been derived from nomina:

*Anniola* (10), *Titiola* (10), *Martiola* (8), *Attiola* (5), *Marciola* (4), *Victoriola* (4; if derived from the late nomen *Victorius*), *Fabiola* (3), *Gelliola* (3), *Silviola* (3), *Caesiola* (2), *Cariola* (2), *Cerviola* (2), *Domitiola* (2), *Salviola* (2), *Severiola* (2),<sup>314</sup> *Manliola/Malliola* (4), *Mariola* (2), *Seriola* (2) (if from the nomen *Serius*), *Sextiola* (2), *Sittiola* (2), *Vindemiola* (2), *Aeliola*, *Alliola*, *Badiola*, *Belliciola*, *Beriola*, *Cassiola*, *Conniola*, *Copiola*, *Dec(i)miola*, *Deciola*, *Fadiola*, *Flaviola*, *Germaniola*, *Granniola*, *Heren[n]iola*, *Iuliola*, *Iustiola*, *Naeviola*, *Octaviola*, *Quintiola*, *Simpliciola*, *Statiola*, *Viriola*.<sup>315</sup> Also perhaps *Marsiola* and *Maximiola* (see the discussion above in 2.4.6.2).

Some cases, particularly late antique formations, can be problematic. For example, *Victoriola* could be coined from the late nomen *Victorius*, but it could equally well derive from a cognomen coined with *-ius/a*. All four attestations of this cognomen seem to come from late antique Africa.<sup>316</sup>

Names of the type *Aeliola* (*CIL* XIII 11363), *Domitiola* (*CIL* XII 1920; XIII 1691), *Flaviola* (*CIL* XIII 2589; *AE* 1945, 101, Lug.), *Iuliola* (*AE* 1938, 170 = 1997, 192, Aquitanica) are obviously derived from nomina. The evidence is also clear regarding some other cognomina, e.g. *Naeviola*: *CIL* V 3413 (Naevia L. f. Naeviola); *Decmiola*: *CIL* XIII 2577 = *ILAin* 2; *ILTG* 310 = *ILAin* 3; *ILTG* 309 = *ILAin* 14 = *AE* 1945, 101 (Decmia Decmiola; the same woman apparently in all three inscriptions, one of which also mentions Camaelia Flaviola, *Belli Flavi Aemiliani et Luciliae Leae filia*, whose cognomen was obviously derived from the paternal nomen); *Helleniola*: *AE* 1946, 97 (Rome, 2nd c., Hellenia Helleniola); *[S?]ammia*: *CIL* XIII 2514 = *ILAin* 66 ([S]ammia [S]ammia); *Germaniola*: *CIL* XIII 4060 (Germania Germaniola); *Iustiola*: *CIL* XII 2369 = *ILN* V,2 567 (*Iustus Iustinus Iustiol(a)e f.*); *Catiola*: *CIL* XII 2192 = *ILN* V,2 326 (Catia Catiola); *Conniola*: *CIL* XII 2212 = *ILN* V,2 335 (Connia Conniola); *Mariola* (*CIL* XIII 1650, Maria Mariola, cf. her daughter Maria Severiola discussed above in 2.4.6.2); *Orbiola*: *AE* 1976, 431 (Lugdunum; Feridia Orbiola, daughter of Orbia Ianuaria); *Statiola*: *CIL* VIII 27980 = *ILAlg* I 3756 (Statia Statiola).

<sup>313</sup> For the nomen, cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*. Cf. also Leumann 1977 § 269.5c.

<sup>314</sup> There is also one case derived from the cognomen *Severus*; see above in 2.4.6.1

<sup>315</sup> For references, cf. Kajanto 1965; cf. also the reverse index of nomina in Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*.

<sup>316</sup> *CIL* VIII 23565 = *ILCV* 3948 (Mactaris, 3rd/4th c.?); *ILAtava* 66 (Altava, 347 CE); *CIL* VIII 3169 (Lambaesis); *CIL* VIII 18307 (Lambaesis).

There are also cases in which the cognomen is derived from a nomen used as a cognomen, e.g. *CIL* VII 325 = *RIB* I 933 (Britannia, 122–300), recording a woman called Martiola, daughter of Fl. Martius (unless we understand *Martius* as a calendaric name); *ILNV.2* 607 = *AE* 2004, 896 (Vicus Augusti, 2nd c.) with Cominia Conniola (compare her brothers Comini Connius et Connianus); and *CIL* XIII 2079 (Lugudunum), recording Bellia Octaviola, daughter of C. Bellius Octavius and Firmia Sextiola (compare also her brother C. Bellius Belliolus).

As can be observed from the evidence presented above, these formations were particularly characteristic to Gaul. The style is also attested in the nomenclature of Cornelia Manliola (*PFOS* 286), a senatorial lady of the early second century. The name suggests a connection to the patrician Manlii (but in what way exactly her family was connected to the Manlii, is unclear).<sup>317</sup>

There is also some evidence of cognomina derived from gentilicia with the termination *-ula* (instead of *-iola*), e.g. *CIL* XIII 2025a (Lugudunum), *Quintia Quintula*, and *CIL* XIII 5233 (Germ. sup., 2nd c.), *Alpinia Alpinula*. The cognomen *Maiula* (attested three times in Africa) was also probably derived from the nomen *Maius* – or in any case from an *-i*-stem.<sup>318</sup>

#### 2.4.6.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-ulal/(i)ola*

The following evidence is available of cognomina derived from praenomina with *-ulal/(i)ola*:

*Quintula*: *CIL* VIII 14636 (Afr. proc.), Grania Quintu[l]a, daughter of Q. Granius Namphamo. There are several other cases of *Quintula* as well (at least 36 found in the *EDCS*). They may, however, also derive from the numeral cognomen *Quinta* – and there is also one case, in which *Quintula* is derived from the nomen *Quintia* (see above).

*Titula/Titiola*: At least in one case the cognomen *Titula* seems to be derived from the praenomen *Titus*, viz. *CIL* XII 3553 (Nemausus) which records Decurtia T. f. Titula (though the cognomen might actually be *Titul(l)a*). The name is also attested for other women, but there are fewer clues as to the origin of the name in these cases, e.g. *HEp* 1995, 227 = 2000, 633 (Hisp. cit.), Valeri(a)e Titulae; *ILAlg* II.1 3702 (Numidia), Cassia Titula L. f.; *CIL* VI 3422 (3rd c.), Reginia Titula). One should not, furthermore, rule out the possibility that in some of the cases we may be dealing with the suffix *-ul(l)a*.

<sup>317</sup> The cognomen (if the identity is secure) was also transmitted to her daughter Acilia Manliola (*PFOS* 4); see Ch. 4.3.2.

<sup>318</sup> *CIL* VIII 26353; 15411; *ILAlg* II.1 1448.

The form *Titiola* is also known from several sources, but it would more often be coined from the nomen *Titius* than from the praenomen *Titus*.<sup>319</sup> In one fragmentary inscription, however, the name seems to derive from the praenomen: *CIL* XII 2900: *D(is) M(anibus) T(ito) ... Titiola et Secundilla f(iliae) p(atri) p(iissimo)*. The praenomen *Titus* seems to be mentioned also in *CIL* XIII 2537 (Ambarri), *[D(is)] M(anibus) / Titiol(a)e [---] Titi (...)*.

*Marcula/Marciola*: There is one case of *Marcula* derived from *Marcus*, which, however, is used as a cognomen in this case: *CIL* XII 2252 = *ILNS* V.2 388 (Cularo, 250–300 CE), Attia Marcula, daughter of C. Sollius Marcus.<sup>320</sup> As for the form *Marciola*, there is one example of the combination *Aurelia Marciola*, in which case the cognomen may have been derived from the praenomen *Marcus* (*CIL* III 15172 = *RIU* III 903 = *AE* 1939, 15, Pannonia inf., 100–150 CE).

At least three cases of *Luciola* exist which, etymologically speaking, seem to derive from *Lucius*, even if the origin of the name is not explicit in the sources, e.g. *CIL* XIII 2553 (Ambarri, 2nd/early 3rd c.?), Ael. Luciola (husband and son bear the praenomen Lucius but this cannot have affected how her cognomen was chosen); also *CIL* XIII 2555 (Ambarri), Billicca Gratiani fil. Luciola; and *AE* 1962, 119 (Aquincum), Salvia Luciola.

#### 2.4.7 -ia

##### 2.4.7.1 Late antique formations in -ia and general overview of the suffix

The suffix *-ia* was rarely used in cognomina, except during the Late Antique period, when formations of the type *Constantia* (<*Constans*) started to gain in popularity. It ought to be pointed out that many female names of this type also correspond to abstract nouns (e.g. *constantia*, f.), while masculine forms of the type *Constantius* are undeniably derived from existing names with the suffix *-ius*. Context and chronology are often important here. For instance, if the name *Constantia* appears in a Christian inscription of a late period, we can be fairly confident that the name was derived with the suffix *-ia* as a feminine form of *Constantius*.

<sup>319</sup> At least the following cases, all of them from Gaul and Germany, are on record: *CIL* XIII 783 (Burdigala, 150–200 CE), Iulia Titiola{m}; *CIL* XIII 11292 (Durocortorum, 100–150 CE), Titiola Secundi; *CIL* XII 2271 (Cularo), Devillia Catullini fil. Titiola; *CIL* XII 2288 (Cularo, 2nd c.), Bitun(ia) Titiol[a]; *CIL* XIII 11647 (Germ. sup., 200–250 CE), Iassa Titiola; *CIL* XIII 2558 (Ambarri), Sab. Titiol(a); *ILTG* 259 = *AE* 1935, 15 (Lugudunum), Tauria Titiola; *CIL* XIII 2552 (Ambarri), Iul. Titiola.

<sup>320</sup> Her sister was called Attia Marcian(a); see the discussion in Chapter 4.

The simple reason why the suffix was generally avoided in earlier times must have been the fact that it was also the main suffix in Latin gentile names. This also explains why the suffix was practically never attached to gentilicia, if one does not count some rare examples in which the suffix seems to have produced a lengthened stem, e.g. *CIL* XII 4090 (Narbonensis), Nigria Nigrinia. After the decline of the nomen, new cognomina could more freely be coined with the suffix *-ius/a* (c. 60% of all the cases collected by Kajanto are from Christian sources).<sup>321</sup>

In earlier times the suffix was mostly used to derive the female forms of the men's praenomina *Marcus* and *Titus* (see 2.4.7.2 below) and occasionally of some cognomina in *-us*. Kajava, for instance, has argued that the female form of *Varus* was normally *Varia* (or some other suffixed form) rather than *Vara*.<sup>322</sup> In Kajava's view, this may have had to do with the pejorative nature of a name such as *Varus* – which certainly will have played a role, since pejorative names in general were avoided in women's nomenclature (cf. 2.6.2) – but we should not underestimate euphonic factors: *Varia*, just like *Marcia* and *Titia*, most likely sounded better to the Romans than *Vara*, *Marca*, and *Tita*. Another example of possibly early case of *-ia* as a cognomen-suffix is found in the nomenclature of Ludisia Faustia, attested together with C. Cattidius Faustus during the first half of the first century CE (*CIL* VI 8016). The fact that these forms in *-ia* were found in female names relatively early may have to do with the fact that, in women's nomenclature, nomina with the termination *-ia* were used as cognomina on a regular basis (while for men, the practice was more uncommon; see 2.5 below). Female cognomina in *-ia*, however, remain rare during the first two centuries CE.

One should also note that the termination *-ia* was common in Greek cognomina of the type *Apollonia*, *Alexandria*. These forms, however, should not be confused with the late Roman formations of the type *Leonia* (<*Leo*), although the Greek suffix, as Kajanto suggests, may have served as a model for the later Latin formations.<sup>323</sup>

Almost half of all the cases in *-ia* were coined from present participles (e.g. *Amantia*, *Crescentia*, *Gaudentia*, *Vincentia*). The suffix was also attached to some nouns (*Dulcitia*) and new compounds (*Bonifatia*). We also seem to have many

<sup>321</sup> According to Kajanto, the usual model was that of the new gentilicia coined from cognomina, of the type *Palladius* from *Pallas*, as well as Greek names of the type *Apollonios*. Kajanto 1965, 115; cf. the discussion in Kajanto 1963.

<sup>322</sup> Cf. Kajava 1987.

<sup>323</sup> Kajanto 1965, 115.



cases in which the suffix was employed to derive feminine forms of names with the stem *-ōn*, e.g. *Capito* > *Capitonia*, *Fronto* > *Frontonia*, *Iuno* > *Iunonia*, *Leo* > *Leonia*, but in some cases the suffix could even produce a form in *-ōnia* when attached to other stems, e.g. *Cresconia* (from *Crescens*), *Fessonia* (from *Fessus*).

The most popular female name in *-ia* was *Felicia*, with 90 attestations documented by Kajanto 1965. Other names with 10 or more attestations (in order of frequency) are *Bonifatia* (72), *Crescentia* (55), *Co(n)stantia* (48), *Gaudentia* (45), *Florentia* (44), *Vincentia* (39), *Laurentia* (38), *Stercoria* (31), *Simplicia* (27), *Exsuperantia* (24), *Hilaria* (20), *Innocentia* (17), *Valentia* (17), *Amantia* (16), *Dulcitia* (13), *Exsuperia* (12), *Vindemia* (11). As noted above, names of the type *Constantia*, *Crescentia*, can also be interpreted as abstract nouns rather than independent formations. A cognomen such as *Concordia* (70) was almost certainly more often chosen after the noun (or town) rather than derived with *ius* (unlike the masculine *Concordius*, 39 cases).<sup>324</sup> A compound name such as *Bonifatia* is clearly a late formation that originated in Africa, where such names in general tend to appear:<sup>325</sup> a search in the *EDCS* produces 104 results, 37 of which are from Africa, and the rest of the cases, predominantly from the city of Rome, mostly date from the fourth and fifth centuries (with the exception of some cases from the late third century). In general, names in *-ia* are mostly found in Africa and the Christian inscriptions of Rome.<sup>326</sup>

#### 2.4.7.2 Cognomina from men's praenomina with *-ia*

The female equivalents of men's praenomina in *-us* (with the exception of numeral praenomina) were typically coined with *-ia* (not the late antique suffix).<sup>327</sup> Thus, the usual feminine forms of *Marcus* and *Titus* were *Marcia* and *Titia*, and not *Marca* and *Tita*. *Quintia*, as a derivation of the praenomen *Quintus*, is also attested but only rarely. One needs to be cautious, however, since *Marcia*, *Titia* and *Quintia* are also well attested nomina which could be used as cognomina (cf. 2.5).<sup>328</sup> I have, thus, taken into consideration only such cases in which the

<sup>324</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 255.

<sup>325</sup> Perhaps due to influence from Semitic languages in which compounds were common.

<sup>326</sup> E.g. *Felicia*, according to Kajanto 1965, is attested 49 times in Africa (in non-Christian sources); *Concordius/a* 26 times (out of 65 total cases) as well as for 23 women from Christian sources; *Crescentius/a* 21 times in Africa (out of 27 total non-Christian inscriptions) as well as 35 women from Christian sources.

<sup>327</sup> Cf. Salomies 1987, 163.

<sup>328</sup> In fact, in the majority of the cases we are probably dealing with gentilicia.

cognomen is probably derived from a praenomen (e.g. if the father of a Marcia bears the cognomen *Marcus*).

The forms *Marcia* and *Titia* are attested in numerous sources as female praenomina, but also as cognomina.<sup>329</sup> *Marca* and *Tita*, on the other hand, are found only rarely (for the few cases, see 2.3.3 above). In the following cases *Titia* is clearly or most probably derived from the praenomen *Titus*:

*CIL* XII 679 (Arelate, 70–200): Carsia Titia, daughter of T. Carsius Ter. Certinus.  
*AE* 1982, 256 (Ancona, 1st c.): Statoria T. f. Titia.

*CIL* V 8862 (Verona, 1–50): Lucilia T. f. Titia.

*AE* 1990, 680 (Nemausus, 75–125): *D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Annio Successo / Titia soror / posuit* (given the Imperial date, it is reasonable to assume that *Titia* was the sister's cognomen rather than praenomen).

There is, furthermore, *CIL* III 1879 (Narona, 170–230), *Titia Titi filia*, but it is unclear if the names should be interpreted as nomina or cognomina (or other individual names).

We also have several cases in which *Titia* is attested as a cognomen, but a clear connection to the praenomen *Titus* cannot be established, and it is probable that in at least some of them we are instead dealing with a nomen used as a cognomen. It will be enough to refer to these cases in a footnote.<sup>330</sup>

Examples of the form *Marca* are difficult to come by. Kajanto records two cases: *CIL* III 12969 (*Clodia Marca*) and XII 118 (*Nigria Marca*).<sup>331</sup> Of these, however, only the first one seems useful. As for the second, the picture provided in the *EDCS* leaves reason to doubt that the cognomen was in fact *Marcia* rather

<sup>329</sup> For a comprehensive list of cases as praenomina, see Kajava 1994, 166ff. (*Marcia*); 200ff. (*Titia*). Examples of cognomina will be given in this chapter.

<sup>330</sup> *CIL* III 1236 (Apulum, 150–270), Ianuaria Titia; *CIL* III 1753 (Epidaurum, 150–400), Aelia Titia; *CIL* III 3041 (Flanona, 200–300), Fl. Titia; *ILJug* II 743 (Aequum, 150–300), [---]ria Titia; *ILJug* II 858 (Asseria, 150–300), Apuleia Titia; *CIL* III 2552 (Salona, 150–300), Terentia Titia; *ILJug* III, 2713 (Salona), Cornelia Titia; *CIL* III 2695 (Tragurium), Valeria Titia; *CIL* III 14629,1 = *AE* 1902, 8 (Dalm.), Aelia Titia; *CIL* XII 3194 (Nemausus), Aemilia L. f. Titia *flaminica Aug.*; *CIL* XII 3292 (Nemausus), Virillia Titia; *CIL* XII 3401 (Nemausus), Aurelia Titia; *EpOst* 664 (Ostia), Malia M. f. Titia; *CIL* XIII 2081 (Lugdunum), Bittia Titia; *CIL* II 23 (Lusit.), Flavia Titia; *ILAlg* II.1 387 (Numid.), Babulia Titia; *CIL* III 4252 (Scarbantia), Iulia Titia T. f.; *CIL* XI 6716,10, Flav(ia) Titia; *CIL* VI 19112, Maecilia O. I. Titia; *CIL* VI 28447, Titia Secunda; *CIL* X 7461 (Sicilia), Aur(elia) Titia (sister of L. Titienus); *CIL* III 191 (Beroea), Fl(avia) Titia; *CIL* XI 6216 (Umbria), Vestina C. f. Titia.

<sup>331</sup> Kajanto 1965, 173.

than *Marca*. There are also two dubious cases (*CIL* IV 2235 and X 8056,536, both simply '*Marca*'), which ought to be left without further attention.

The form *Marcia*, on the other hand, is attested as a cognomen in numerous sources. Like in the case of *Titia*, however, it is likely that in many cases we are dealing with a nomen used as a cognomen. There are in any case some instructive inscriptions, in which the name seems to be derived from *Marcus*:

*CIL* XIV 1234 (Ostia, 2nd c.): Licinia M. f. Marcia.

*InscrIt.* X.2 17 (Parentium, 50–200): Coelia M. f. Marcia.

*CIPh* II.1 173 (Philippi, imperial): Varinia M. f. Marcia.

*CIL* II 789 (Caurium, 70–200): Valeria M. f. Marcia.

*CIL* X 8316 (Panormus, 250–300): Valeria M. f. Marcia.

*AE* 2001, 2128 (Maur. Caes., 70–200): Rutilia Marcia M. f.

*CIL* VIII 7500 = *ILAlg* II.1 1356 (Cirta, 70–130): Iulia Marcia M. f.

Perhaps also *IScM* II 187 (Tomis): Μαρκία Μάρκου (though she may not have even been a Roman).

The origin of the cognomen can be traced back to the praenomen also in the following cases:

*AE* 2010, 1282 (Aquincum, mid-2nd c.): Marcia and her brother M. Aemilius Ter. C(a)mpanus.

*CIL* VI 10586 (1st/2nd c.): Aebutia Marcia, *liberta* and *coniux* of M. Aebutius Hermes.

*NSA* 1924, 85 (Puteoli, 130–230): Gessia Marcia, mother of M. Gessius Maximus. The fact that the son bore the maternal name leads one to suspect that the maternal grandfather was also a M. Gessius.

There are also cases, in which *Marcia* is derived from *Marcus* – the latter, however, being a cognomen rather than praenomen, e.g. *AE* 1998, 1140 (Moes. inf., 200–250), Aur(elia) Marcia, daughter of Aurel. Marcus; *CIL* V 7962 (Cemenelum, 1st/2nd c.), Cominia Marcia, sister of Com(inius) Marcus; perhaps also Lane IV 60 (Antiochia Pisidiae), *Marcus et Marcia l. v. s.*

It is also reasonable to suspect that in imperial name combinations, such as 'Flavia Titia', 'Aurelia Marcia' or 'Ulpia Marcia' (after T. Flavius, M. Aurelius and M. Ulpus) the cognomen was a corresponding female form of *Titus* or *Marcus*. Such cases are abundantly on record:

*Flavia Titia*: *CIL* III 3041 = *ILJug* III 2899b = *AE* 1967, 354 (Dalmatia, 3rd c.), Fl(avia) Titi[a]; *CIL* II 23 = *ILS* 3175 (Lusitania); *AE* 1991, 1388 (Moesia inf.), Fl(avia) Titia (together with her son Ael. Titianus); *CIL* XI

6716,10 (unknown provenance); *CIL* VI 17307; *CIL* III 191 (Syria), Fl(avia) Titia.

*Ulpia Marcia*: *CIL* XIV 241 (Ostia); *CIL* X 3037 (Puteoli); *AE* 1985, 947 (Caesarea); *AE* 1964, 252 (Moes. inf.); *CIL* III 12418 (Moes. inf.); *CIL* III 8224 (Scupi); *ILJug* II 461 = *AE* 1971, 424 (Aquae); *CIL* VIII 4165 (Lambaesis); *CIL* III 15165 (Aquincum); *AE* 1987, 173 (Roma); *CIL* VI 8520, Ulpia Marcia Aelia Polla (unclear if two women or one polyonymous); *CIL* VI 14424 (2nd c.); *AE* 1978, 53 (Roma), Ulpia Marcia, wife of M. U(l)pius Telesphorus, Aug. lib. *Aurelia Marcia*: *CIL* IX 1224 (Aeclanum); *AE* 1977, 750 (Moes. inf.); *IMS* VI 140 = *AE* 1977, 735 (Scupi), Aur(elia) Marcia (compare her son Petronius Marcus); *AE* 2002, 1230 (Moes. sup.); *RIU* V 1164 (Pann. inf.); *CIL* VI 2633 (3rd c.), Marcia, daughter of Aur. Marcus; *CIL* VI 13354; *CIL* VI 13355.

*Aurelia Marcia*: *CIL* IX 1224 (Aeclanum); *AE* 1977, 750 (Moes. inf.); *IMS* VI 140 = *AE* 1977, 735 (Scupi), Aur(elia) Marcia (compare her son Petronius Marcus); *AE* 2002, 1230 (Moes. sup.); *RIU* V 1164 (Pann. inf.); *CIL* VI 2633 (3rd c.), Marcia, daughter of Aur. Marcus; *CIL* VI 13354; *CIL* VI 13355.

In addition to the cases presented above, a search in the *EDCS* produces at least 110 Latin inscriptions, in which *Marcia* appears as a cognomen with, however, few clues with respect to the origin of the name. It will suffice to refer to a sample material from Italy in a footnote.<sup>332</sup>

As for why the female equivalents of *Marcus* and *Titus* were coined with *-ia*, it seems clear that for the Romans these forms were phonetically more pleasing.

<sup>332</sup> *CIL* XI 46 (Ravenna), Bennia Marcia liberta (the patron's name not preserved); *AE* 1993, 536 (Luceria), Caecilia Marcia; *CIL* IX 1224 (Aeclanum), Aurelia Marcia; *CIL* IX 1273 (Aeclanum), Iulia Marcia; Cenacolo 1999, 34 (Tarentum, 40–80), Anthestia Marcia; *CIL* X 6718 (Antium), Fabia Marcia; *CIL* X 4126 (Capua), Epria Marcia; *EE* VIII,1 597 (Casinum), Paccia Marcia; *CIL* X 6262 (Fundii), Trebellia Marcia; *CIL* X 3368 (Misenum), Scentia Marcia; *CIL* X 3617 (Misenum), Valeria Marcia; *CIL* X 3623 (Misenum), Iulia Marcia; *CIL* XIV 584 (Ostia), Nonia Marcia; *CIL* XIV 839 = *AE* 2015, 216 (Ostia), Claudia Marcia; *CIL* XIV 1235 (Ostia), Licinia Marcia; *AE* 1991, 360 (Ostia), [S]eptimia Marcia; *CIL* XIV 2938 (Praeneste), Tutia Marcia; *CIL* X 1905 (Puteoli), Metilia Marcia; *CIL* IX 6366 (Picenum), Vettia Marcia; *AE* 1973, 46 (Roma), Sossia Marcia; *AE* 2007, 233 (Roma), Flavia Marcia; *CIL* VI 10934 (117–150), Aelia f. Marcia and her mother Flavia Marcia; *CIL* VI 11460, Alledia Marcia; *CIL* VI 13266, Iulia Marcia; *CIL* VI 13490, Baebia Marcia; *CIL* VI 13683, Cacilia Marcia; *CIL* VI 16029, Cornelia Marcia; *CIL* VI 18374, Flavia Marcia; *CIL* VI 18593, Sextilia Marcia; *CIL* VI 21945, Iavolena Marcia; *CIL* VI 24340, Plotia Marcia; *CIL* VI 24562, Claudia Marcia; *CIL* VI 25361, Nigrinia Marcia; *CIL* VI 26009, Sallustia Marcia; *CIL* VI 26667, Spedia Marcia; *CIL* VI 36018, Filafeia Marcia; *CIL* VI 36144, Pompe[i]a Marcia; *CIL* VI 38558, Livia Marcia; *CIL* IX 3024 (Samn.), Iulia Marcia; *CIL* IX 2788 (Samn.), Ovia Marcia; *CIL* X 7520 (Sardinia), Aemilia Marcia; *CIL* V 8461 (Aquileia), Ommia Marcia.

The phenomenon should be compared with the word formation of some Latin appellatives of the type *avus – avia*.

The cognomen *Quintia* (from the praenomen *Quintus*) is also attested in at least the following cases: *CIL* VIII 12317 = 23888 (Afr. proc., date unclear) Modia Quintia Q. Modi Felicis fil.; *CIL* V 6557 = *Suppl It XXXI* p. 129 (Novaria, 1st c.) Valeria Q. f. Quintia; *CIL* XII 2858/2910 (prov. Narb., 70–250) Maria Q. f. Quintia; *CIL* II 3717 = *CIBal* 165 (Hispania, 70–130) Caecilia Q. f. Quintia.

#### 2.4.8 *-ōsa*

As an onomastic suffix, *-ōsus/a* is an interesting case because of its distinctive geographical, chronological, and gender distribution. Geographically speaking, it is primarily found in Africa, particularly in non-Christian inscriptions and, in many of the cases from other parts of the Empire, we are clearly dealing with persons of African descent.<sup>333</sup> The suffix was also characteristic to later periods: almost half of all the evidence consists of Christian inscriptions – though in Christian times the suffix seems to have become geographically more widely spread (not least in the city of Rome).<sup>334</sup>

The suffix was also predominantly used in women's nomenclature. In the material documented by Kajanto, over 69% of all the cases formed with *-ōsus/a* are women's names. While *-ōsus/a* as a lexical suffix normally indicated that something was full of or equipped with something, Kajanto is probably right when concluding that "it is patent that the suffix had a hypocoristic connotation in cognomina".<sup>335</sup>

At least 83 cognomina in *-ōsa* are known. Of these, only seven (7) have more than 10 attestations, while 51 are known only once. The names coined with *-ōsa*, in order of popularity, are the following (for references, see Appendix 1):

<sup>333</sup> From Gaul, for example, we know a certain Num[o]nia Belliosa, whose father was *natione Afer* (see below).

<sup>334</sup> In the numbers provided by Kajanto (1965, 122), 130 out of 166 non-Christian inscriptions are from Africa, while less than a fourth of the 130 Christian inscriptions are from there.

<sup>335</sup> Kajanto 1965, 123; cf. 103.

<i>Bonosa</i> (45)	<i>Stercorosa</i> (3)	<i>Exsitiosa</i>	<i>Officiosa</i>
<i>Luciosa</i> (27)	<i>Vinosa</i> (3)	<i>Felicitosa</i>	<i>Paulosa</i> (?)
<i>Veneriosa</i> (26)	<i>Bellosa</i> (2)	<i>Fortitosa</i>	<i>Piperosa</i>
<i>Libosa</i> (25)	<i>Candidosa</i> (2)	<i>Galosa (=Gallosa?)</i>	<i>Piscarosa (Piscariosa?)</i>
<i>Primosa</i> (22)	<i>Flaviosa</i> (2)	<i>Gemmosa</i>	<i>Po[m]posa</i>
<i>Gaudiosa</i> (17)	<i>Maurosa</i> (2)	<i>Gulosa</i>	<i>Potosa</i>
<i>Iuliosa</i> (14)	<i>Mustiosa</i> (2)	<i>Ianuariosa</i>	<i>Proculosa</i>
<i>Marciosa</i> (8)	<i>Qu(i)etosa</i> (2)	<i>Imperiosa</i>	<i>Publiosa</i>
<i>Nigrosa</i> (7)	<i>Secundosa</i> (2)	<i>Italiosa</i>	<i>Quintulosa</i>
<i>Nonnosa</i> (7)	<i>Valeriosa</i> (2)	<i>Labrosa</i>	<i>Rusticosa</i>
<i>Pretiosa</i> (7)	<i>Aeliosa</i>	<i>Liberosa</i>	<i>Scurpillosa</i>
<i>Ingeniosa</i> (6)	<i>Animosa</i>	<i>Licentios{s}a</i>	<i>Sebosa</i>
<i>Fa(v)osa</i> (5)	<i>Aspidiosa</i>	<i>Luct(u)osa</i>	<i>Seneciosa</i>
<i>Lucrosa</i> (5)	<i>Atberbosa</i> (?)	<i>Luminosa</i>	<i>Siricosa</i>
<i>Urbanosa</i> (4)	<i>Axungiosa</i>	<i>Maiosa</i>	<i>Studiosa</i>
<i>Vit(i)osa</i> (4)	<i>Belliosa</i>	<i>Mammosa</i>	<i>Vebiosa (vel Ulpiosa?)</i>
<i>(H)ilarosa</i> (3)	<i>Cat[it]iosa</i>	<i>Maniosa</i>	<i>Veterosa</i>
<i>Exitiosa</i> (3)	<i>Ceriosa</i>	<i>Martiosa</i>	<i>Virginosa</i>
<i>F(o)edosa</i> (3)	<i>Divitiosa</i>	<i>Mauriculosa</i> (?)	
<i>Felicitosa</i> (3)	<i>Docilosa</i>	<i>Minosa</i>	
<i>Maximosa</i> (3)	<i>Donosa</i>	<i>Muss(i)osa</i>	
<i>Quintosa</i> (3)	<i>Dulc(i)osa</i>	<i>Nivosa</i>	

There is also the popular *Fructuosa* (45 cases in Kajanto 1965), but since the name also corresponds to an existing Latin adjective, it should perhaps not be included in the list. As can be observed from the names in the list, the suffix was often attached to other cognomina, but also to some appellatives not used as personal names, e.g. *Gaudiosa* from *gaudium* or *Donosa* from *donum*.<sup>336</sup>

There are, furthermore, a number of names derived from nomina, notably *Aeliosa* (Aelia Aeliosa in *CIL* VIII 9151), *Ceriosa* (*ILAlg* II.1 3037), *Flaviosa* (two cases from Africa),<sup>337</sup> *Iuliosa* (all 14 cases from Africa),<sup>338</sup> *Maiosa* (*CIL* VIII

<sup>336</sup> *Donosa* is attested once in *ILAlg* II.1 2870. *Gaudiosa* is known from several inscriptions, cf. Kajanto 1965, 260.

<sup>337</sup> *BCTH* 1910, CCI, 300 CE; *CIL* VIII 3971.

<sup>338</sup> *AE* 1985, 932 (2nd c.); *CIL* VIII 5805 = *ILAlg* II.2 6673; *ILAlg* II.1 2196; *ILAlg* II.3 10057; *CIL* VIII 3380; 3634; 3909 = 18201; *ILAlg* II.3 7616 = *AE* 1923, 21; *CIL* VIII 6780 = *ILAlg* II.1 3867; *AE* 2000, 1780; six women called *Iulia Iuliosa*: *CIL* VIII 9087; 9119; 5868 = *ILAlg* II.2 6800; *ILAlg* II.3 9836; *ILAlg* II.1 2074; *CIL* VIII 6770 = *ILAlg* II.1 3837.

20453), *Marciosa* (at least six cases known, all from Africa),<sup>339</sup> *Valerosa* (*CIL* VIII 2427),<sup>340</sup> perhaps also *Mussiosa* (*CIL* VIII 6041; but note the form *Mussosa* in *CIL* VIII 6129, possibly recording the same woman), *Cat[i]osa* (*CIL* VIII 17446 = *ILAlg* I 135, though the name could also be *Cat[t]osa*), *Divitiosa* (*ILTG* 441 = *AE* 1925, 37, from the rare nomen *Divitius*), *Martiosa* (if not a theophoric name; cf. *EE* IX 929 from Latium).

There is also a case of *Belliosa* derived from a nomen used as a cognomen, viz. *CIL* XIII 2000 = *ILS* 7648 (Lugudunum), recording Num[o]nia Belliosa, daughter of Numonia Bellia and Iulius Alexander, *natione Afer*. For *Seneciosa* (from *Senecio*), cf. 2.4.14 below.

The suffix *-ōsa* was surely used to derive cognomina from praenomina as well. *Luciosa*, for example, is frequently attested in Africa (at least 35 cases) and one can only assume that, in most cases, the name was derived from *L(ucius)* and not from something else (even if there are no cases on record in which the father is attested with the praenomen).<sup>341</sup> Other cognomina that merit a mention in this regard are *Quintosa* (3),<sup>342</sup> *Publiosa* (*ICUR* 21308, 4th/5th c.), and *Titosa* (*ILAlg* II.1 2697, 2nd c.).

#### 2.4.9 *-ella*

While *-illa* and *-ella* originated in the same stems,<sup>343</sup> there was a significant difference in their use in lexical and onomastic items. The latter, *-ellus/a*, was a common and productive suffix in appellatives, but it is next to non-existent in personal names in which it is mostly restricted to quasi-fossilized forms such as *Marcellus/a*.<sup>344</sup> It

<sup>339</sup> *CIL* VIII 4829 = *ILAlg* II.2 6113; *CIL* VIII 8382 = 20222; *ILAlg* II.1 2188; *CIL* VIII 3568; 3927, *M(arcia?) Marciosa*; *CIL* VIII 20062 = *ILAlg* II,3 8709.

<sup>340</sup> Also as an agnomen in *CIL* III 14406 (Macedonia, 4th c.), *Victoria sive Valerosa*.

<sup>341</sup> The cases are: *CIL* VIII 9807; 21695; 21696; *AE* 1979, 685; *IDAltava* 100; *AE* 1985, 888; *BCTH* 1928/29, 408 (Mauret. Caes., 235 CE); *CIL* VIII 9094; 9100; 9140; 20747; *AE* 1984, 946; *CIL* VIII 6206; *ILAlg* II.3 8997; *CIL* VIII 8661; *ILAlg* II.3 7537; *CIL* VIII 5793; *CIL* VIII 7263; *ILAlg* II.1 844; 1651; *ILAlg* II.3 8054; *ILAlg* II.3 8825; *CIL* VIII 19800; *ILAlg* II.1 2693; *CIL* VIII 19288; 6428; 6594; 19362; *ILAlg* II.3 9661; *ILAlg* II.2 4272; *CIL* VIII 3902; *ILAlg* II.3 9338; *AE* 2000, 1791; *CIL* VIII 10753; *CIL* VI 13343.

<sup>342</sup> *AE* 1984, 947 (3rd/4th c.); *CIL* VIII 6174 = *ILAlg* II.3 9387; *CIL* VIII 8287 = 8288 = *ILAlg* II.3 7560.

<sup>343</sup> i.e. *-lo/a*, *-no-*, and *-ino/a*-stems. Strodach 1933, 26; cf. also Kajanto 1965, 126.

<sup>344</sup> Kajanto 1965, 126; also Strodach 1933, 55: "(...) in proper names *-illo/a-* was far commoner than *-ello/a*".

can only be assumed that in many of the 361 cases documented by Kajanto 1965, *Marcella* was not a genuine derivation but simply a feminine form of *Marcellus* (*Marcella* is even attested as a female praenomen during the Republic).<sup>345</sup> There is, however, plenty of evidence of women called Marcella whose father bore the praenomen *M(arcus)* (of the type Petronia M. f. Marcella). At least 44 such cases are known to me, and it may be assumed that, in many of these cases, the name was derived from the praenomen (for a detailed list of cases, see 4.5 below).<sup>346</sup>

Furthermore, in at least the following cases *Marcella* seems to derive from the nomen *Marcia*: *CIL* VI 22144 (Rome, date unclear): Marcia Marcella; *CIL* II 6069 (Jerica, 1st c.): Marcia L. f. Marcella; *AE* 2012, 814 (Hispania, 2nd c.): Mar[cia -] f. Marc[ella] (note also her son Marcellus); *CIL* VIII 3890 (Lambaesis, 70–200): Marcia Marcella (note also her son Marcianus); *CIL* VIII 27841 (Tituli, 70–200): Marcia P. f. Marcella; *ILBulg* 306 = *AE* 1932, 51 (Novae, 150–200): Marcia Marcella.

There is also *CIL* VIII 16126 (Sicca Veneria), recording Marcia M. f. Marcella, in whose case the cognomen can be considered a derivation from both the nomen and the father's praenomen.

One should take into consideration that the popularity of the form *Marcella* may also have to do with euphony, since the variant *Marcilla* is extremely rare and only attested in Late Antiquity.<sup>347</sup> Clearly the *-ella*-variant was the preferred form, even if *-illa*-forms in general were more popular.

The unproductive nature of *-ella* is emphasized by the fact that there are only a few other names with the termination. The only other frequently attested name is *Novella* (from *Novus/Novius*), with 46 women documented by Kajanto (also

<sup>345</sup> *CIL* V 449 = *InscrIt* X.3 126; cf. Kajava 1994, 86.

<sup>346</sup> *CIL* VI 20894: 16632; 32649; *NSA* 1920, 288 no. 5; *CIL* XI 6110; V 7509; 7963 = *ILGN* 4; *CIL* V 7510; *IAquil* II 1339; Pais 1184; *CIL* V 2876; 4011; 3399; 3399; 3625; XII 81 = *AE* 1999, 997; *CIL* XII 2924; *ILGN* 429 (eadem *CIL* XII 3477?); *CIL* XII 3704; 2959; II 33; 261; 968; 1004; 3623; 3653; 4019; 5014; 5251; *AE* 1981, 576; *CIL* VIII 16311; 16386; 19115; *ILAlg* II.2 6602; *CIL* VIII 7181 = *ILAlg* II.1 872; *CIL* VIII 7499 = *ILAlg* II.1 1354; *CIL* VIII 6494; *ILAlg* II.2 4862; *CIL* VIII 26800; 6902; *AE* 2011, 893; 1993, 1266.

<sup>347</sup> Cf. *IRT* 754u (Afr. proc.); *ICERV* 548 (Emerita); *CIL* X 8053,274 (Carales).



61 men).<sup>348</sup> Other possible names include *Procella* (8),<sup>349</sup> *Anucella* (3),<sup>350</sup> *Catella* (6, at least in one case derived from *Catus*),<sup>351</sup> *Cervella* (*CILA* II.1 143, late), *Felicella* (*ICUR* 15456, early 4th c.), *Festella* (*RIT* 969 = *HEp* 2002, 400, 5th/6th c.), *Flaccella* (*CIL* II 3622, 1st c.), *Longella* (dubious; *ILTun* 201,80), *Mitella* (*CIL* V 6472), *Primella* (*CIL* XII 1418), *Pulchella* (*CIL* X 7407), *Sacella* (*CIL* XII 2810), and *Ursella* (*ILCV* 4257b, late case from 370–430 CE). There is also the possible case of *Hispella* (cf. Licinia Vic[t]orina *Hispella* in *PFOS* 497). The name belongs to this category if interpreted as a derivation from *Hispo* through haplology (compare *Hispo* > *Hispulla* above). Kajava, however, has argued that the name was in fact a part of the husband's name, in which case we would not even be dealing with a female cognomen.<sup>352</sup> In any case, it is noteworthy that female cognomina in *ella* were primarily derived from other cognomina. One also needs to take into consideration the possibility that in some cases the name may in fact be a vulgar form supposed to end in *-illa*.

#### 2.4.10 *-itta*

One suffix that is exclusively found in female names is the diminutive suffix *-itta*. Unlike most other Latin diminutive suffixes, *-itta* did not originate in the Indo-European *\*-lo-*stems and its exact origin is unclear.<sup>353</sup> There were only a limited number of cognomina coined with *-itta*, the most popular ones being *Pollitta* (26 cases in Kajanto 1965) and *Gallitta* (15 cases). Both names are also attested for senatorial women.

*Pollitta*: ANTISTIA POLLITTA (*PFOS* 72), daughter of L. Antistius Vetus (*cos.* 55); FL(AVIA) POLLITTA (*PFOS* 374), wife of Ti. Manilius Fuscus (*cos. suff.* 195/196) and one of the *matronae senatoriae* in the Saecular Games of 204 CE (cf. Pigghi 1965, p. 157); FUFIDIA POLLITTA (*PFOS* 388), daughter of L. Fufidius

<sup>348</sup> Kajanto 1965, 289.

<sup>349</sup> Mostly late cases: *CIL* XIII 7638 = *AE* 2006, 941/942 (Germ. sup., 150–250); *CIL* III 14354 (Aquincum, 200–250); *TitAq* I 423 (ibid., 1–200); *ILJug* I 271 (Pann. inf., 250–350); *AE* 1998, 1056 (ibid., 61 CE); *RIU* III 782 (Pann. sup., 211–222; P[ro]cella); *AE* 1979, 439 (Raetia, 70–200); *CIL* V 5075 (Anauni, 1st/2nd c.).

<sup>350</sup> *CIL* VIII 7694; 2890; *ICUR* 14067 (early 4th c.: *Valeria Calliope qu(a)e et Anucella*).

<sup>351</sup> For the cognomen of Aelia Catella (*PFOS* 10), see the discussion in 4.6.1. Other cases of *Catella*: *CIL* VI 16162 (3rd c.); VIII 27448 (Thugga); *AE* 2009, 1741 (Amaedara); *AE* 1992, 1848 (Numidia; Catel[la]); *JJWE* I 68 (Venusia, 570–630).

<sup>352</sup> Kajava 1988b.

<sup>353</sup> Almost all kinds of etymologies (Etruscan, Greek, Celtic, Latin, Germanic) have been proposed; cf. Hasselrot 1943/1944; cf. Kajanto 1965, 129.

Pollio (*cos.* 166); RUTILIA Q. F. POLLITTA (PFOS 675), attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* in CIL VI 30861.

*Gallitta*: COSCONIA GALLITTA (PFOS 296), daughter of Lentulus Maluginensis and wife of L. Seius Strabo, *praefectus Aegypti*,<sup>354</sup> also GALLITTA (PFOS 400), called by her cognomen by Pliny (*epist.* 6,31) who mentions her as the wife of a military tribune who was condemned for adultery in 106/107 CE.

Whilst *Pollitta* in most cases must derive from *Pollio/Polla*, it could also in some cases derive from the nomen *Pollius*, e.g. AE 1992, 455 (Amiternum), Pollia C. f. Pollitta. *Gallitta* was normally derived from *Gallus/a*, but it could also in a similar manner derive from the nomen *Gallius*, even if evidence of this is not on record.

There is also the cognomen *Iulitta*, derived from the nomen *Iulius*. The name is attested in at least 11 Latin inscriptions from various parts of the Empire.<sup>355</sup> Another fairly frequently attested name is *Nonnit(t)a*, which is known from at least 12 inscriptions, mostly dating from the 3rd century onwards.<sup>356</sup> Other possible names derived with *-itta* include *Annit(t)a* (2),<sup>357</sup> *Bonitta* (2),<sup>358</sup> *Caesi(t)a* (3),<sup>359</sup> *Domnitta* (Greg. Tur. *Mart.* 4,24), *Iulianeta* (3; vulgar form of *Iulianitta?*),<sup>360</sup> *Ninit(t)a* (ICUR 8896, 4th c.; dubious), and *Titit(t)a*(?) (CIL XIV 3428a, 4th c.; dubious). The suffix, despite its relative rarity, seems to have remained prolific in the spoken Latin of some parts of the Latin West, which is

<sup>354</sup> For the problems concerning the identity and nomenclature of Cosconia Gallitta and her father, see Kajava 1995.

<sup>355</sup> CIL III 2941 (Dalmatia, 170–300) Iulia Iulitta; *Latium* 32–33 (2015/16), p28–29, no. 21 (Antium, 3rd c.); CIL XIV 5107 = AE 1981, 159 (Portus, 117–138 CE); CIL III 14585 (Moes. sup., 150–200), Iul(ia) Iulit(a); CIL VIII 6777 = *ILAlg* II.1 3838, *Iu{i}litta* probably rather than *[Li]vilitta*, as interpreted by Kajanto 1965, 129; 171; CIL VI 10412 = ICUR 20737 (3rd c.); CIL VI 13829; 23263; *Opuscula Romana* 3 (1961), 182 no. 10 (Rome); CIL IX 4967 = XI 29,6\* (Samnium), Iulia M. f. [I]ulit[t]a; CIL IX 3353 (Samnium, 1st c.).

<sup>356</sup> CIL XIII 563 = *ILCV* 1919 (Aquitania); CIL XIII 3859 = *ILCV* 1373 (450–500, Augusta Trev.); CIL XIII 3867 (ibid. 350–400); *IBC* 10 (Britannia, Christ.); Berger 2002, 171 (Germ. inf. 275–300); *ICERV* 205 (Tarraco, 5th c.); AE 1939, 286 (Scarbantia, 98–150); ICUR 6836 (4th c.; *Novvιτa*); 10303d (4th c.; [Non]nita); 24537a (4th/5th c.); CIL V 6252 = *ILCV* 1263 (Mediolanum, 4th/5th c.); CIL V 1691 = *ILCV* 4266d (Aquileia).

<sup>357</sup> AE 1995, 718 (Baetica); *ILGN* 503; in both cases the name is written *Annita*.

<sup>358</sup> CIL VIII 2906; *ILAlg* II.2 516; both cases from Africa.

<sup>359</sup> CIL VIII 1915 = *ILAlg* I 3206; CIL VIII 4544; 4545 (same woman); all cases from Africa, the name always in the form *Caesita*.

<sup>360</sup> CIL XIII 1529 = *ILCV* 2911 (Arverni, 4th c.); AE 1996, 306 = 2006, 258 (Ostia, 3rd c.); *Sc. Ostia* XII-A 32 (Ostia, late).

evident from its use in modern Romance language (compare personal names such as *Antoinette, Juliette, Nicolette*).<sup>361</sup>

#### 2.4.11 *-cula*

*-cula* was not a productive suffix in personal names. Only eight possible female cognomina seem to be on record (and not all of these are certain). The most popular name by far is *Felic(u)la* with 420 cases documented by Kajanto.<sup>362</sup> In men's nomenclature, on the contrary, *Felic(u)lus* is attested only once, in a late antique inscription from Africa (*CIL* VIII 16396 = *ILCV* 2092 = *ILTun* 1631). This is understandable, given the popularity of *Felix* as a male cognomen (see Table 1 in 2.1 above).

*Felic(u)la*, if interpreted as a derivation with *cula* rather than *ula*, is in a league of its own. In fact, there are only a few other female cognomina in *cula* with more than one attestation. *Paterc(u)la* is attested for two women in Gaul, where names relating to family seem to have been common.<sup>363</sup> There is also one possible case from Africa, though the name is badly fragmented (*CIL* VIII 16472). As a female name *Paterc(u)la*, a diminutive of *pater*, is rather peculiar, and it is no surprise that the masculine variant *Paterc(u)lus* is better attested (Kajanto documents 23 cases, including 6 senators).<sup>364</sup> As a female cognomen, the name must have been inherited from the father or some other male relative, otherwise the choice is difficult to explain.

Another name with several attestations is *Apic(u)la*, with 14 cases in Kajanto 1965, eight of which are slaves/*libertae*.<sup>365</sup> The name in some cases, however, may not at all be derived from *apis* with the suffix *-cula*, but from *apex* or *apica* with the suffix *-ula*. The name *Atticula*, attested in *CIL* VI 7682, is also problematic in this respect, since it may be interpreted as a derivation from the nomen *Attius* with *-cula*, but it was perhaps more likely derived from the cognomen *Atticus* with *-ula* (e.g. Cicero refers to the daughter of his friend Atticus as *Atticula* in one of his letters; Cic. *Att.* 6,5,4). Other female cognomina that were or may have been derived with the suffix *cula* include *Bibicula* (*AE* 1981, 613, Cemenelum, 2nd c.) *Fidelicu[l]a* (*CIL* III 12654), *Fortic(u)la* (*CIL* VI 35377 = 37902), *Iuencula* (*CIL*

<sup>361</sup> Cf. Leumann 1977 § 269 B.4; cf. Haverling 2011, 253f.

<sup>362</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 273.

<sup>363</sup> *AE* 1982, 680 (Nemausus, 160–200 CE); *CIL* XII 983. Cf. Kajanto 1965, 80 for some comments regarding the geographical distribution of cognomina relating to near relationships.

<sup>364</sup> Kajanto 1965, 304.

<sup>365</sup> Kajanto 1965, 333.

XIII 4394, Iuvenalia Iuvencula, father Iuvenalis), *Piperc(u)la* (*CIL* VI 24212), *Pollec(u)la* (2 late cases), *Valeric(u)la* (*AE* 1974, 32, Rome, 350–400 CE).<sup>366</sup>

#### 2.4.12 *-ica*

The suffix *-ica* was common in geographical names and *cognomina e virtute*, but these are usually not genuine suffixed forms but correspond to Latin adjectives, e.g. *Asiatica*, *Gaetulica*. There are, however, a number of cognomina that were productively coined with *-ica*, almost exclusively from other cognomina. Kajanto could not define the time when the suffix passed into general use, but a glance at the evidence below shows that most of the cases are known from late sources, mostly after 200 CE, and only rarely before 150 CE.<sup>367</sup> Furthermore, the majority of the cases are from Africa. The following names (and cases), in alphabetical order, are on record:

*Asellica* (9, none of which before 300 CE),<sup>368</sup> *Bellica* (12),<sup>369</sup> *Bonica* (*CIL* VIII 4560), *Felica* (2; through *\*Felic-ica*),<sup>370</sup> *Florica* (2?),<sup>371</sup> *Fortica* (*ICUR* 12637, 4th/5th c.), *Fusinica* (*CIL* VIII 19796), *Leonica* (3),<sup>372</sup> *Leporica* (*ICUR* 2311; 290–325 CE), *Maiorica* (23),<sup>373</sup> *Mapalica* (*CIL* VIII 3224, Severan), *Matronica*

<sup>366</sup> *AE* 1958, 270 (Rome, 4th c.); *CIL* VI 9684 = *ILCV* 685 (em) = *ICUR* 7751 (325–375 CE).

<sup>367</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 112.

<sup>368</sup> Only known from late antique/Christian inscriptions of the city of Rome: *AE* 1975, 120 (4th c.); *AE* 1976, 75 (4th c.); *ICUR* 2152 (3rd c.); 9652 (4th c.); 17285 (4th/5th c.); 20906 (6th c.); 23806 (4th c.); 23812 (4th c.); 27387 (350–400 CE).

<sup>369</sup> Half of the cases from Africa: *CIL* VIII 16928a = *ILAlg* I 590a; *CIL* VIII 12936; VIII 4961 = *ILAlg* I 1510; *CIL* VIII 5790; VIII 6400; *ILAlg* II.3 9385; also five cases from Gaul: *CIL* XII 2247 = *ILNV.2* 384 (2nd c.); *CIL* XII 2262 = *ILNV.2* 394 (grandmother of the former); *CIL* XII 1361; XIII 11179; one from Rome: *CIL* VI 8583 = *ILS* 1578.

<sup>370</sup> *CIL* VIII 6228; 3867. There is also *CIL* III 11001 *Aur. [F?]eli[c]a* but the restoration is uncertain, as is the sex of the name-bearer.

<sup>371</sup> There is a possible case of a third-century senatorial woman in *CIL* II 4994 which seems to record a daughter of Iulia Decimi f. Cas(s)iana by the cognomen *Florica* (for the mother, cf. Appendix 4a). This would be the case, if we read the text in the following way: *Castrensi Florica Sabina et Iulia Casiana matri (...) filiae (...) posuerunt*. Note, however, Mommsen's reading: *Castrensi Flori (uxor) Ca(strensia) Sabina et Iulia Casiana*. There is also *IRCP* 259 from Lusitania, recording a woman who possibly had the cognomen *[F]lorica*, but this case is also uncertain.

<sup>372</sup> *CIL* II 122 = 5189, 3rd c.? (the monument was reused for a later Christian inscription, dating from the 5th/6th c.); *CIL* VI 21186; *MNR* I,8,1, p. 252 (Rome, 200–230).

<sup>373</sup> Almost all of the cases (21/23) from Africa: *AE* 1968, 870 (Thugga); *ILAfr* 208; *CIL* VIII 1237; *ILTun* 1109.48; *CIL* VIII 13770; *AE* 1997, 1718 (Afr. proc.); *CIL* VIII 26712; VIII 26770; *ILAlg* I 2326; I 2415; *CIL* VIII 15624; VIII 27744 = 27745; VIII 1958 = *ILAlg* I 3311; *CIL* VIII 21644 = *ILS* 8500 = *ILCV* 4360a (366 CE); *BCTH* 1951/52, 242 (Maur. Caes.); *CIL* VIII 4621; 4293;

(18),<sup>374</sup> *Minorica* (*CIL* VIII 3814), *Modica* (*CIL* VIII 2117), *Mustelica* (*CIL* VIII 422), *Natalica* (8),<sup>375</sup> *Nonnica* (2),<sup>376</sup> *Nuptialica* (2),<sup>377</sup> *Opilionica* (*ICUR* 5405, 4th c.), *Paulica?* (*CIL* VIII 22658,20), *Primulica* (*CIL* VIII 3802), *Pusin(n)ica* (5),<sup>378</sup> *Silvanica* (*CIL* VIII 9116, 242–246 CE), *Sorica* (9),<sup>379</sup> *Spenica* (3),<sup>380</sup> *Triumfalica* (2),<sup>381</sup> *Urbanica* (4),<sup>382</sup> *Varica* (2),<sup>383</sup> *Vestalica* (*CIL* VIII 682 = 11911), *Viatica* (2),<sup>384</sup> *Victorica* (2),<sup>385</sup> *Villatica* (3),<sup>386</sup> *Vindelica* (*CIL* III 5780 = 11887, 170–300 CE), *Vitalica* (11).<sup>387</sup>

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*ILAlg* II.3 8179; *CIL* VIII 4319; VIII 3687; VIII 3740; *BCTH* 1932/33, 491 (Thamugadi); *BCTH* 1934/35, 41 (Thamugadi). There are also two cases from Ostia, but at least in one of these we seem to be dealing with people of African descent: *CIL* XIV 1288 (Maioricae fecit Bonosa mater; probably African origin); *IPOstie* A 17.

<sup>374</sup> All of the cases from Africa, save for one: *CIL* VIII 28053; VIII 4961; VIII 5046; VIII 5127; VIII 1962; VIII 21730; *IAltava* 60 (345 CE); *CIL* VIII 8595; VIII 7221; VIII 7604; *ILAlg* II.2 6201; *CIL* VIII 3018; VIII 3256; VIII 3903; VIII 20112; *Tiddis* 157 (Numidia); *CIL* VIII 2477 = 17966; *AE* 1920, 107 (Rome, 2nd c.).

<sup>375</sup> Most cases from Africa: *AE* 2003, 1929 (Afr. proc., 350–400); *CIL* VIII 1345 = *ILCV* 1416 (late); *CIL* VIII 27246a; VIII 1742; VIII 23603; VIII 3653; two from Rome: *CIL* VI 36377 (3rd/4th c.); *ICUR* 19129 = *ILCV* 4590 (4th c.).

<sup>376</sup> *CIL* VIII 9255 = *ILCV* 1822; *CIL* V 7274 (150–250); *CIL* XI 941 = *ILCV* 253 = *AE* 1996, 666 (from 570 CE).

<sup>377</sup> Both cases in Africa: *CIL* VIII 12400; VIII 24037.

<sup>378</sup> Six of the cases from Africa: *ILAlg* I 1857; *CIL* VIII 11145; *ILAlg* II.3 7346; II.3 7378; II.3 8107; II.1 3965. Other regions: *AE* 1999, 715 (Aemilia, 100–150), freedwoman; *CIL* II 1993 (Baetica, 150–200, no nomen); *Conimbri* 419 [*Pu*]sinica].

<sup>379</sup> Six cases from Africa: *IL Afr* 169,2; *CIL* VIII 25286; *AE* 1997, 1720 (Afr. proc., 4th c.); *BCTH* 1938/40, 695 (Afr., late); *ILAlg* II.2 6687; II.1 2543. Other regions: *HEp* 2012, 25 = *AE* 2012, 689; *ICUR* 18745 = *ILCV* 2122 (Rome, 5th c.); *ICUR* 20171 (Rome, late 4th c.).

<sup>380</sup> Two cases from Africa, one from Rome: *CIL* VIII 5245 = 17405, *Ispenica*; *AE* 2011, 1747 (Carthago); *CIL* VI 2384 (3rd/4th c.).

<sup>381</sup> Two Christian inscriptions from Carthage, possibly recording the same person: *CIL* VIII 13976; 13977.

<sup>382</sup> All four cases from Numidia: *ILAlg* II.3 9541; *CIL* VIII 7077 = 19429; VIII 7822; *ILAlg* II.3 9333.

<sup>383</sup> *HEp* 1995, 99 = *AE* 1993, 915 (Emerita, late 1st c.); *CIL* VIII 14222 (late).

<sup>384</sup> Both cases from the upper Pannonia: *AE* 1991, 1315 (Carnuntum, 100–150); *CIL* III 4205 = 10926 (Savaria, 130–170).

<sup>385</sup> Both cases from Africa: *CIL* VIII 16855 = 28071; VIII 3419.

<sup>386</sup> All from Africa: *CIL* VIII 5104; VIII 5107; *ILAlg* I 2435.

<sup>387</sup> Nine cases from Africa: *CIL* VIII 1094 = 12476; VIII 12862 (2nd c.); VIII 26886; VIII 27225;

## 2.4.13 Other suffixes

a) The suffix *-āna* was a prolific suffix in words of the Latin lexicon but, unlike *-iāna*, it is only rarely found in cognomina. The only female names on record which seem to have certainly been derived with *-āna* are *Celerana* (*CIL* VI 15377), *Clivana* (2),<sup>388</sup> *Gallitana* (3),<sup>389</sup> *Lucillana* (*AE* 1993, 197, Rome, 30–70), *Urbicana* (*Cod. Iust.* 5,12,9), *Villana* (4),<sup>390</sup> and *Volitana* (spelled *Bolitana* in *CIL* VIII 24506). There are also some other names, mostly found in Christian inscriptions, that perhaps should belong to the category, such as *Assuritana* (Prévot 1984 XII.48, Mactaris), *Barbarana* (unless a corrupt form of *Barbariana*),<sup>391</sup> *Caplitana* (*ICUR* 3378 (4th/5th c.), *Laietana* (*CIL* II 6171), *Lixitana* (*CIL* VI 2197).

b) *-ālis/-āris* was a common suffix in theophoric names of the type *Apollinaris*, *Martialis*, but such names correspond to Latin adjectives and are not treated as suffixed forms here. The suffix, in fact, was hardly productive in cognomen-formation. Only four female cognomina are known: *Crementalis* (*CIL* XI 7340), *Fortunalis* (*CIL* II 3355, 170–230 CE), *[L]uminaris* (*CIL* VI 14192, fragmentary), and *Quinquatralis* (*CIL* VI 15928, 50–200 CE). At least three of these names are also attested for men, either predominantly or in equal measure (though masculine forms coined independently with *-ālis/-āris* were also rare): Kajanto records 4 masculine cases of *Fortunalis*, 9 of *Quinquatralis*, and one case of *Luminaris*.<sup>392</sup> For discussion regarding unisex names, see 2.6.3 below.

c) *-ō(nis)*: Kajanto documents some female cognomina coined with *-ō*, namely *Nigro*, *Sexto* (4), *Tito*, and *Titullo*.<sup>393</sup> It seems to me, however, that some of these cases can be refuted and one new name – *Apro* – added to the list.<sup>394</sup> Only *Nigro*

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*ILAlg* II.3 7337a; II.3 8133; II.1 2456; II.1 3314; *CIL* VIII 3138; also one slave, *CIL* VIII 12854. Other regions: *CIL* XIII 3552; *BCTH* 1951/52, 243b.

<sup>388</sup> *CIL* II 964 (Baetica); *AE* 1983, 123 (Portus, 2nd c.).

<sup>389</sup> *CIL* IX 955 (Aecae, 50–150); X 256 (Grumentum); *AE* 1999, 637 (Caere).

<sup>390</sup> *AE* 1997, 387 (Aeclanum, 3rd c.); *CIL* II 6029 (Saguntum, 70–200); II 6066; XIII 8418 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium).

<sup>391</sup> The name is found in a Latin inscription carved in Greek letters (*ICUR* 25018, 300–350 CE).

<sup>392</sup> Kajanto 1965, 214 = 273 (*Fortunalis*); 220 (*Quinquatralis*); 288 (*Luminaris*).

<sup>393</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 119.

<sup>394</sup> The gender is not explicit in the following two cases of *Sexto*: *CIL* III 2754 (Salona), *J / Turoli et / Sextoni / parentes / b(ene) m(erenti)*; *CIL* III 13246 = *AE* 1894, 72 (Dalmatia), *Sexto Licpinsi filio*; as for *CIL* III 13215 (Salona), the cognomen seems to be *Sextonic(a)* instead of *Sexto*. The

and one case of *Sexto* and *Tito* (two sisters) are attested in sources that can be taken as evidence, and there is furthermore one case of *Sexto* not documented by Kajanto:

*Nigro*: CIL VIII 2180 = 16735 (Afr. proc.): (...) *Valeria Nigro vici(t) annis* (...).

*Tito* and *Sexto*: CIL III 2757 = 9817 (Salona): (...) *Titoni et Sextoni sororibus*.

*Sexto*: AE 1975, 680 (Dalmatia): (...) *Sextoni matri* (...).

*Apro*: CIL VI 35979: *Octavia Apro vici(t) [sic] an(n)is XXII* (...).

Given the fact that majority of the cases are from Illyria, except for *Nigro* which is from Africa and *Apro* which is only known from Rome, one could draw the conclusion that we are perhaps dealing with local substrata rather than a genuine Latin formation.<sup>395</sup> There is, moreover, the possibility that forms such as *Sextoni*, *Titoni* may in fact be datives of names in *-onis*, viz. *Sextonis*, *Titonis*.

d) *-iō(nis)*: Kajanto 1965 records four cognomina attested for women: *Cat(t)io*, *Peculio*, *Secundio*, and *Severio*. In addition, there is at least one case of *Fortio* on record.

*Secundio* (3): CIL V 5196 (Clusone, 2nd half of the 1st c.): *Secundio et Tertia sorores*; CIL V 5376 (Comum): *Secundioni Giamilli filiae*; CIL XII 903 (Arelate): *Val(eriae) Secundioni / L(ucius) Popil(ius) Clemens / coniug(i) piae*.

*Cat(t)io*: CIL III 4928 (Virunum, 1–150): *Ti(berio) Iulio / Primigenio / et suis / Cationi con(iugi)* (...).

*Peculio*: CIL II 1746 (Gades): *Aelia Peculio*.

*Severio*: CIL III 5671 (Noricum): *Iulia Severio*.

*Fortio*: CIL III 14370,1 (Raetia, 2nd c.). (...) *Victoriae Fortioni coniugi* (...) *Fl. Serenus*.

Whilst the number of names and cases is low, they seem to be scattered in different parts of the Empire rather broadly.

e) The suffix *-īva*, as an independent suffix, is found only in two female cognomina, both attested in Africa and coined from past participles: *Donativa* (CIL VIII 16572 = *ILAlg* I 3165) and *Missiva* (CIL VIII 23355). There are also names such as *Dativa* (61 cases in Kajanto 1965), *Genetiva* (3),<sup>396</sup> *Stativa* (2),<sup>397</sup> and

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form documented as *Titullo* by Kajanto, recorded in CIL II 2807 (prov. Tarrac.) seems to be in fact *Titulla*.

<sup>395</sup> The suffix was frequent in Illyrian names, cf. Krahe 1929, 146; cf. also Schulze 1966 [1904], 38.

<sup>396</sup> CIL II 1817 (Gades); III 4026 (Pannonia superior, 1–300); *CAG* 18, 63 (Aquitania).

<sup>397</sup> CIL XI 162 (Ravenna); *IAquil* III 3303 (Aquileia).

*Sementiva* (*CIL* VI 17720, *liberta*), but these names also correspond to existing adjectives and should perhaps not be considered genuine suffixed derivations.

f) There is also one case of *-aca*, although this suffix may be of foreign extraction: *CIL* V 6116 (Mediolanum, 2nd/3rd c.) Valeria Valerin(a?) Albaniaca.

#### 2.4.14 'Irregular' formations and haplology

We have already seen in the chapters above that some cognomina were seemingly irregular derivations. In other words, they were not derived from the stem that one would expect from a strictly grammatical point of view. A joint discussion of such formations will now be presented.

First, it ought to be clarified that it is not always easy to discern whether a cognomen was derived, for example, through haplology or if the name was simply chosen because it resembled another name closely enough. For instance, a woman with the nomen *Lucilia* could bear the cognomen *Lucilla* (instead of *\*Lucililla*, cf. *Lucilia Lucilla* in *CIL* III 3936 = 10820) – but it is unclear if the name-giver considered the cognomen an actual derivation from the nomen or if they simply chose the existing name *Lucilla* (from *Lucius*) because they associated it with the name *Lucilia*. In the end, of course, such a distinction is trivial from the Roman point of view. What mattered to the name-giver was that the cognomen could be associated with the name from which it was derived and that it sounded pleasing enough. Thus, a woman bearing the nomen *Lucilia* could be given the cognomen *Lucilla* – even if, or rather because, the 'grammatically correct' derivation from the nomen would have been the more awkward *\*Lucililla*.

Related are also cases of the type *Lucania Lucilla* (*CIL* XIII 11862 = *AE* 1913, 240). While *Lucilla* is not derived from the nomen *Lucania* (the stem of which is *Lucan-*), it seems likely that it was chosen because of the close resemblance of the two names (through the stem *luc-*). Similarly, there are cases in which the cognomen *Lucilla* is found alongside *Lucanus*, e.g. *Domitia Lucilla* (the elder; *PFOS* 328), daughter of Cn. Domitius Lucanus (*cos. suff.* 73?).

A particularly noteworthy group consists of female cognomina derived from men's cognomina in *ō/iō*. These include cognomina in:

*-īna*: *Frontina* (<*Fronto*).

*-illa*: *Frontilla* (<*Fronto*), *Caepilla* (<*Caepio*), *Vettilla* (<*Vetto*).

*-ulla*: *Frontulla* (<*Fronto*), *Hispulla* (<*Hispo*), *Pedulla* (<*Pedo*), *Vettulla* (<*Vetto*), *Aprulla* (<*Apro*), *Petrulla* (<*Petro?*); perhaps also *Semprulla* (<*\*Sempro?*), *Narbulla* (<*Narbo?*), and *Libulla* (<*Libo?*)

*-itta* (*Pollitta* <*Pollio*)



-ōsa: *Seneciosa* (<*Senecio*).

Most cases, as will be argued here, are real derivations (through haplology), but in some cases we are possibly dealing with the convenient use of derivations of other existing names and words.

Let us start with the forms *Frontina*, *Frontilla*, and *Frontulla*. The first one is well attested, with at least 44 cases (including five senatorial women), whilst *Frontilla* is found in 15 Latin inscriptions, almost exclusively from Africa.<sup>398</sup> *Frontulla*, on the other hand, is found in only two Greek inscriptions, but in both cases the woman's father bears the cognomen *Fronto* (for the cases, see 2.4.5.2) *Frontina* is furthermore attested alongside the cognomen *Fronto* in at least 7 inscriptions.<sup>399</sup> It seems clear that in such cases the female form was considered a derivation of the male cognomen in -o. However, the parallel form *Frontonilla* also exists – a 'true' derivation from *Fronto* – which leads one to suspect that *Frontilla* and *Frontina* are technically speaking derivations from the root-word *frons -tis* – just like *Fronto* was (much in the same way as *Veiento* was a derivation from *veiens -tis*).<sup>400</sup> This seems plausible, despite the odd claim by Leumann that “Frontinus ... ist ohne Grundwort”.<sup>401</sup> In other words, the use of the forms *Frontina* and *Frontilla* as 'derivations' of *Fronto* was facilitated by the existence of the stem *front-*, from which the names were regular derivations.

<sup>398</sup> The five senatorial *Frontinae* are Caesia *Frontina* (PFOS 170), Iulia *Frontina* (PFOS 440), Sallustia *Frontina* (PFOS 679), Sosia *Frontina* (PFOS 719), and Fonteia *Frontina* (PIR<sup>2</sup> F 478; cf. also her relatives D. Fonteius *Frontinianus*, PIR<sup>2</sup> F 472, and D. Fonteius *Fronto* in AE 1978, 788). *Frontilla* is attested in 15 Latin inscriptions, 14 of them from Africa: CIL VIII 4880 = ILAlg I 1337; CIL VIII 4948 = ILAlg I 1486; CIL VIII 5022 = ILAlg I 1658; CIL VIII 5109 = ILAlg I 1896; ILAlg I 1356; 2220 = AE 1917/18, 82; CIL VIII 5733 = ILAlg II.2 6816; CIL VIII 5805 = ILAlg II.2 6673; CIL VIII 19560 = ILAlg II.1 1164; CIL VIII 19389 = ILAlg II.3 10010; CIL VIII 3167 = 4329 = 18532; 3771 = 18416; BCTH 1934/35, 259; ILAlg II.2 5525; one case from Spain: IRPLugo 33 = IRG II 46.

<sup>399</sup> *Fronto* & *Frontina*: CIL III 987 = ILS 3847 (Apulum, 180-211); CIL XI 3369 (Tarquinia, 100–230); MEF 1918, 319 = AE 1911, 130 (Segisamo, Hiscit., 1st c.); CIL XIV 4993 (Ostia); CIL X 8261 (Tarracina, 200–250); AE 2015, 1218 (Moesia inf., 178 CE; there seems to be a duplicate of this inscription in the EDCS).

<sup>400</sup> The following four cases of *Frontonilla* are known: CIL XII 17 (Vintium), Enia *Frontonilla*; CIL X 707 (Surrentum, 1–70 CE), *Fronto* / *Augus(ti) ser(vus)* / *Frontonill(a)*; CIL VIII 7080 (Cirta), Veratia *Frontonilla*; CIL V 8143 = InscrIt. X.1 618 (Pola), Setidia *Frontonil(l)a*.

<sup>401</sup> Leumann 1943, 153: “Frontinus (PIR) ist ohne Grundwort. Eine Verknüpfung mit *Fronto* stützt die Inschrift XI 3369, wo *Fronto* und *Frontina* verbunden sind. Also ist Frontinus wohl eine vereinfachte Bildung für \**Fronton-inus* (s. auch Nachtrag).” In other words, he understands forms such as *Frontinus/a* as 'simplified' forms.

Somewhat comparable is the cognomen *Censilla* as a derivation with *-illa* from *Censor*, as in *CIL* XII 1882–1888 (father D. Sulpicius D. f. Vol. Censor, daughter Sulpicia D. f. Censilla), while at the same time we also have the ‘correct’ form *Censorina* (22 cases in Kajanto 1965) and even *Censorinilla* (*PFCR* 183 = *AE* 1978, 400, Baetica, 180–200).

*Vettilla* is also a similar case. For instance, in *CIL* VI 18247 we have a woman called Flavia Vettilla, daughter of T. Flavius Vetto.<sup>402</sup> However, her brother T. Flavius Vettianus is also mentioned. It seems thus clear that, whilst *Vettilla* and *Vettianus* were not strictly speaking derivations of *Vetto*, they were probably viewed as such, which was facilitated by the fact that both *Vettilla* and *Vettianus* were possible derivations from the nomen *Vettius*.

The same goes for *Seneciosa* (*CIL* VIII 6013 = *ILAlg* II.3 7401), which was probably viewed as a derivation from *Senecio*. It is obvious that a form such as *\*Senecionosa* would not have been desirable. Instead, the cognomen seems to be modelled on regular forms of the type *Aeliosa* (<*Aelius*), *Valerosa* (<*Valerius*), as if derived from the nomen *Senecius* (for the regular forms, cf. 2.4.8).

*Pollitta* was probably also considered a derivation from *Pollio* in some cases, e.g. Fufidia Pollitta (*PFOs* 388), daughter of L. Fufidius Pollio (*cos.* 166). A true derivation from *Pollio*, however, would be *\*Pollionitta*. Instead, the female form *Pollitta* goes back to *Polla* (or in some cases to the nomen *Pollius*, cf. 2.4.10).

Some forms in *-ulla* fall under this category as well. We have seen above in 2.4.5.2 that, when added to stem *-ōn*, *-ulla* often produced a ‘reduced’ form through haplology. For instance, *Aprulla*, when attested alongside *Apro*, was surely considered a derivation from the latter – but *Aprulla* could also be a regular derivation from *Aprius* or *Aper* (cf. 2.4.5). The same goes for *Vettulla*, when connected to *Vetto*, since the regular derivation *Vettulla* could be derived from the nomen *Vettius*, just like *Vettilla* above (cf. 2.4.5).

In the case of *Hispulla* one could argue for the existence of an otherwise unknown root-word. This is reasonable, given the existence of the Latin adjective *hispidus*, ‘bristly, rough, shaggy’, which allows for us to reconstruct the stem *\*hisp-*.<sup>403</sup> However, it seems clear at the same time that *Hispulla* was primarily perceived as a derivation of *Hispo* through haplology (the form *\*Hisponulla* is not known). The same goes for *Pedulla* (<*Pedo*) and possibly also *Petrulla* (<*Petro*, unless from *Petronius*, but even in this case we would be dealing with haplology; cf. 2.4.5.2).

<sup>402</sup> The cognomen *Vettilla* is attested in at least six other inscriptions, but with no clear connection to *Vetto*.

<sup>403</sup> Compare *cal-idus*, *frig-idus*, etc.; Leumann 1977 § 297.

Something similar is going on with the form *Caepilla*, formed (at least seemingly) with *-illa* from *Caepio* in *AE* 1966, 108 (Velia; father *Caep[io]*, daughter *Caepilla*). The name *Caepius* exists as well, which perhaps facilitated the use of the form *Caepilla* (rather than the more awkward *\*Caepionilla*).

It should also be pointed out that not all female forms derived from male cognomina in *-ō* were seemingly irregular derivations. Euphonic factors are important here. As long as the regular derivation sounded good enough, there was no practical need for other solutions. For example, the *-ina*-form of *Piso* is *Pisonina* and the forms in *-illa* of *Strabo* and *Falco* are *Strabonilla* and *Falconilla* – and even the form *Frontonilla* (from *Fronto*) exists, as noted above. There is, furthermore, the possibility that *Caronilla* was a derivation of the cognomen *Caro* (but this case is dubious; cf. 2.4.5.2).

Nor is the phenomenon limited to female forms of men's cognomina in *-ō/-iō*. A good example is the frequently attested cognomen *Procilla*, a derivation, coined from *Proculus* with the suffix *-illa* through haplology (the more cumbersome *\*Proculilla* is not attested).<sup>404</sup>

Furthermore, as the examples *Lucilia Lucilla* and *Lucania Lucilla* above show, we are not only dealing with cognomina derived (or seemingly derived) from cognomina but also from nomina with the stem *-ōn-*. Again, formations in *-ulla* are particularly well represented. Cases of haplology seem to be *Antulla* (and not *\*Antonulla*) from *Antonius*, *Nerulla* (instead of *\*Neronulla*) from *Neronius*, and probably also *Semprulla* (instead of *\*Sempronulla*) from the nomen *Sempronius* (unless from an otherwise unknown cognomen *\*Sempro*; for references, see 2.4.5.3 above). We have also seen above that *Aprulla* could be viewed as a derivation of *Apro*, but there is even one case in which it seems to derive from *Aprusidia*, perhaps simply because the cognomen resembled the nomen closely enough (cf. *Aprusidia Aprulla* in *CIL* XI 6402, Pisaurum 2nd/3rd c.). In any case it is clear that *\*Aprusidulla* would not have been a desirable formation, hence *Aprulla*. In addition, there is at least one case with the suffix *-ina*, viz. *CIL* XIII 6733 = *ILS* 7079 (Mogontiacum, 2nd c.) recording a woman called *Martinia Martina*. In her case, however, it seems that the existing form *Martina* (from *Mars/Martius*) was chosen rather than the more awkward derivation *\*Martinina*.

<sup>404</sup> Kajanto 1965, 177 documents 66 cases of *Procilla*. The name is found alongside *Procul-* in at least 12 inscriptions: *CIL* XI 212 (father *Proculus*); *CIL* III 1485 (son *Proculeianus*); *CIL* III 12765 = *ILJug* I 101 (mother *Procula?*); *CIL* III 12770 (daughter *Procula*); *AE* 1964, 98 (brother *Proculei[anus]*); *CIL* X 8131 = *CLE* 428 (son *Proculus*); *CIL* X 5662 (son *Proculinus*); *CIL* XIV 2981 (son *Proculus*); *CIL* X 2717 (mother *Procilla*, daughters *Procilla* and *Procula*); *CIL* III 5545 (son *Proculus*); *CIL* VI 15230 (brother *Proculus*); *CIL* VI 33776 (mother *Procula*).

From a linguistic point of view one can ask if a name such as *Aprulla* was considered a real derivation of *Apro* or even *Aprusidia* or simply a convenient derivation of *Aper* or *Aprius*; or if *Pollitta*, when attested alongside *Pollio*, was seen as a derivation of the latter or simply a suitable derivation from *Polla*; or if *Frontina* was considered a derivation of *Fronto* or the underlying word *frons*. For our purposes a distinction is sometimes necessary, but did it matter to the Romans? Probably not. If a father was called *Fronto* and his daughter *Frontina*, it is likely that the daughter's cognomen was viewed as a derivation from the father's name – even if that is not strictly speaking the case from a purely grammatical point of view.

## 2.5 Nomina used as cognomina

We have seen above in 2.4 that cognomina were frequently coined from nomina with different suffixes. It was, however, also possible to simply use a nomen as a cognomen.<sup>405</sup> This style seems to have been particularly typical for Roman women (rather than men), especially freeborn women, since former slaves did not have access to the kind of stock of nomina that was provided by a legitimate family tree. It ought to be clarified that a nomen must be interpreted as a cognomen only in those cases in which the person in question only bore two nomina (N + N) but no additional cognomina. There were, to be sure, also cases of polyonymy, in which a woman bore two or more nomina *and* one or more cognomina (of the type N + N + C in the simplest form), but in such cases the second nomen was simply a second nomen (often, for instance, indicating the maternal branch of the family).<sup>406</sup> In some rare (and late) cases, women could also have a nomenclature consisting only of three or even four nomina (e.g. Ulpia Aurelia Valeria, attested at Tomis in the 3rd/4th c., *CIL* III 6155 = 7571; or Mammia Aufidia Titecia Maria, daughter of a Roman *equus*, attested at Corfinium during the 3rd century, *CIL* IX 3180). In such cases it is unclear which of the nomina served as the person's primary individual name – and of course this could vary individually.

<sup>405</sup> This has already been recognized, amongst others, by Kajanto 1963, 18; also 1977, 155f.

<sup>406</sup> In the case of men the second nomen could also function as an adoptive name, take e.g. the nomenclature of the younger Pliny (C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus), who was a Caecilius by birth but was then adopted by his uncle Plinius. There was, however, hardly a pattern in how adoptive names were (if they were at all) indicated. See Salomies 1992 for a thorough discussion on adoptive and polyonymous nomenclature.

According to Kajanto, nomina were found as cognomina primarily after the lessening of the importance of the gentile name, viz. during the later Empire.<sup>407</sup> This idea in itself is sound, but it is not corroborated by the available evidence. In fact, it seems that nomina were used as cognomina primarily in the early Empire and that the practice starts to go out of fashion after the second century, at least in the senatorial elite. In fact, it seems that some women had nomina as their cognomina already in the late Republican and Augustan periods, that is to say, when it became possible for women to have cognomina in the first place (see Chapter 3; also Appendix 3b).

It is from the same period that we have the earliest evidence of an upper-class man using a nomen as his cognomen, viz. P. Sulpicius Quirinius (*cos.* 12 BCE; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 1018). The practice, however, was clearly more characteristic for women than it was for men. While male nomenclatures similar to that of Sulpicius Quirinius remain rare in the period (though some instructive examples exist),<sup>408</sup> female cases are rather numerous, especially given the lower amount of women attested in our sources in comparison to men in general:

The following 15 cases date before the mid-first century CE: AEDIA SERVILIA (*PFOS* 6), daughter of M. Aedius (*pr.* before 17); (CREMUTIA) MARCIA (*PFOS* 301), daughter of the annalist A. Cremutius Cordus (note also the nomenclature of her daughter METILIA MARCIA, *PFOS* 547);<sup>409</sup> ALBIA TARENTIA (*PFOS* 44), daughter of Q. Terentius Culleo (*procos.* of Sicily under Augustus) and Albia;<sup>410</sup> (VIPSANIA) IULIA (*PFOS* 813), daughter of M. Agrippa and Iulia; (CLAUDIA) ANTONIA (*PFOS* 217) & CLAUDIA OCTAVIA (*PFOS* 246), daughters of the emperor Claudius, one by Aelia Paetina and the other by (Valeria) Messalina (see 4.4.6); (CLAUDIA) LIVIA ('Livilla', *PFOS* 239), daughter of Nero Claudius Drusus and Antonia and sister

<sup>407</sup> Kajanto 1963, 18ff.

<sup>408</sup> Take for example Sex. Papinius Allenius (*cos.* 36; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 102) and A. Plautius Urgulianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 481), son of M. Plautius Silvanus (*cos.* 2 BCE), but the examples are rare in comparison to women. There were also adoptive nomenclatures of the type P + N + C + N (e.g. C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus), but the use of the second nomen in such a case is not comparable to the practice under discussion here.

<sup>409</sup> She is only known from literary sources with her cognomen *Marcia* (Sen. *ad Marc.*; Dio 57,24; Suet. *Cal.* 16), but since she was the daughter of a Cremutius, her nomenclature must be reconstructed as above.

<sup>410</sup> She is known by name from Suet. *Orb.* 1. Her mother instead seems to be the *Albia Cullionis*, attested in *CIL* VI 4483 = *ILS* 7883b. Since the maternal nomen precedes the paternal one in Albia Terentia's nomenclature, one might suspect that Suetonius perhaps gave the names in reverse order – which he also does elsewhere (compare *Cordus Cremutius* in Suet. *Aug.* 35).

of Germanicus and Claudius;<sup>411</sup> [COR]NELIA CAESIA (PFOS 279), daughter of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (*cos.* 26);<sup>412</sup> (SERVILIA) CONSIDIA (PFOS 710), daughter of M. Servilius Nonianus (*cos.* 35), and her daughter (MARCIA) SERVILIA (PFOS 526), daughter of Q. Marcius Barea Soranus (*cos. suff.* 52);<sup>413</sup> METILIA N. F. MODIA (PFOS 530);<sup>414</sup> MILONIA CAESONIA (PFOS 550), wife of the emperor Caligula;<sup>415</sup> PLAUTIA QUINCTILIA (PFOS 617), daughter of A. Plautius (who was executed c. 60-65);<sup>416</sup> (STATILIA) CORNELIA (PIR<sup>2</sup> S 860 = PFOS 727), daughter of T. Statilius Taurus;<sup>417</sup> VOLUSIA Q. F. CORNELIA (PIR<sup>2</sup> V 986);<sup>418</sup> and all these cases date from the first half of the first century.

<sup>411</sup> It is unlikely that she ever had the third nomen *Julia*. I have discussed her nomenclature in detail in Nuorluoto 2020.

<sup>412</sup> The restoration *Caesia[na]* has also been suggested (cf. PFOS). The inscription recording the name has only survived as an old copy, which does not provide any helpful insights into the matter (CIL VI 1391). However, since female cognomina coined from gentilicia with *-iāna* did not become common before the end of the first century (2.7.4.2), I would be inclined to interpret the name as *Caesia*, viz. a nomen used as a cognomen.

<sup>413</sup> (Servilia) Considia is recorded by Pliny simply as *Considia* (Plin. *nat.* 27,4) but, being the daughter of M. Servilius Nonianus, she most probably bore the nomen *Servilia* as her true gentile name. Her daughter (Marcia) Servilia is likewise only attested by her cognomen *Servilia* (by Tac. *ann.* 16,30–33).

<sup>414</sup> Her parents are unknown, besides the fact that her father was a N. (Marius). She is attested in Rome as the mother of T. Vibius Catienus Sabinus (CIL VI 14580), who seems to be identical with T. [Ca?]tienus Sabinus *procos.* of Cyprus in 43 (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 552; cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> V, 282).

<sup>415</sup> She was the daughter of Vistilia (PFOS 814), who did not have a cognomen, and an unattested Milonius. Her nomen is known through Dio 59,23 (Zon. 11,6). She gave Caligula a daughter, Iulia Drusilla (PFOS 438), together with whom she was assassinated in 41 CE.

<sup>416</sup> She is attested at Praeneste as *Plautia Quinctilia A. f.* together with her husband Helvidius Priscus (CIL XV 2845; note the peculiar placement of the filiation).

<sup>417</sup> She is recorded in several sources but never by her paternal nomen *Statilia* – which she obviously had, as is shown by the nomenclature of her *liberti* – but by the nomen *Cornelia* which served as her cognomen; cf. CIL XV 7440; VI 6424; VI 6264; VI 6322; 6356; 6365; VI 6371. It has also been erroneously assumed that she was identical with the Cornelia who was honoured at Thespieae (IG VII 1854), but this woman must be identified as her paternal grandmother (who did not have a cognomen). See Kajava 1989b; cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> S 860.

<sup>418</sup> She restored a theatre at Nemi during the first century (AE 1932, 68) and her full name is also recorded in several Roman *fastulae* (cf. Ghini [ed.] 2013, 213). She is also attested as the *patrona* of three slaves: as *Cornelia* in CIL VI 9343 and 7308, and as *Cornelia Volusia* in CIL VI 7296. As for her parentage, her father was probably a Q. Volusius Saturninus (possibly the brother of the consul of 12, as suggested in PIR<sup>2</sup>) and her mother an unidentified Cornelia (though this hypothesis, as far as I can see, is solely based on onomastics). However the case may be, she was likely related to the polyonymous Licinia Cornelia M. f. Volusia Torquata (PIR<sup>2</sup> V 992) and thus to Volusia Torquata (PIR<sup>2</sup> V 991).

There are also many cases from the latter half of the first century: (CAECINIA) ARRIA (“Arria minor”, *PFOS* 159), daughter of A. Caecina Paetus (*cos. suff.* 37) and Arria (“Arria maior”, *PFOS* 96), and her daughter (CLODIA) FANNIA (*PFOS* 259);<sup>419</sup> (FLAVIA) IULIA (*PFOS* 371), daughter of the emperor Titus and (probably) Arrecina Tertulla (see 4.4.6 below); (PETRONIA) PONTIA (*PFOS* 643), daughter of P. Petronius Niger (*cos. suff.* 62), compare also the nomenclature of her relative C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus (*cos.* 37);<sup>420</sup> SALONIA MATIDIA (*PFOS* 681), daughter of C. Salonus Matidius Patruinus (*pr.* before 78) and (Ulpia) Marciana (note also the nomenclature of her daughter (Mindia) Matidia, *PFOS* 533); possibly also AR[RIA] CALP[URNIA] (*PFOS* 98).

The style is also well attested for senatorial women of the second century, with at least the following 19 cases: AVIDIA PLAUTIA (*PFOS* 130), daughter of C. Avidius Nigrinus (*cos. suff.* 110) and an unattested Plautia;<sup>421</sup> her two relatives CEIONIAE FABIA & PLAUTIA (*PFOS* 204 & 205), daughters of L. Aelius Caesar (born. L. Ceionius Commodus);<sup>422</sup> CLAU(DIA) AQUILLIA (*PFOS* 219);<sup>423</sup> EGRILIA PLARIA (*PFOS* 341), daughter of M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus;<sup>424</sup> GEMINIA

<sup>419</sup> (Clodia) Fannia’s father was Clodius Thrasea Paetus (*cos. suff.* 56), who committed suicide in 66. The origin of the name *Fannia* is not clear to me – clearly it did not come from the parents. Raepsaet-Charlier 1993, 262f. suggests that her grandmother was an otherwise unknown Fannia.

<sup>420</sup> She is attested by Juvenal and Martial, always as *Pontia* (Juv. 6,638–641; Mart. 2,34,6; 4,43,5; 6,75,3), and she often appears with this name alone in modern scholarship (in *PFOS* amongst others). In my view, there can be little doubt that she also bore the nomen *Petronia*.

<sup>421</sup> See the discussion regarding Ceionia Fabia and Ceionia Plautia in 4.4.6.

<sup>422</sup> For a family tree, cf. *PFOS*, stemma XXIX.

<sup>423</sup> Her parents are unknown, but she descended from local royalty of Ancyra, where she is attested as ἀρχιερεία, ἀπόγονος βασιλέων, and θυγάτηρ τῆς μητροπόλεως during the first half of the second century (cf. *IGR* III 190 = Bosch, *Quellen* 108 = *GLIA* 79; *IGR* III 173 = Bosch, *Quellen* 105 = *GLIA* 72; Bosch, *Quellen* 106; 107).

<sup>424</sup> Her cognomen came from her paternal grandmother Plaria Vera through the nomenclature of her father (that is to say, *Plaria* > *Plarianus* > *Plaria*; compare *Vitellianus* > *Vitellia* below under Antonia Vitellia). The nomenclature of Egrilia Plaria’s father suggests adoption after the birth of his daughter (supported also by the fact that his brother was A. Egrilius Plarianus, *cos. suff.* 128).

VULCACIA (PFOS 408);<sup>425</sup> POMPONIA TRIARIA (PFOS 642);<sup>426</sup> VOLTEIA CORNIFICIA (PFOS 832 = PIR<sup>2</sup> V 949);<sup>427</sup> AELIA LICINIA PETILI[A] (PFOS 15), daughter of M. Licinius Petilius Aia[cius?] (PIR<sup>2</sup> L 230) (note the nomenclature consisting of not two but three nomina); ANTONIA VITELLIA (PFOS 82);<sup>428</sup> AUR(ELIA) M. F. [?CAE]CILIA (PFOS 134);<sup>429</sup> CL(AUDIA) CERVONIA (PFOS 231);<sup>430</sup> CL(AUDIA) MARCIA (PFOS 244);<sup>431</sup> DIDIA CORNELIA (PFOS 313), daughter of C. Iulius Crescens Didius Crescentianus (an equestrian notable from Cirta);<sup>432</sup> FURIA L. F.

<sup>425</sup> Her exact background is unknown. She was in any case publicly honoured at Utica (which was probably her husband's hometown) (CIL VIII 1182 = 14312). Judging by the rare nomina (particularly *Vulcacia*), she may have been related to C. Iavolenus Calvinus (*cos. suff.* ?140/143; PIR<sup>2</sup> I 13; by his full name C. Iavolenus Calvinus Geminus Capito Cornelius Pollio Squilla Q. Vulcaci Scuppidius Verus), but this may also be a coincidence. For the father, see e.g. Alföldy 1977; Eck 1970.

<sup>426</sup> Her brother (?) seems to have been called Triarius Maternus, which means that *Triaria* in her nomenclature is a nomen rather than a cognomen.

<sup>427</sup> Parents unknown. She was married to L. Matuccius Fuscinus (*cos. suff.* 159?) with whom she had a daughter, Matuccia Fuscina (PFOS 534). She is attested in Numidia, where she accompanied her husband, in the middle of the second century (CIL VIII 2630; cf. Thomasson 1996, 152 no. 31c).

<sup>428</sup> She is recorded, together with M. Valerius Bradua Mauricus (*cos.* 191), among the *amici* of M. Antonius Antius Lupus in an urban inscription from the end of the second century (CIL VI 1343 = CLE 449 = ILS 1127). As for her name, compare the nomenclature of M. Antonius Vitellianus, *v(ir) e(gregius)*, attested in CIL IX 334 = ILS 2768 from the middle of the third century. Note also AE 2010, 328 (Capua), recording another Antonia Vitellia (her contemporary, but of more humble origin), who inherited her cognomen from her mother Flavia Vitellia.

<sup>429</sup> She is attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* (CIL VI 12967). The restoration of her cognomen is disputable, but it seems in any case that it was a second nomen rather than a genuine cognomen.

<sup>430</sup> Her exact background and status are unknown. She is, in any case, attested on a lead pipe from Rome and she obviously was a woman of great affluence (CIL XV 7431).

<sup>431</sup> She is only known from an *instrumentum domesticum* from Rome. The restoration *c(larissima) f(emina)* in the text is, in my view, somewhat dubious.

<sup>432</sup> She is attested as *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* in AE 1913, 21 & AE 1916, 13. Her sister Didia Cornelia Ingenua also bore the two nomina but in addition a cognomen. It could be that in one sister's nomenclature *Cornelia* served as an individual cognomen, whereas for the other sister it was merely a second (perhaps maternal) nomen in a polyonymous nomenclature.



CAECILIA (PFOS 396);<sup>433</sup> [G]ELLIA BARBIA (PFOS 404);<sup>434</sup> IULIA MAGIA (PFOS 446);<sup>435</sup> PACIDEIA MARCIA (PFOS 591), daughter of L. Pacideius L. f. L. n. L. pron. Ter. Carpianus, *eq(ues) R(omanus)*;<sup>436</sup> PASSENIA PETRONIA (PFOS 599);<sup>437</sup> and POMPONIA ARRIA (PFOS 635).<sup>438</sup>

By the third century, however, the style has clearly become less fashionable (though not extinct). I have been able to find only the following six cases:

FL(AVIA) MAMILIA (PIR<sup>2</sup> 428), *v(irgo) V(estalis) m(axima)*;<sup>439</sup> FLAVIA L. FIL. PUBLICIA (PIR<sup>2</sup> F 438), *v(irgo) V(estalis) m(axima)*;<sup>440</sup> POMPONIA UMMIDIA (PIR<sup>2</sup> P 781);<sup>441</sup> POSTUMIA [A]NTONIA (PIR<sup>2</sup> P 902), *c(larissima) f(emina)*;<sup>442</sup> STATILIA

<sup>433</sup> Her parents are not known – besides the fact that her father was a L. (Furius). Possibly her mother was a Caecilia, or perhaps an Octavia (compare the nomenclature of her brother C. Furius Octavianus). She was certainly of senatorial rank, since she is attested as *clarissima femina* and her brother served as *cos. suff.* during the Severan dynasty.

<sup>434</sup> Not much is known of her, besides the fact that she was honoured at Delphi as λαμπροτάτη (SEG XXIII 481). She was perhaps of Greek origin. The name *Barbia*, however, is probably a Roman nomen (instead of, say, a Greek personal name).

<sup>435</sup> Her parents are not known so it is difficult to establish where the name *Magia* came from, but both her nomina were transmitted to her two sons with the suffix *iānus*; they were called Pomponius Magianus and Pomponius Iulianus. They are all, along with the father Pomponius Cornelianus, attested in two inscriptions from Verona (CIL V 3243 & 3318).

<sup>436</sup> She herself is attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* in CIL X 4590 = ILS 5014. The same inscription also mentions her mother Domitia Galatia (or at least her father's wife) and two brothers who were both called L. Pacideius Carpianus, like their father, but seem to have had the diacritics *Sen(ior)* and *Iun(ior)* to distinguish them from each other.

<sup>437</sup> She is attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* on brick stamps (CIL XV 419), but besides that nothing else is known of her background. For the variation *enus/ienus* in nomina of the type *Pass(i)enus*, see Salomies 2016; cf. Schulze 1966 [1904], 213 n. 6

<sup>438</sup> She is attested in Tarraco as *c(larissima) f(emina)* together with her husband M. Maecius Probus and son M. Pomponius Maecius Probus in the late 2nd c. (CIL II 4124 = Tarraco 148). Her parents are unknown so it is impossible to establish where her nomenclature originated (there are many senatorial Pomponii and Arrii). Her son has been identified as the consul of 228 (PIR<sup>2</sup> M 60; cf. also Salomies 1992, 68).

<sup>439</sup> Honoured by her brother Aemilius Rufinus at Rome in 242 CE (CIL VI 2133).

<sup>440</sup> Known from several inscriptions dating from the middle of the third century, e.g. CIL VI 2134 = 32419; also a more recently published inscription, found at Porto Torres in Sardinia (AE 2010, 620; cf. Gianfrotta 2018). For the rest of the *tituli*, consult PIR<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>441</sup> Attested in Asia Minor, in Pisidia, as the wife of Flavius Antiochianus (*cos.* II 270) (IGR IV 893; the second nomen is read Οὐμιδία). Her parents were apparently Annia Aurelia Faustina (PIR<sup>2</sup> A 710) and Pomponius Bassus (PIR<sup>2</sup> P 700).

<sup>442</sup> She was the wife of Annius Gratus, *c(larissimus) v(ir)*, and mother of Annia Tertulla, *c(larissima)*

NERATIA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 867), *sanctis[simae] m{a}emori[ae] fem(ina)*;<sup>443</sup> and AGRIA TANNONIA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 467), *c(larissima) p(uella)*.

The style is also well attested outside the senatorial *ordo*. A good individual example is provided by *CIL* III 2046 (Salona, 150–300), recording three women – Coelia Calpurnia, Ael(ia) Pomponia, and Iulia Vettia – all of whom bear a nomen as a cognomen. Numerous other examples of the practice exist as well. I will not attempt to give an account of all of them, but rather some cases from different regions and time periods:

Rome: *Boschung*, p. 92 no. 476 (170–250 CE): Servilia Vipsania; *CIL* VI 18499 (50–200): Livia Terentia; *AE* 1998, 170 (3rd c.): Caecilia Antonia; *AE* 1977, 35 (2nd c.): Fulvia Domitia; *CIL* VI 20470: Postumia Q. f. Catia; *CIL* VI 22083 (50–150 CE): Messenia L. f. Valeria; *CIL* VI 10935: Aelia Marcia (mother Aelia Marciana); *CIL* VI 31854 (early 3rd c.): Clodia Plautia.

Italy and Sicily: *AE* 2010, 328 (Capua, 150–250 CE): Flavia Vitellia (and her daughter Antonia Vitellia); *CIL* V 7886 (Cemenelum): Maria A[e]lia; *AE* 1989, 337 (Messana): Cerrinia L. f. Cottia; *AE* 1910, 203 (Brundisium, mid-2nd c.): Seia Quintilia; *AE* 1982, 328 (Volaterrae, 2nd c.): Veratia C. f. Aufidia (compare her son C. Marius Sex. f. Aufidianus; *CIL* V 142 = *InscrIt.* X.1 243 (Pola, 2nd/3rd c.): Callia Valeria.

Gaul: *CIL* XII 3411 (Nemausus): Valeria Pompeia; *CIL* XII 3904 (Nemausus): Sergia Montania; *TitAq.* II 679 (Aquincum; 250–300 CE): Petronia Valeria; *CIL* XIII 2026 (Lugdunum): Flavia Livia.

Eastern provinces: *RIU* III 707 (Pann. sup.; 290–350 CE): Aurelia Valeria (daughter of Aur. Valerianus); *RIU* II 552 (Brigetio, 180–250 CE): Fl(avia) Iulia (daughter of T. Fl. Iulianus); *CIL* III 4379 (Pann. sup.; 175–180 CE): Ael(ia) Domitia; *CIL* III 1471 (Dacia, 3rd c.): [C]ornelia Antonia; *PFCR* 693 (*CIL* III 4327, Brigetio, 213 CE): Ulpia Valeria, daughter of M. Val(erius) Valerianus (her brother M. Val. Ulpianus instead got his cognomen from the mother Ulpia Paratiane); *AE* 1930, 7 (Apulum, 3rd c.): Antonia Iulia (also her daughter Aelia Iulia). There is also a late case of a woman whose nomenclature consists of three nomina (N + N + N), viz. Ulpia Aurelia Valeria (*CIL* III 6155 = 7571, Tomis, 3rd/4th c.).

Africa: *AE* 2013, 1842 (Ammaedara, 3rd c.): Volussia Servilia; *CIL* VIII 4698 (Madaurus): Servilia Numisia; *AE* 1989, 872 (Lambaesis, early 3rd c.): Aur.

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*p(uella)*. Apparently a Christian, she is attested in the funerary inscription of her daughter in the early fourth century (*ICUR* 14016 = *AE* 1936, 121).

<sup>443</sup> Attested in a bilingual (Latin-Greek) Christian inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 31760 = *IGUR* III 1315 = *ILCV* 4675).

Flavia; *CIL* VIII 21000 = *AE* 1954, 136 (Caesarea, 3rd c.): Cornelia Iulia; *CIL* VIII 16559 = *ILAlg* I 3070 (Theveste, late 2nd/early 3rd c.): Titinia Q. f. Iulia.

In fact, it seems that the style may have remained in use among municipal and provincial women even in the third century, when it no longer was fashionable among the uppermost class of Rome. It is reasonable to suspect that in many cases the name came from the mother (or grandmother), as is also evident from the examples in chapters 4.4.4 and 4.4.6 below.

Since the purpose and function of the gentile name declined in the later Roman Empire and as a result a clear distinction between nomina and cognomina faded away (see 1.2.3 above), it is hardly fruitful to discuss the use of nomina as cognomina after the third century

## 2.6 Social and semantic aspects of female cognomina

### 2.6.1 Senatorial women's cognomina

The idea of this chapter is to give a general overview of the cognomina used by women belonging to aristocratic families during the first three centuries CE. The list of names, in an alphabetical order, includes 279 Latin cognomina, with a total 691 cases (excluding nomina used as cognomina as well as supernomina). The total number of women is slightly lower, since in some cases one and the same woman could bear two or more cognomina. For more detailed references regarding the name-bearers, see Appendix 2a, in which the cases are chronologically divided in three different time periods (roughly corresponding to the first three centuries). The number of senatorial cases is given below after each name. For the sake of comparison, I have also provided in parentheses the number of non-senatorial cases, based on the numbers in Kajanto 1965 (excluding Christian women and slaves/*libertae*). Whenever a name has been absent in Kajanto's catalogue, I have taken into account all the relevant cases that could be found using the *EDCS* search tool (again, excluding Christian cases and slaves/*libertae*).

Achaica	1	(0)	Catella	1	(0)
Aciliana	1	(1)	Celerina	5	(63)
Aemiliana	4	(11)	Celsina	1	(31)
Aequa	2	(4)	Celsinilla	2	(0)
Aesernina	1	(1)	Certiana	1	(0)
Afra	1	(15)	Cethegilla	7	(2)
Africana	1	(15)	Clara	3	(64)
Agrippina	16	(43)	Claudiana	3	(14)
Albina	2	(25)	Claudilla	1	(1)
Amb[ibula]	1	(0)	Clementiana	2	(11)
Apelliana	1	(0)	Clementina	2	(15)
Aprulla	1	(24)	Concess[a]	1	(21)
Aquilina	3	(36)	Consortiana	1	(0)
Asiana	1	(0)	Corneliana	1	(10)
Asiatica	1	(16)	Cornuta	2	(1)
Attica	1	(84)	Crescentina	1	(74)
Atticilla	2	(60)	Crispina	9	(89)
Augurina	2	(19)	Crispinilla	4	(13)
Aureliana	1	(5)	Decidiana	1	(0)
Avita	3	(96)	Dec(u/i)mina	1	(18)
Avitiana	1	(1)	Dignitas	1	(3)
Baebiana	2	(1)	Dolabellina	1	(0)
Balbillia	1	(15)	Domitiana	1	(3)
Balbina	2	(7)	Domitilla	3	(11)
Bassa	4	(80)	Domna	3	(6)
Bassiana	2	(1)	Drusilla	2	(6)
Bassilla	4	(28)	Eburna	1	(0)
Bassula	3	(1)	Egyptilla	1	(0)
Blandiana?	1?	(0)	Etruscilla	1	(0)
Brocchilla	1	(0)	Fabulla	1	(13)
Caeciliana	1	(10)	Fadilla	6	(2)
Calvina	2	(9)	Fadiula	1	(0)
Camilla	2?	(6)	Falconilla	1	(0)
Campanilla	1	(2)	Faustilla	1	(59)
Candida	1	(78)	Faustina	14	(232)
Cas(s)iana	2	(5)	Faustinilla	1	(0)
Casta	1	(94)	Favonilla	1	(0)

Flaccilla	4	(28)	Honorata	5	(189)
Flaccina	1	(5)	Honoratiana	1	(0)
Flaccinilla	1	(1)	Ianuarina	1	(571)
Flaviana	1	(0)	Isaurica	2	(4)
Flavianilla	1	(0)	Italica	1	(9)
Flavola	1	(0)	Iucunda	1	(195)
Florentina	1	(58)	Iuliana	5	(79)
Florina	1	(10)	Iuncina	1	(0)
Frestana	2	(0)	Iuniana	1	(7)
Frontina	5	(25)	Iunilla	1	(11)
Frontoniana	1	(0)	Iusta	3	(203)
Fundana	2	(13)	Laenilla	2	(1)
Furnilla	2	(0)	Laeta	2	(53)
Fusca	1	(52)	Laetilla	1?	(2)
Fuscina	1	(13)	Larga	1	(4)
Fuscinilla	2	(3)	Lepida	11	(22)
Gaetulica	1	(2)	Liviana	1	(0)
Galbilla	2	(0)	Livilla	2	(3)
Galla	10	(120)	Lolliana	1	(2)
Gallitta	2	(12)	Longina	2	(35)
Gargonilla	1	(0)	Lucana	4	(24)
Gaviana	1	(1)	Lucilla	8	(107)
Gelliola	1	(1)	Luciola	1	(3)
Gemellina	1	(32)	Luculla	2	(18)
Gemina	2	(56)	Lupula	1	(45)
Germanilla	3	(11)	Macrina	2	(46)
Gordiana	1	(0)	Maeciana	1	(2)
Graecina	1	(10)	Maesa	1	(0)
Granilla	1	(2)	Magna	4	(87)
Grata	1	(70)	Magnilla	1	(7)
Gratilla	2	(25)	Manliola	3	(2)
Hilaritas	2	(43)	Marcella	11	(320)
Hispulla	3	(1?) <sup>444</sup>	Marcellina	5	(194)

<sup>444</sup> There is one upper-class Hispulla of uncertain status, cf. n. 244.

Marciana	8	(122)	Pansina	1	(0)
Marciola	1	(2)	Papiana	2	(1)
Marianilla	1	(3)	Paterna	1	(97)
Marina	1	(61)	Patruina	1	(2)
Mariniana	1	(1)	Paul(l)a/Polla	18	(124)
Marsilla	1	(2)	Paul(l)ina	20	(192)
Marullina	3	(8)	Peticianilla	1	(0)
Materna	1	(107)	Petroni[ana]	1	(1)
Maxima	16	(601)	Pia	2	(103)
Maximilla	3	(117)	Picentina	1	(4)
Medullina	1	(1)	Pietas	1	(22)
Messal(l)ina	4	(7)	Placida	2	(35)
Modesta	3	(108)	Plancina	2	(3)
Modestiana	1	(1)	Platorina	1	(0)
Modestina	1	(13)	Plautilla	2	(5)
Naevilla	1	(0)	Plotina	6	(6)
Nemesiana	1	(0)	Pollitta	4	(22)
Nepotiana	1	(4)	Pompeiana	1	(8)
Nepotilla	2	(17)	Postuma	2	(43)
Nerulla	1	(3)	Potitiana	1	(0)
Nigrina	1	(29)	Praenestina	1	(7)
Nobilis	1	(7)	Praetextata	4	(1)
Novatilla	1	(1)	Prima	1	(705)
Novella	2	(43)	Prisca	10	(337)
Numantina	1	(0)	Priscilla	3	(126)
Numisiana	1	(0)	Privata	1	(68)
Nummula	1	(0)	Privigna	1	(0)
Ocellina	2	(0)	Proba	1	(51)
Octavilla	3	(1)	Procilla	5	(61)
Oculata	2	(2)	Procula	20	(407)
Openda	1	(0)	Proculina	2	(16)
Orestina	1	(5)	Prospera	1	(1)
Orestilla	1	(0)	Publiana	1	(3)
Pacata	2	(38)	Pudentilla	1	(21)
Pacula	1	(1)	Pulchra	2	(9)
Paculla	1	(3)	Purgilla	1	(0)
Paetina	3	(8)	Quadratiana	1	(2)

Quadratilla	4	(16)	Severina	3	(117)
Quarta	1	(230)	Sextilla	1	(7)
Quartilla	4	(65)	Silana	1	(3)
Quinta	1	(244)	Statianilla	2	(0)
Quintilla	1	(71)	Subatiana	2	(1)
Quintina	3	(36)	Supera	2	(19)
Rectina	1	(6)	Telesina	1	(5)
Regilla	3	(33)	Tertulla	10	(364)
Regina	2	(25)	Tiberina	1	(7)
Rogatilla	1	(3)	Tigris	1	(43)
Romana	2	(154)	Titiana	4	(5)
Romula	1	(37)	Torquata	8	(3)
Rufiana	1	(2)	Triaria	1	(2)
Rufilla	4	(54)	Urbana	1	(247)
Rufina	20	(340)	Urbica	2	(73)
Rustica	1	(85)	Urgulanilla	1	(0)
Sabina	11	(496)	Valentilla	2	(6)
Sabiniana	2	(9)	Valeriana	3	(54)
Sabinilla	2	(12)	Varanilla	1	(0)
Sacrata	1	(0)	Var(i)a	5	(1)
Salonina	2	(4)	Varenilla	1	(0)
Saturnina	4	(682)	Varilla	2	(11)
Scantilla	1	(2)	Varronilla	1	(1)
Secunda	4	(906)	Venusta	1	(175)
Secundilla	4	(94)	Vera	3	(195)
Seneciana	1	(0)	Veranilla	2	(3)
Senecilla	1	(1)	Verissima	1	(3)
Serena	1	(38)	Vestin[a]	1	(9)
Sertoriana	1	(1)	Vet(t)illa	1	(3)
Servianilla	1	(0)	Vettula	1	(3)
Servilla	2	(1)	Vic[t]orina	1	(306)
Severa	10	(428)	Violentilla	2	(1)
Severiana	3	(16)	Viriola	1	(0)

The list above shows that the onomastic repertoire of senatorial women differs in some significant ways from the regular cognomina used by the *plebs*. For one, the names in general are more distinct: 54 of the cognomina are unknown outside the senatorial elite. Furthermore, many of the most popular cognomina of the *plebs*, discussed above in 2.1, are either absent or only rarely attested. For example, numeral names are rare (*Secunda* has four attestations, *Tertia* none) and names such as *Fortunata*, *Felicula* and *Felicitas* are missing.

Some names, however, were popular in all social groups, e.g. *Sabina*, *Rufina*, the latter mostly attested from the second century onwards. Some of the most popular senatorial names, e.g. *Agrippina*, *Faustina*, are also well attested outside the senatorial *ordo*, but this was most probably due to the influence of the senatorial name-bearers rather than anything else.

There are also some chronological matters that should be pointed out here (based on the chronological distribution of the cases in Appendix 2a). While some simple forms of the type *Paulla/Polla*, *Maxima* are attested for many senatorial women, they mostly become common after the first century. For instance, *Paulla* and *Maxima* each are attested for only one aristocratic woman during the first century, both cases dating from the latter half of the century.<sup>445</sup> Suffixed forms seem to have been considered more aristocratic, e.g. *Paul(l)ina* is attested for eleven senatorial women during the first century (and there is one earlier case as well; see 3.3.1 under the Fabii), and *Maximilla* for two. Moreover, outside the senatorial elite *Rufa* was one of the most popular cognomina in the early period (see 3.2 below), but it is not attested for a single senatorial woman. The suffixed form *Rufina*, however, is (mostly after the first century but there are two cases from this period as well, out of 20). Also, while *Tertia* is absent in senatorial women's nomenclature, the suffixed form *Tertulla* is fairly well-attested.

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<sup>445</sup> In both cases, the women seem to have come from outside the capital. Not much is known about Calpurnia Paulla, besides the fact that she was the wife of C. Caristianus Fronto whose family originated in Pisidian Antioch (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 423; Halfmann 1979, 109). It may be worth pointing out that her nomenclature, including her nomen, was transmitted to her daughter Calpurnia Paulina, which could suggest that she came from a prestigious family (cf. n. 616 below). As for *Maxima*, it has been thought that Gavia Q. f. Maxima (*PFOS* 403), who donated 600 000 sesterces for the construction of an aqueduct in Verona (*CIL* V 3402 = *ILS* 5757), was the daughter of the Veronese senator Q. Gavius Atticus (*cos. suff.* 73?; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 93). This assumption, which is based on the filiation *Q. f.* and the origin of both persons, is not implausible. Also, given the fact that Gavia Maxima was clearly a woman of great wealth, it seems clear that she was in some way connected to the senatorial Gavii (cf. Alföldy 1979, 534f.; Andermahr 1998, 4).



### 2.6.2 Pejorative names

As we have seen in the above in 2.3, many of the female cognomina with a transparent etymology can be classified as wish-names. In other words, they often connote to positive meanings, such as long life, good health, fortune, pleasant character, and so forth. While some other names have a more neutral character in this respect, it is only seldom that we encounter female names that can be classified as pejorative, i.e. names with derogatory connotations, particularly in terms of physical appearance. Such names, by contrast, were not uncommon for Roman men, especially for those of the Republican aristocracy, among whom we have plenty of examples of cognomina such as *Crassus* ‘fat’, *Varus* ‘knock-kneed’, *Scaurus* ‘club-footed’, i.e. names referring to various deformities of the body. Feminine forms of the type *Crassa*, *Vara*, and *Scaura*, however, were generally avoided. This is not surprising, given the general tendency in most Indo-European languages of avoiding giving pejorative names to women.<sup>446</sup>

In some cases, it seems, the pejorative character of a name could be circumvented through the use of suffixes. Thus, we would normally find female forms such as *Taurina/Taurilla* (from *Taurus* + *-īnal-illa*), *Crassilla* (from *Crassus* + *-illa*), and *Varia/Varilla* (from *Varus* + *-ial-illa*) instead of *Taura*, *Crassa*, and *Vara*. Only rarely do we find feminine forms of men’s pejorative names. I will go through some of these cases here:

*Flacca*, fem. form of *Flaccus* ‘flap-eared’: There are three cases in which the name certainly appears as a female cognomen and two cases of rather dubious nature.<sup>447</sup> It seems plausible that the name could be chosen because of its aristocratic connotations, without taking its lexical meaning into much consideration.<sup>448</sup> However, given the rarity of the name in female nomenclature in general, especially in comparison to suffixed derivations such as *Flaccilla* (at least 30 cases; cf. Appendix 1), it can be argued that the name was largely considered pejorative or, at least, that some of the suffixed forms were considered more appropriate for women.

<sup>446</sup> Cf. Stüber & Zehnder & Remmer (eds.) 2009 for female names in various Indo-European languages.

<sup>447</sup> The secure cases: *CIL* VI 20710; 39497; IX 5223. The dubious ones are *CIL* VI 30512 (fragmentary) and I<sup>2</sup> 477 (*this case is discussed in better detail in 3.1 below*).

<sup>448</sup> The name was used by various Republican noble families as their hereditary cognomen (e.g. Fulvii, Valerii), but it was not probably because of any particular family that the name was chosen, but clearly *Flaccus*, in general, had a certain upper-class ring to it.

*Lentula*: Historically *Lentulus* ‘slow(ish)’ was the hereditary cognomen of one branch of patrician Cornelii. No daughter of a patrician Lentulus, however, is known to have borne the cognomen *Lentula*. Outside the family, the name is attested only twice, in two inscriptions of Imperial date: *CIL* VIII 26471 = *ILTun* 1392, recording [M]aedia Lentula, *flaminica* of the Imperial cult in Thugga in 117 CE (and daughter of Q. Maedius Severus, *patronus pagi et civitatis*), and *CIL* V 6030, a fragmentary inscription from Mediolanum (the name *Lentula*, in any case, is intact).<sup>449</sup>

*Scaura*: The name *Scaurus* ‘club-footed’ was used by a branch of the Republican Aurelii as their hereditary cognomen. Like in the case of *Lentula*, however, there is no evidence of any Aurelia using the feminine form as their cognomen. The name is, in fact, attested only once, for a certain Arrenia Scaura, wife of C. Pacutius Paetus, in *CIL* VI 38711 (date unclear, perhaps early Imperial). There are, furthermore, practically no suffixed female variants of the name on record, save for one *Scauriana* (*CIL* VI 26005, 2nd/3rd c.).

*Vara*: The *de facto* feminine form of *Varus* was *Varia*, as demonstrated by Kajava 1987. From a formal point of view, *Varia* belongs to the same category as female names of the type *Marcia* and *Titia*, corresponding to *Marcus* and *Titus* (cf. 2.4.7.2). The form *Vara* is only rarely attested and, at least in some of the cases, it should probably be read *Var(i)a*. This is, for instance, the case with Mummia Var(i)a (*PFOS* 559), who is attested in a Roman brick stamp of the Severan period (*CIL* XV 1310).<sup>450</sup> *Vara* is also attested in an Aquitanian dedication, for a woman called Valeria L. [*sic*] *Vara* (*CIL* XIII 387), but this example is rather peripheric and the execution of the inscription seems far from flawless, judging by the peculiar filiation (or pseudo-filiation). *Varia* was clearly a more acceptable form, as was *Varilla*, which is attested for at least 13 women, including two senatorial cases (*PFOS* 85; 576).

*Bassa* forms an interesting case in this respect. Etymologically speaking it was of non-Latin, perhaps of Oscan, origin, and for this reason Kajanto seems to have excluded it from his book of Latin cognomina. This, in my view, was a mistake, since the name had already early consolidated its position in the standard onomastic repertoire of the Romans and the adjective *bassus*, while perhaps of non-Latin origin, certainly made its way to the spoken Latin, at least in later times which is also evidenced by the vocabulary of the Romance languages.<sup>451</sup> The

<sup>449</sup> The restoration of *LEN[---]* in *ILJug* III 1935 as *Len[tula]* is highly dubious.

<sup>450</sup> See Kajava 1987, 39f.

<sup>451</sup> Compare Italian *basso*, Spanish *bajo*, French *bas*, etc. The word is, however, rarely found in

meaning seems to have been basically ‘low’ but also including the connotation of not being particularly thin – or, as it is put in the etymological dictionary of Ernout and Meillet, *crassus, non altus*.<sup>452</sup> It follows that the name could be classified as a pejorative name, especially for women. This, however, seems to have been no impediment for its use. On the contrary, *Bassa* is frequently attested not only for the lower but also for the upper classes of the Roman society.<sup>453</sup> It is reasonable to draw the conclusion that, as a personal name, it clearly did not have negative connotations in the same way as the more ‘traditional’ pejorative names, of the type *Crassus*, at least in the late Republican and early Imperial period. This may have to do with the name’s non-Latin background, which perhaps made it semantically less transparent for the Romans. Instead, it seems that *Bassa* was primarily viewed simply as a name – and in the eyes of the Roman *plebs* the name even seems to have had a certain upper-class ring to it.<sup>454</sup>

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It should be noted that a name that is pejorative to one person might not be so to another, and a name that is pejorative for a man may not be pejorative as a woman’s name (and vice versa). Hence, it turns out that many of the 369 cognomina labelled as ‘pejorative’ in Kajanto 1965 should not be regarded pejorative from the standpoint of female nomenclature. For instance, a name such as *Delicatus* may have had ‘feminine’ connotations as a man’s name, but it is difficult to see why *Delicata*, as a female name, should be considered pejorative. In a similar fashion, Kajanto has labelled *Paullus* as a pejorative name, probably because it refers to smallness – but *Paulla*, as a female name, is certainly not pejorative. There are also names such as *Ambitiosus/a* which can hardly be interpreted as pejorative in the same sense as, for example, *Crassus*.

Another factor that ought to be pointed out is the relatively frequent use of names with negative connotations in Christian nomenclature. Examples include

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literary sources; cf. *TLL*, s.v. ‘bassus’ (retrieved 23rd Oct. 2019).

<sup>452</sup> Ernout & Meillet 1959, s.v. ‘bassus, a, -um’.

<sup>453</sup> Even when excluding the *instrumenta domestica*, at least 80 cases can be found through a quick search in the *EDCS* and *TLL Online* (s.v. ‘bassa’). For senatorial women, cf. at least *PFOS* 141, 407, 667, and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1082.

<sup>454</sup> Though it seems that among the senatorial aristocracy *Bassus* was still during the Republic considered a somewhat rustic name. By the Imperial period, however, it had clearly become more socially acceptable even in the senatorial elite. Cf. Solin 1991, 171.

names of the type *Exitiosa* (3, ‘Pernicious’),<sup>455</sup> *Clamosa* (2, ‘Noisy’),<sup>456</sup> *Gulosa* (*CIL* VIII 13722, ‘Gluttonous’), *Importuna* (*CIL* VI 33715 = *ICUR* 4291, ‘Unfit/Unsuitable’), *Molesta* (*ICUR* 14493, ‘Annoying’). Such names have often been understood as signs of ‘humility before God’ but Kajanto has also suggested that, in origin, they may have simply been reproaches used by non-Christians and that the Christians, subsequently, adopted these reproaches as personal names.<sup>457</sup>

### 2.6.3 Unisex names and the gender distribution of cognomina

In many languages and cultures an important function of the personal name has been to reveal or in some way indicate its bearer’s sex.<sup>458</sup> Whether a name is considered male or female is usually determined by either linguistic or cultural factors. For instance, in my native Finnish there are no specific linguistic markers that would differentiate between men’s and women’s names but instead the gender-coding is based on cultural learning. In Latin (and its modern successors), however, most names – as is well known – are gender-coded by their linguistic properties. In other words, most Latin names have either a distinctly masculine or feminine termination which, generally speaking, reveals whether the name belongs to a man or a woman (e.g. *Prisc-us* - *Prisc-a*).

There is, however, a small group of Latin cognomina that do not fall into this category. From a formal point of view, most of these names belong to the category of cognomina with terminations other than *-a*, which have been discussed above in 2.2.2. There are also some names in *-a* used by both men and women, mostly substantival names of the type *Musa*, *Margarita*. In this chapter, I will focus on how these unisex names were distributed between men and women and for what reasons. As will be seen, the reasons varied a lot and could have to do, amongst other things, with grammatical gender, morphology, semantics, and influence from other languages. As for the latest point, one could even ask if, despite the uniform appearance, we are always dealing with the same name at all.

<sup>455</sup> *CIL* VIII 25099; *AE* 1991, 1653; Duval 1976, 46 = Quattrocchi 2016, no. 149.

<sup>456</sup> *AE* 1996, 1095 (Augusta Treverorum); *CIL* XIII 233 (Aquitania).

<sup>457</sup> Kajanto 1965, 69f.; cf. Kajanto 1962.

<sup>458</sup> Cf. Alford 1988; Leibring 2016; 2018.

Before taking a closer look at the names, it may be good to clarify what exactly is meant with 'unisex names'. First of all, one has to keep in mind that a unisex name is not the same as a gender-neutral name. It is true that a unisex name can be used in a gender-neutral manner – but the leap from a name that is used gender-specifically to one that is used gender-neutrally is long and between the two end points there is some grey area. This continuum has been well described by K. Leibring, in whose model a gender-specific name (i.e. a name used only by men or women) can sometimes be used in a gender-contrary manner (i.e. the name is clearly perceived as male/female and the use by the other gender is seen as a peculiar exception), which in turn may lead into gender-crossing usage (i.e. the name is predominantly used by men or women but is occasionally used by the other gender as well) and finally, in some cases, the name may be perceived as gender-neutral.<sup>459</sup> For the sake of clarity, a name in the current survey has been classified as unisex as long as it has at least one documented male and female bearer.

I have been able to trace 115 Latin cognomina that were used in identical form by at least one man and one woman at some point of Roman history. The number is not very large when compared to the total number of Latin cognomina in general (there are over 7 500 cognomina recorded in Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*).<sup>460</sup> It is, however, an interesting group, not least because some of these names were among the most popular Latin cognomina in general. From a lexical point of view, 65 of the 115 cognomina can be classified as adjectival and 50 as substantival. The following names are on record:<sup>461</sup>

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<sup>459</sup> Leibring 2016, 130.

<sup>460</sup> This is a rough estimate based on a quick calculation (some 55 names on average per page for 138 pages). An exact figure would probably be somewhere between 7 500 and 8 000.

<sup>461</sup> 'w' stands for women and 'm' for men.

<i>Absens</i> (1 w, 7 m)	<i>Docilis</i> (3 w, 10 m)	<i>Memor</i> (1 w, 62 m)
<i>Advena</i> (8 w, 14 m)	<i>Dotalis</i> (1 w, 1 m)	<i>Mercurialis</i> (2 w, 72 m)
<i>Aequitas</i> (2 w, 2 m)	<i>Elegans</i> (7 w, 17 m)	<i>Merula</i> (6 w, 14 m)
<i>Agilis</i> (2 w, 69 m)	<i>Exoriens</i> (1 w, 3 m)	<i>Mica</i> (2 w, 2 m)
<i>Amabilis</i> (64 w, 26 m)	<i>Facilis</i> (5 w, 13 m)	<i>Minor</i> (4 w, 3 m)
<i>Amans</i> (2 w, 3 m)	<i>Fatalis</i> (3 w, 36 m)	<i>Murra</i> (3 w, 2 m)
<i>Amor</i> (10 w, 11 m)	<i>Favor</i> (4 w, 63 m)	<i>Mus</i> (2 w, 14 m)
<i>Aprilis</i> (7 w, 189 m)	<i>Felica</i> (2 w, 4 m)	<i>Musa</i> (178 w, 15 m)
<i>Atta</i> <sup>462</sup> (5 w, 8 m)	<i>Felicitas</i> (458 w, 1 m)	<i>Mustela</i> (11 w, 3 m)
<i>Augustalis</i> (6 w, 163 m)	<i>Felix</i> (46 w, 3668 m)	<i>Natalis</i> (36 w, 189 m)
<i>Auxiliaris</i> (1 w, 4 m)	<i>Fidelis</i> (8 w, 97 m)	<i>Neptunalis</i> (1 w, 29 m)
<i>Bestia</i> (1w, 6 m)	<i>Fides</i> (2 w, 3 m)	<i>Nivalis</i> (1 w, 29 m)
<i>Bucca</i> (4w, 2 m)	<i>Florens</i> (2 w, 8 m)	<i>Nobilis</i> (18 w, 33 m)
<i>Bulla</i> (2 w, 4 m)	<i>Flos</i> (1 w, 2 m)	<i>Nuptialis</i> (4 w, 3 m)
<i>C(a)elestis</i> (1 w, 2 m)	<i>Fontinalis</i> (1 w, 3 m)	<i>Obsequens</i> (3 w, 13 m)
<i>Capella</i> (7 w, 18 m)	<i>Formica</i> (2 w, 2 m)	<i>Origo</i> (7 w, 2 m)
<i>Capra</i> (2 w, 2 m)	<i>Fortio</i> (1 w, 11 m)	<i>Ostie(n)sis</i> (1 w, 26 m)
<i>Castre(n)sis</i> (3 w, 66 m)	<i>Fortis</i> (4 w, 141 m)	<i>Parra</i> (1 w, 2 m)
<i>Cerialis</i> (12 w, 197 m)	<i>Frequens</i> (3 w, 15 m)	<i>Pax</i> (2 w, 5 m)
<i>Cicada</i> (2 w, 1 m)	<i>Gentilis</i> (1 w, 23 m)	<i>Peculiaris</i> (8 w, 93 m)
<i>Civilis</i> (2 w, 15 m)	<i>Gutta</i> (3 w, 5 m)	<i>Pietas</i> (28 w, 40 m)
<i>Cleme(n)s</i> (10 w, 555 m)	<i>Hilaris</i> (3 w, 5 m)	<i>Pinna</i> (1 w, 6 m)
<i>Co(n)stans</i> (4 w, 94 m)	<i>Hispaniensis</i> (1 w, 1 m)	<i>Piper</i> (1 w, 1 m)
<i>Coma</i> (1 w, 5 m)	<i>Iuvenilis</i> (1 w, 5 m)	<i>Pollex</i> (1 w, 1 m)
<i>Comes</i> (1 w, 9 m) <sup>463</sup>	<i>Iuvenis</i> (1 w, 65 m)	<i>Potens</i> (2 w, 37 m)
<i>Communis</i> (14 w, 184 m)	<i>Karthago</i> (1 w, 1 m)	<i>Praesens</i> (1 w, 35 m)
<i>Confinis</i> (1 w, 1 m)	<i>Liberalis</i> (19 w, 218 m)	<i>Pude(n)s</i> (6 w, 375 m)
<i>Crescens</i> (10 w, 1034 m)	<i>Maior</i> (40 w, 57 m)	<i>Quodvultdeus</i> (2 w, 57 m)
<i>Cupido</i> (2 w, 2 m)	<i>Margarita</i> (8 w, 1 m)	<i>S(a)ecularis</i> (2 w, 40 m)
<i>Decor</i> (2 w, 2 m)	<i>Martialis</i> (3 w, 787 m)	<i>Salus</i> (2? w, 1 m)
<i>Diligens</i> (1 w, 11 m)	<i>Melior</i> (1 w, 31 m)	<i>Scurra</i> (5 w, 14 m)

<sup>462</sup> The word *atta* (perhaps of Etruscan origin?) was used, according to Festus (paraphrased by Paulus the Deacon; Paul. Fest. 11), to refer to people who did not walk in a normal fashion (*attae appellantur qui propter vitium crurum aut pedum plantis insistunt et adtingunt terram magis quam ambulanti*) – but ancient explanations such as these should be regarded with caution. In short, the etymology seems unclear.

<sup>463</sup> The one female case (*CIL* VIII 7154) is somewhat dubious, as we might be dealing with an appellative rather than an anthroponym.

<i>Seneca</i> (4 w, 86 m)	<i>Stabilis</i> (3 w, 15 m)	<i>Verax</i> (1 w, 8 m)
<i>Senilis</i> (1 w, 48 m)	<i>Suavis</i> (23 w, 150 m)	<i>Veritas</i> (2 w, 1 m)
<i>Silex</i> (1 w, 3 m)	<i>Tigris</i> (70 w, 2? m)	<i>Verna</i> (6 w, 90 m)
<i>Silva</i> (6 w, 3 m)	<i>Trio</i> (1 w, 10 m)	<i>Vernalis</i> (2 w, 4 m)
<i>Similis</i> (4 w, 61 m)	<i>Triumphalis</i> (2 w, 11 m)	<i>Vestalis</i> (2 w, 74 m)
<i>Spes</i> (139 w, 4 m)	<i>Urtica</i> (3 w, 3 m)	<i>Virgula</i> (1 w, 6 m)
<i>Spica</i> (14 w, 2 m)	<i>Utilis</i> (5 w, 28 m)	<i>Vitalis</i> (240 w, 771 m)

In order to understand these names better, it might be good to take a look at the 15 most popular unisex cognomina. They have the advantage that, due to their quantity, they allow for some statistical conclusions (for the number of attestations, cf. Appendix 1):

Table 6: Most popular unisex names and their gender distribution

	Total	Men		Women	
1. Felix	3 714	3 668	98.8%	46	1.2%
2. Cresce(n)s	1 044	1 034	99%	10	1%
3. Vitalis	1 011	771	76.3%	450	23.7%
4. Martialis	793	787	99.2%	6	0.8%
5. Cleme(n)s	565	555	98.2%	10	1.8%
6. Felicitas	459	1	0.2%	458	99.8%
7. Pude(n)s	381	375	98.4%	6	1.6%
8. Liberalis	237	218	92%	19	8%
9. Natalis	225	189	84%	36	16%
10. Cerialis	209	197	94.3	12	5.7%
11. Communis	198	184	92.9%	14	7.1%
12. Aprilis	196	189	96.4%	7	3.6%
13. Musa	193	15	7.8%	178	92.2%
14. Suavis	173	150	86.7%	23	13.3%
15. Augustalis	169	163	96.4%	6	3.6%

The following observations can be made:

1) The majority of the names correspond to Latin words with the terminations *is* (9) and *(e)ns* (3).

2) The names are predominantly used by men rather than women – with a couple of notable exceptions (*Felicitas*, *Musa*).<sup>464</sup>

The most frequently attested unisex name is *Felix*, which also happens to be the most frequently attested cognomen in general. The number of women with the cognomen *Felix* is not low in itself. In fact, 46 attestations are quite numerous in relation to most female cognomina and one could argue that, were it for any other cognomen, the proportion would undoubtedly be significant even in relation to the male name-bearers.<sup>465</sup> In the case of *Felix*, however, the number of men, amounting to over 3 700, is so overwhelming that the proportion of the women is barely over 1% of the total. It is, thus, clear that the name was primarily viewed as a masculine name and that its use by women was rather an exception and could be labelled as ‘gender-contrary’, or ‘gender-crossing’ to the very least, to borrow the terminology of Leibring 2016. As the table above shows (as well as Table 1 in 2.1), a much more popular female form was *Felicitas*, which is also one of the few names in the table that was clearly perceived, first and foremost, a female name. Indeed, we only have one attestation of a man called *Felicitas*, while the female name-bearers amount to over 450.<sup>466</sup> As has been pointed out already in 2.2.2 above, cognomina corresponding to Latin abstract nouns of the feminine gender with the termination *-(i)tas* were almost exclusively used by women.<sup>467</sup>

With this in mind one could ask, why the name *Pietas* (f.) was primarily used by men, even though cognomina of this type were typically female. In this particular case, the explanation, as Solin suggests, may have to do with the fact that the concept of *pietas* – and hence, the name *Pius* – was primarily associated with men, in the same way as *virtus* was a central notion of Roman masculinity.<sup>468</sup>

<sup>464</sup> The fact that most of these “unisex” names were unevenly distributed between men and women is not a surprise, since this tends to be the case in other languages as well. There are, for instance, modern studies regarding names in Swedish, German, Dutch, and English, which show that a unisex name, in most cases, tends to be predominantly male or female (cf. for instance Schmuck 2019; 2018 for some discussion on this aspect).

<sup>465</sup> Perhaps the most famous female Felix is Iulia Sf. Felix, recorded in *CIL* IV 1136 as the owner of a lavish house in Pompeii.

<sup>466</sup> The man is L. Setinus Felicitas, recorded in a list of individuals at Antium (*CIL* X 6713).

<sup>467</sup> E.g. (*H*)ilaritas, *Potestas*, *Dignitas*, *Bonitas*, etc. are only attested for women.

<sup>468</sup> Cf. Solin 1997, 7.



Suffixed formations became more and more typical in the course of the Imperial period, but practically any suffixed form of *Pius* would have been awkward, whence *Pietas* remains the only viable alternative in terms of name-variation.

The fact that cognomina in *-is* and *-(e)ns* are predominantly found in men's nomenclature has already been established above in 2.2.2. There are, however, some names in *-is* that are more evenly distributed between men and women or even predominantly used by women. For instance, while *Vitalis*, as the table above shows, is attested for more men (771) than women (450), the proportional difference is quite narrow, especially when considering that women are generally underrepresented in our sources. *Vitalis* could, thus, be classified as an almost gender-neutral name or, at the very least, its use by women should not be regarded as gender-contrary. Other names in *-is* that are used by women in a somewhat comparable manner include *Suavis* (23 women, 150 men), *Nobilis* (18 women,<sup>469</sup> 33 men), *Elegans* (7 women, 17 men), *Natalis* (36 women, 189 men), perhaps to a certain degree also *Liberalis* (19 women, 218 men), *Communis* (14 women, 184 men), *Cerialis* (12 women, 197 men), and *Fidelis* (8 women, 97 men).

As for *Vitalis* and *Suavis*, we even have examples in which the names were used in a gender-neutral fashion within one and the same family. For instance, the cognomen *Vitalis* is used by both father and daughter in at least a late first-century epitaph commissioned by T. Flavius Aug. lib. Vitalis and his daughter Flavia Vitalis (*CIL* VI 29603) and a fourth-century epitaph dedicated to Fl(avius) Vitalis by his daughter Fl(avia) Vitalis (*ICUR* 16233 – *Fl(avio) Vitali ... Fl(avia) Vitalis filia patri*). We find *Suavis* in similar usage in the funerary monument of Minucia Suavis, commissioned by her father Ti. Claudius Suavis at some point during the first century CE (*CIL* VI 22560).<sup>470</sup>

But what about the unisex names that were predominantly used by women? I have been able to discover the following 14 names:<sup>471</sup>

<sup>469</sup> Including one woman of senatorial rank from Nero's time, i.e. Iulia Nobilis (*PFOS* 451).

<sup>470</sup> One may even note that Minucia Suavis and her father had different nomina. This, in many cases, had to do with the fact that the child had not been born in a legal marital union (see e.g. Dixon 1992, 45; Gardner 1986, 138ff.; Nuorluoto 2017, 258f.). In such cases, it was not uncommon that the father wanted the child to bear his cognomen, since his nomen was out of question (for numerous examples of this practice, see Nuorluoto 2017, 260 n. 7).

<sup>471</sup> Percentages have been provided for only those names that have over 10 attestations, since the statistical value of names with only a few attestations is close to zero (and can in fact be misleading, since the discovery of one or two new inscriptions could completely tip the scale).

Table 7: Unisex names attested for more women than men

	Women	Men		Women	Men
Felicitas (459)	458 (99.8%)	1 (0.2%)	Margarita (9)	8	1
Musa (193)	178 (92.2%)	15 (7.8%)	Silva (9)	6	3
Spes (143)	139 (94%)	9 (6%) <sup>472</sup>	Nuptialis (7)	4	3
Amabilis (90)	64 (71.1%)	26 (28.9%)	Murra (7)	4	3
Tigris (72)	70 (97.2%)	2? (2.8%) <sup>473</sup>	Origo (6)	4	2
Spica (16)	14 (87.5%)	2 (12.5%)	Bucca (6)	4	2
Mustela (14)	11 (78.6%)	3 (21.4%)	Veritas (3)	2	1

In addition to the relevant names in *-is* (*Amabilis*, *Nuptialis*), we may also consider *Dulcis* which is attested for five (5) women and no men at all. It seems probable that the semantic content of these names – particularly *Amabilis* and *Dulcis* – contributed to the fact that they were perceived as feminine rather than masculine names, since ‘loveable’ and ‘sweet’ are attributes that were perhaps more readily associated with women and femininity than with men and masculinity. This line of reasoning also works in reverse. For instance, *Fortis* (‘strong’) is attested for 128 men but only for four women.<sup>474</sup> *Nuptialis*, ‘nuptial’ or ‘pertaining to marriage/wedding’ was also a suitable name for women, whom the parents wished to be wedded well (though it cannot have been unsuitable for men either).

As for *Musa*, it is obvious that it was predominantly used as a female name when considering its semantic content, which refers to the Muses (all of which were women), as well as its form, which is in good accordance with the general tendency of female names with the termination *-a*. A more relevant question is, why it was used by men in the first place. In this case, the most likely answer is that it was, in fact, not the same name, but a Latinized form of the masculine *Μουσαῖς*, which is attested for some men in Greek sources.<sup>475</sup> There is, however, at least one man of the late Republican period, in whose case the name clearly refers to the Muses, i.e. Q. Pomponius Musa, moneyer of c. 66 BCE, whose coins bear pictures of the Muses.<sup>476</sup> In his case, however, we must remember that women

<sup>472</sup> Kajanto 1965 only records three cases. For the nine cases, see Solin 1997, 2–3 nn. 10–12.

<sup>473</sup> It is dubious if the Tigris known from CIL XIII 8383 is a man (so labelled by Kajanto 1965). We could also be dealing with a woman.

<sup>474</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 257 and Appendix 1 below.

<sup>475</sup> Cf. *LGPN* s.v. *Μουσαῖς*.

<sup>476</sup> For the coins, see *RCC* 410; for Pomponius Musa, cf. *MRR* II, 449.

did not yet typically have cognomina in this period and the nomenclature of the Republican aristocracy had its own peculiarities (including the extensive use of pejorative names, cf. 2.6.2 above).

The cognomen *Spes* 'Hope' has been discussed elsewhere, along with certain other names, by Solin.<sup>477</sup> I will recapitulate some of his points here. The name, along with *Fides*, belongs to a category of cognomina that correspond to Latin abstract nouns of the fifth declension. Unlike *Fides*, which is only rarely attested and only for men in non-Christian sources (and for two Christian women),<sup>478</sup> *Spes* was a rather popular female cognomen and well attested in different regions (especially in Africa), but it is not yet common in the early Imperial period. *Spes* was a wish-name and, thus, had a positive meaning, but why was it primarily used by women and not men?<sup>479</sup> The grammatical gender of the word (feminine) will probably have played a part, but perhaps more significantly the use was influenced by the Greek name Ἐλπίς which essentially had the same meaning and was a popular female name.<sup>480</sup>

As in the case of *Musa*, the distribution of *Margarita* 'Pearl' may also be explained by the differences in Latin and Greek, as suggested by Solin.<sup>481</sup> While in most cases the name originated in the Latin *margarita* (f.), it could also correspond to the Greek μαργαρίτης (m.).<sup>482</sup> The distribution of a name such as *Cupido* (attested for two men and two women) can also be explained through differences in interpretation.<sup>483</sup> As a female name it can be interpreted as the abstract noun *cupido* (f.), as a masculine name as the name of the male divinity. *Origo*, like *Cupido*, was identical to an abstract noun of the feminine gender, which is perhaps why it is primarily attested for women. At the same time, the

<sup>477</sup> Solin 1997 (the article itself is even titled 'Spes').

<sup>478</sup> The earliest bearer of *Fides* is L. Trebellius Fides, people's tribune in 47 BCE. We also have *CIL* VI 4452 (Ti. Iulius Fides). For the two Christian women, see Solin 1998, 3 n. 18.

<sup>479</sup> Names with a similar meaning are found in several modern languages as well. The English *Hope* tends to be a female name, while e.g. the Finnish *Toivo* is used by men.

<sup>480</sup> A search in the *LGP Online* produces 306 cases of women with the name. Notably, Ἐλπίς seems to be also attested as a masculine name, though only in six cases: *ZPE* 168 (2009), 9 no. 13, 6; *Milet* VI 904; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 9663; *Larykanda* 130; *UP*, 179, no. 2; *SEG* XXXVIII 1362; cf. Solin 1997, 3.

<sup>481</sup> H. Solin 1997, 2.

<sup>482</sup> Μαργαρίτης is not a frequently attested name, only two cases are known (*CIG* 3664 II, 37 & *SEG* XXXII 879; cf. Solin 1997, 2 n. 8).

<sup>483</sup> Men: *CIL* VI 101206; *ICUR* 1427. Women: *CIL* VI 5314; 36854. There is also one case of unknown sex (*RPAA* 50 (1977–1978), 302). Cf. Solin 1997, 8f.

fact that many male cognomina had the termination *-o* will have contributed to the fact that *Origo* could also be used by men, as pointed out by Solin.<sup>484</sup>

As for *Spica*, *Mustela*, *Silva*, *Murra*, and *Bucca*, formal factors and grammatical gender made them convenient as female cognomina. However, since there was also the masculine suffix *-a* (e.g. *Agrippa*, *Messalla*, *Ocella*), the use of these names by men is not completely unexpected.<sup>485</sup> Furthermore, we should not rule out the possibility that in some of the masculine cases we may be dealing with a different, perhaps Etruscan, personal name which just happened to look like a Latin word of the feminine gender. In the case of names such as *Felica* (two women, four men), it seems that, as a masculine form, the name was derived from *Felix* with the (masculine) suffix *-a*.<sup>486</sup> *Felica* as a female name, however, is a feminine form of the masculine *Felicus* which is known from several African inscriptions.<sup>487</sup> This name, in turn, was a suffixed form of *Felix* with the suffix *-ica* (instead of *\*Felicica*, through haplology; cf. 2.4.13 above).

*Tigris* can semantically be interpreted either as the Latin word for ‘tiger’ or as the river in the Middle East. Either way, it is difficult to explain why it was almost exclusively used by women. Since *tigris* could function both as a masculine and feminine word, there is no apparent grammatical reason, nor is there a morphological one, since most names in *-is* (albeit adjectival) were primarily used by men. There may be connotations involved that we are not aware of. Whatever the reason may be, *Tigris*, as a personal name, was clearly regarded female rather than male.

Grammatical gender and morphological factors certainly played a role in many other cases. It is, however, equally clear that they did not dictate the matter. For instance, *Amor* is a masculine word but is attested for men and women in practically equal amount (10 women, 11 men). *Pax*, a feminine word, in turn, is attested for more men than women (5 versus 2) – probably due to the termination *-x*, which is mostly found in men’s nomenclature. It is also clear by now that semantic content could have an impact on whether a name was perceived male or female – or neutral, as in the case of *Amor*, which was a suitable name for a new-born child, whether male or female. In addition to *Amor*, there are a number

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<sup>484</sup> Solin 1997, 9.

<sup>485</sup> The formative was perhaps of Etruscan origin, even if many of the names to which it was added were etymologically Latin (cf. Kajanto 1965, 105; Schulze 1904 [1966], 417ff.).

<sup>486</sup> Kajanto 1965, 105.

<sup>487</sup> *Felicus*: CIL VIII 2077; 3611; 9106; 16697; 27976; *ILAlg* II.2 5231; 7116; 7502; *BCTH* 1946–1949, 237. *Felica*: CIL VIII 6228; 3867.

of names that may be regarded as gender-neutral in terms of their distribution and semantic content, e.g. *Maiores* 'the elder' (40 women, 57 men), *Minores* 'the younger' (4 women, 3 men), and *Advena* 'Foreigner' (12 women, 14 men).

## 2.7 Summary of the chapter

First, a two-fold observation on the variety of different names: on the one hand, the number of female cognomina was large and new names could be easily coined with different suffixes; on the other hand, the majority of these names are only attested once or twice, whilst a handful of cognomina were extremely popular (2.1).

In theory, almost any appellative could function as a cognomen and a cognomen could be derived from almost any appellative with the use of different suffixes. In addition, cognomina could be derived from nomina and men's praenomina with the use of different suffixes (2.4). In practice, the possibilities were narrowed down by formal, semantic, and phonetic factors. For instance, pejorative names, often referring to parts of the body (in a derogatory sense), were generally avoided in women's nomenclature (2.6.2). In some cases, however, suffixed forms could come into question (e.g. *Varilla* from *Varus*; *Taurina* from *Taurus*).

Most female cognomina had the termination *-a* (including practically all suffixed formations), but there is also a small group of names with other terminations (e.g. *-is*, *-x*, *-(i)tas*, *-(e)ns*, etc.; cf. 2.2). Many of the names in the latter group (as well some in *a*) could also be used by both men and women. Most of such 'unisex names' were primarily used by men, particularly names in *-is* and *-(e)ns*, but there are also names of this type that were primarily perceived as female names (2.6.3). Whether a unisex name was primarily associated with men or women could depend on morphological, semantical, and other factors. For instance, names corresponding to feminine abstracts in *-(i)tas* (e.g. *Felicitas*) were almost exclusively used by women, and while most names in *-is* (of the type *Vitalis*) were predominantly used by men, some names such as *Amabilis* and *Dulcis* were primarily used by women – most likely due to their semantic content. And while the grammatical gender of nouns used as cognomina could correlate with the gender distribution (e.g. the abstracts in *-(i)tas*), there were also other factors at play which could make a masculine word apposite for women (e.g. *Amor*) and a feminine word apposite for men (e.g. *Pietas*).

Moreover, not all suffixes could be attached to all kinds of stems, mostly because of phonetic factors, and sometimes the use of a certain suffix, particularly

*-illa* and *-ulla*, would produce a ‘reduced’ stem through haplology, e.g. *Proculus* > *Proc-illa* (instead of \**Procul-illa*) and *Hispo* > *Hisp-ulla* (instead of \**Hispon-ulla*). This is also sometimes the case when deriving a cognomen from a gentilicium, e.g. *Antonia* > *Ant-ulla* (rather than \**Anton-ulla*). In some of these cases, however, we may be dealing with a convenient derivation from an existing stem rather than haplology (cf. 2.4.14).

The range of different suffixes was large, though some suffixes stand out in popularity, particularly *-ina* and *-illa* (2.4). The suffix *-iāna* is also well attested, but it only becomes common in later periods, towards the second century, and in general its use was more limited in women’s nomenclature than it was in men’s. Most of the suffixes were also used in word-formation, except for *-itta*, which is only found in female cognomina. The suffix *-illa* is also remarkable in this respect, since its primary use was in female cognomina while appellatives and men’s cognomina in *-illus* are rare.

When compared to men’s nomenclature more generally, the range and use of different suffixes in female cognomina seems to have been more varied in certain respects, mostly because of the extensive use of different diminutive forms in women’s nomenclature. For instance, while *-iānus* was practically the only suffix used for coining men’s cognomina from gentilicia, women also had cognomina derived from gentilicia with e.g. *-illa* and *-(i)ola*.

A special group of female cognomina is formed by names that, in fact, were not technically cognomina but nomina, which were simply used as cognomina. This practice seems to have been particularly characteristic for women (even if some men also used nomina as cognomina; cf. 2.5).

There are, furthermore, some significant differences between different social groups. The repertoire of cognomina used by senatorial women is, perhaps unsurprisingly, more distinct in comparison to the cognomina of the *plebs*. Many of the most frequently attested female cognomina are either rare or absent in the nomenclature of upper-class women (2.6.1). Some geographical and chronological differences may also be underlined. For instance, certain suffixes and types of formations were typical to certain regions and time periods, e.g. the use of *-ōsa* in Africa and in late periods, the frequency of *-ula/ola* in Gaul, and formations in *-ia* in Late Antiquity.

## 3 The Early Use of the Female Cognomen

### 3.1 The emergence of the female cognomen

For most of the Republican period, the cognomen was essentially the property of the Roman senatorial aristocracy or, more precisely, senatorial men. This, as we have seen in 1.2.2, started to change towards the end of the Republic. It is in that period that the practice of using cognomina started to spread throughout the Roman society, including to Roman women.

More than a century ago, the German linguist and philologist Wilhelm Schulze notably argued that Roman women as a rule were one step ahead of men in adopting the use of a cognomen.<sup>488</sup> This observation was based on several inscriptions, many of them from Cisalpine Gaul, in which a woman had a cognomen but her husband and/or son(s) did not. This idea, however, was later criticized, amongst others, by Iiro Kajanto who, in his words, found Schulze's arguments "untenable".<sup>489</sup> Kajanto's critique has been accepted, with certain reservations, in later scholarship as well.<sup>490</sup>

First, it may be good to point out that I agree with Kajanto in that the evidence does not indeed suggest that freeborn women would have assumed the use of cognomina earlier than men. In fact, the earliest attestations seem to be approximately from the same period, viz. from the end of the second century BCE. As we have seen, some of the earliest evidence concerning freeborn men comes from Delos, Capua, and Praeneste (1.2.2). From Praeneste we also know of two cases of freeborn women with a cognomen which certainly predate the Sullan conquest of 82 BCE.<sup>491</sup> In other words, we are dealing with more or less the same period here. The names of the two Praenestan women were *Etrilia L. f. Longa* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 155 = Franchi De Bellis no. 53,3) and *Samiaria M. f. Minor Q. (uxor)* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 271 = *ILLRP* 869 = Franchi De Bellis no. 117,10). Both cases will be tackled in the survey below, but it may be worth pointing out that both of

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<sup>488</sup> Schulze 1966 [1904], 505: "Ueberhaupt sind in der Annahme des Cognomens die Frauen in der Regel den Männern um einen Schritt voraus."

<sup>489</sup> Kajanto 1973.

<sup>490</sup> Notably by Kajava 1994, 30f.

<sup>491</sup> And with all likelihood they predate the Sullan conquest by some decades. However, the dates given for these inscriptions in the *EDCS* (200–150 BCE and 230–200 BCE respectively) seem to be far too early.

these women seem to have belonged to the local elite of Praeneste. The Etrilii, who are attested in numerous inscriptions from the middle Republic until the founding of Sulla's colony, were certainly one of the leading families of the town before its conquest by Sulla.<sup>492</sup> The *gens Samiaria* in its turn is attested in Praeneste perhaps already from the fourth century BCE onwards, and it is among the families known to have held local magistracies.<sup>493</sup>

Besides these two cases, Kajanto has suggested that there might be another piece of even earlier evidence, dating from the mid-second century BCE, namely a dubious ointment jar from Rome – a gift from 'Amor' to 'Flac(c)a' (*Amor med Flac(c)a(e) dede(t)*; *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 477 = XV 6158 = *ILLRP* 1229). According to Kajanto, the woman was likely freeborn, since the name *Flaccus/a* was uncommon among slaves and freedmen.<sup>494</sup> But the name is in fact attested for some slaves and former slaves (and it was uncommon among women in general, as noted above in 2.6.2).<sup>495</sup> The use of the name *Flacca* alone can hardly be taken as serious evidence. In lack of any other information regarding the woman's status, including the woman's nomen (if she ever had one), we should refrain from making any hasty conclusions. For all we know, she may have been a slave, or a former slave, or a freeborn woman – but it is impossible to tell which one of these.

In any case, some senatorial women seem to have had cognomina already by the end of the second century BCE. According to Cicero and some later literary testimonies, some daughters of the Caecilii Metelli had the family cognomen *Metella* in this period, and not much later we also have some epigraphic evidence of this (these cases are discussed below in 3.3).

Practices at both ends of the social ladder influenced the use of cognomina. It is well known that the model for using cognomina came originally from the Roman nobility, who had used hereditary cognomina from the early days of the Republic. In time, municipal elites throughout Italy started to imitate this practice, which became more and more fashionable. But at the same time there was strong

<sup>492</sup> After this they disappear from record. The inscriptions are *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 153; 154; 1455; 3045; 3083; Franchi De Bellis 111,4. For further discussion of the Etrilii and the local elite of Praeneste, see e.g. Granino Cecere & Nonnis & Ricci 2012.

<sup>493</sup> *CIL* XIV 2966 = X 1835, from 79-76 BCE, recording a M. Samarius along with a group of other magistrates. Cf. also Petracchia Lucernoni 1988, no. 34 and Franchi de Bellis's comments in Franchi De Bellis no. 181.

<sup>494</sup> Kajanto 1973, 402–403.

<sup>495</sup> There are 13 cases of slaves in Solin 1996, I, 56–57. The first attestation of the name in a servile context is that of *Flaccus Claudi*, a composer and flute-player in the comedies of Terence (*RE s.v.* 'Flaccus' no. 3).



influence from the other end of the social ladder. Enfranchised slaves had adopted the use of the cognomen quickly, using typically their old slave names as their cognomina. While these cognomina were often of Greek or foreign extraction, the next generation would often receive ‘appropriate’ Latin cognomina. In this way, the use of cognomina became more and more normalized. It is, thus, hardly surprising that many of the cases in the survey below (and also in this chapter) occur primarily either among local elites or in a ‘libertine’ context, that is to say, among the descendants or family members of *liberti*.

With this background we shall now return to Schulze’s argument. He had collected at least 36 cases from the late Republic and the beginning of the Empire in which a woman has a cognomen but her husband does not, and six further cases in which a woman has a cognomen but her son does not.<sup>496</sup> While conducting this research, I have also come across 67 further cases, in which a woman has a cognomen but her husband/brother/son does not – mostly from Northern Italy but also from other regions:

Rome and Latium (8): *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1408 = VI 28422 = *ILS* 8396 = *ILLRP* 934: Basilia Sp. f. Posilla, husband C. Veius T. f. Mae(cia);<sup>497</sup> *CIL* VI 17121 (Roma): Egnatia C. f. Maxuma, husband (?) Q. Tempsonius Q. f. Vot(uria); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1545 = *ILLRP* 564 (Casinum): Apsennia Q. f. Paulla, husband N. Savonius N. f.; *AE* 1996, 433 (Teanum Sidicinum): Pontia P. f. Pola, husband M. Mestrius M. f. Ouf.; *CIL* X 5817 (Alertrium): [---]ecia L. f. Posilla & [---]tia L. f. Rufa, vs. [---] Rufreii M. f. Ani(ensi) (two men) and [---] Rufreius M. f. Ani. Gallus; *CIL* XIV 2317 (Albanum): Precilia Q. f. Tertia, husband M. Antistius M. f. Fab(ia); *AE* 1985, 214 = *AE* 1995, 259 (Anagnia): Caleaia P. f. Bucula, husband L. Catius L. f. M. n. Fab., *centurio speculator(um) Aug(usti)*; *CIL* X 4872 = *ILS* 2021 (Venafrum): Allidia L. f. Rufa, husband L. Ovinus M. f. Ter(etina).<sup>498</sup>

Campania (4): *CIL* X 2832 (Puteoli): Pavillia Cornuta, brother C. Pavillius C. f. C. n.; *AE* 2006, 282 (Stabiae): Veratia A. f. Galla, husband L. Scanius L. f. Men(enia), son L. Scanius L. f. Men.; *CIL* X 3685 = *ILS* 4040 (Cumae): Lucceia Cn. f. Polla and Lucceia Cn. f. Tertulla vs. Cn. Lucceii *pater et filius*; *AE* 1990, 223e (Allifae): Gavia M. f. Rufa, husband Q. Fufius M. f.<sup>499</sup>

<sup>496</sup> *CIL* V 2517; 2561; 2570; 2589; 2593; 2634; 2657; 2665; 2678; 2723; 2920; 2923; 3007; 3652; 3746; 3767; 6862; 7123; 7164; 7166; 7168; 7570; 8862; IX 996; X 5277; XI 786; 1092; 1224; 1227; 1736; 3374; 5461; 5981; 6409; *ILS* 2021; 2919.

<sup>497</sup> Probably rather than *Mai(or)*, cf. n. 808 below.

<sup>498</sup> Their two sons and daughter-in-law all have a cognomen.

<sup>499</sup> Their son Q. Fufius Q. f. Ter(etina) Rufus and daughter Fufia Q. f. Polla both have a cognomen.

Apulia & Calabria (6): *AE* 1987, 282 (Canusium): Lolliia M. f. Rufa, husband(?) Sex. Mutronius Q. f.; *CIL* IX 1528 (Pagus Veianus): Postumia P. f. Rufa, husband T. Septimius P. f. Ste. and daughter Septimia T. f. Maxuma; *CIL* IX 852 (Luceria): Helvia C. f. Posilla, husband(?) Q. Egnatius M. f. Cla(udia); *CIL* IX 2118 (Santa Maria de Voto): V[---] P. f. Tertia, husband [---] f. Gal(eria), son Q. Vinius Q. f. Gal., and daughter Vini[a] Q. f. (who doesn't, curiously enough, have a cognomen); *CIL* IX 1403 (Trevico): Vibbia L. f. Tertia, brother C. Vibbius L. f. Ser(gia); *CIL* IX 852 (Luceria): Helvia C. f. Po[si]lla, husband (?) Q. Egnatius M. f. Cla(udia).

Umbria (5): *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2122 = XI 5981 (Ad Caem): Variana C. f. Gava & Caedia C. f. Secunda, their husbands(?) Vib. Vedius Sert. f. and T. Vedius V. f. and son T. Vedius T. f.; *CIL* V 2704 (Asisium): Calventia M'. f. Rufa, husband Q. Terentius L. f.; *Suppl It* 18-S, 16 = *AE* 2000, 543 (Suasa): Magia M. f. Polla, husband L. Scoedius L. f. Cam(ilia); *CIL* XI 4438 (Ameria): Praeonia C. f. Posilla and her daughter Artoria Sex. f. Secunda as well as husband Sex. Artorius Sex. f. and two sons Sex. & L. Artorii Sex. f.; *CIL* XI 5005 = *Suppl It* 29, p. 289 (Trebis): [---]ossia T. f. Secunda, husband [T. R]ubrius T. f. Aem(ilia).

Samnium and Picenum (4): *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1739 = *ILS* 8073 (Beneventum): Epidia P. f. Neria, husband C. Petuellius Q. f. Fal.; *CIL* IX 6287 = I<sup>2</sup> 174 (Beneventum): [R]utilia Q. f. Rufa, husband T. Rufius Cn. f. Ste.; *AE* 1995, 424 (Trebula Suffenas): Volsa C. f. Rufa, husband L. Annus C. f. Ani. and son L. Annus L. f. Ani. Rufus; *CIL* IX 5088 (Interamnia): Publicia Sex. f. Paulla, husband L. Ampius L. f., son L. Ampius L. f. Severus.

Etruria (3): *CIL* XI 3374 = *SECI* x156 (Tarquinia): Vibia C. f. Quarta Cossuti, husband [-] Cossutius P. f.; *NSA* 1914, 417 = *AE* 1995, 501 (Populonia): Gallonia M. f. Quarta, husband C. Persius A. f. Gal(eria), son L. Persius C. f., and daughter Persia C. f. Polla; *CIL* XI 1736 (Empoli): Graecia A. f. Quinta, husband L. Gavius Q. f., whose brother A. Gavius Q. f. does not have a cognomen either.

Northern Italy (34): *CIL* XI 1132 (Veleia): Vibia T. f. Polla, her husband L. Arranius P. f. Gal. and son L. Arranius L. f. Gal.; *CIL* V 1779 (Forum Iulii): Aiteia L. f. Posilla, husband T. Suttius L. f. Sca(ptia); *CIL* V 1764 = *InscrIt* X,4, 391 (Forum Iulii): Apusidia C. f. Secunda, her two sons Q. Caedius P. f. Pup. and C. Caedius P. f., and her daughter-in-law Vinisia Q. f. Maxuma; *AE* 1995, 590 (Concordia): [---]ia M. f. Quarta, husband [---]ttius T. f. and two other men [---]ttius P. f. Philargur(us) and [---]ius T. f. Titullio; *CIL* V 4072 (Mantua): Titia Stabillonis f. Quinta, husband C. Maesius L. f.; *CIL* V 2704 (Ateste): Calventia M'. f. Rufa, husband Q. Terentius L. f.; *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1412 = V 2598 (Ateste): Petronia A. f. Tannia and her daughter-in-law Terentia T. f. Secunda, and their husbands A. Veturius A. f. and C.

Veturius A. f.; *AE* 2012, 557 (Ateste): Romniaca L. f. Maxima, husband [P. Vesso]nius Sullae f., son T. Vessonius P. f.; *CIL* V 1841 (Iulium Carnicum): Retinacia L. f. Secunda, husband C. Retinacius C. f.; *AE* 1991, 796 (Tarvisium): Titia C. f. Secunda and her daughter Silia C. f. Secunda as well as her husband C. Silius C. f. and son M. Silius C. f.; *AE* 1973, 236 = 1976, 226 (Forum Gallorum): Metella C. f. Tertia, husband C. Graecinius C. f. Pol(lia); *CIL* V 418 = *InscrIt* X,3, 86 (Tergeste): [V]axsonia L. f. [V]oltiomna, husband L. Mariarius Sex. f., son Sex. Mariarius L. f., daughter [Mari]aria L. [f. ---]; *CIL* V 5176 (Bergomum): Lucillia L. f. Bionta, husband C. Staius Cirusi f.;<sup>500</sup> *AE* 1981, 441 (Altinum): Coelia T. f. Fuctiena, husband M. Pontius M'. f.; *CIL* V 5132 (Bergomum): Valeria L. f. Rustica, husband L. Blandius C. f. Vot(uria), *IIIIIVir et Augustalis et flaminialis*; *CIL* V 3673 (Verona): Minucia P. f. Maxima, *contubernalis* of C. Nasonius Q. f. The inscription also mentions a C. Nasonius Ianuarius of unspecified status;<sup>501</sup> *CIL* V 3570 (Verona): Pacillia M. f. Vasilla, husband M. Cluttius P. f. Pob(lilia), whose sister Cluttia P. f. Tertia also has a cognomen, so do their parents P. Cluttius Virius and Caelia Maxima, but they may have also been former slaves; *IAquil* I, 561 = *AE* 1926, 111 (Aquileia): Petillia Q. f. Modesta, husband C. Mutillius C. f., *decurio Aquileiensis*; *IAquil* I, 703 = *AE* 1932, 1 (Aquileia): Coelia C. f. Quarta, husband M'. Herennius C. f.; notably their two sons L. Herennius M'. f. and C. Herennius M'. f. do not have cognomina either, but their daughter Herennia M'. f. Tertulla does; *CIL* V 4457 = *InscrIt* X,5, 246 (Brixia): Naevia Cn. f. Mogetilla, husband Q. Postumius C. f.;<sup>502</sup> *InscrIt* IX,1, 179 = *AE* 1905, 30 (Pollentia): Bussenia P. f. Nepotula, husband L. 'G' (avius) C. f. Pol(lia), *aed(ilis) IIvir quinq(uennalis)*. Their daughter Gavia L. f. Prima also has a cognomen; *CIL* V 497 = *InscrIt* X,3, 37 (Aegida): Paplinia L. f. Polla, husband C. Cornelius Rufi f. They also had two sons, one of who had a cognomen (C. Cornelius L. f. and [L.] Cornelius L. f. Firmus);<sup>503</sup> *CIL* V 7448 = VI 28774a = *AE* 1995, 523 (Forum Fulvii): Trebia Q. f. Posilla, husband M.

<sup>500</sup> The names do not imply a high level of 'Romanness'.

<sup>501</sup> Perhaps the brother or freedman of C. Nasonius Q. f. The latter seems perhaps more likely.

<sup>502</sup> Their three sons and daughter-in-law also have cognomina. Full text: *C(aius) Postumius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Varus IIIIVir August(alis) / aedilis sibi et / Ratumediae L(uci) f(iliae) Severai(!) uxori / et Q(uinto) Postumio C(ai) f(ilio) patri et / Naeviae Cn(aei) f(iliae) Mogetillae / matri et / Q(uinto) Postumio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Pusioni fratri et / L(ucio) Postumio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Feroci fratri / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*.

<sup>503</sup> The inscription also mentions many other people, all of them with a cognomen, including the dedicator's (i.e. C. Cornelius L. f.) two wives, two men of unspecified status, and a freeborn woman, perhaps the daughter of the dedicator: *C(aius) Cornelius L(uci) f(ilius) / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et suis / L(ucio) Cornelio Rufi f(ilio) / patri / Papliniae L(uci) f(iliae) Pollae / matri / [L(ucio)] Cornelio L(uci) f(ilio) Firmo / fratri / Corneliae C(ai) f(iliae) Secundae / coniugi / Raeconiae P(ubli) f(iliae) Tertullae / coniugi v(ivae) / L(ucio) Cornelio C(ai) f(ilio) Favori v(ivo) / C(aio) Cornelio C(ai) f(ilio) / Augurino v(ivo) / Corneliae C(ai) f(iliae) Tertiae / Augurinae v(ivae)*.

Vibius M. f. Pom(ptina);<sup>504</sup> *CIL* V 377 = *InscrIt* X,3, 56 (Eraclea Veneta): Voluntilia M. f. Prisca, husband M'. Plotius M'. f. Pup(inia), *aed(ilicia) potestate v(ivus) f(ecit)*; *CIL* V 1802 (Ad Tricesimum): Valeria C. f. Quarta, husband T. Veratius T. f. Cla(udia); *CIL* V 1805 (Ad Tricesimum): Veidia P. f. Maxuma, brother (?) C. Veidius P. f.; curiously their both parents (?) P. Veidius C. f. Birro and Pontia Sex. f. Tertia have a cognomen;<sup>505</sup> *CIL* V 7552 = *AE* 2004, 578 (Monesiglio): Valeria M. f. Quarta, whose husband's name is fragmented but could be restored as T.? Caçsius A.? f. Cam(ilia) (cf. Mennella in *AE*); *CIL* V 8960 = *InscrIt* IX,1, 154 (Pollentia): Geminia L. f. Quinta, husband L. Caesius Sp. f., sons C. Caesius L. f. Pol(lia), M. Caesius L. f., Q. Caesius L. f., grandson L. Caesius C. f., granddaughter Caesia C. f. Secunda, and daughter-in-law Mucia M. f. Rufa;<sup>506</sup> *CIL* V 397 = *ILS* 2240 (Parentium): Septumia P. f. Sabina, husband L. Vinusius L. f., their daughter Vinusia Tertulla also has a cognomen; *CIL* V 7340 (Forum Vibii): Vettia T. f. Secunda, husband T. Vettius L. f. Pol(lia); *Suppl It* 24-H, 32 = *AE* 1992, 645 = *AE* 2007, 568 (Hasta): Otatia P. f. Tertia, husband C. Genucius C. f., *Ivir aid(ilis)*;<sup>507</sup> *CIL* V 7589 (Alba Pompeia): Valeria Sex. f. Tertia, husband C. Aelius L. f. Cam(ilia); *AE* 1993, 749 (Corona): Turpilia M. f. Tertia, husband C. Acutius C. f.; *CIL* V 3007 (Patavium): Curiatia L. f. Quarta, husband T. Petronius T. f., son P. Petronius, brother Q. Curatius L. f. Celer (who has a cognomen) and mother/mother-in-law(?) Mucia L. f. Rufa

In addition, there is one case from Hispania: *CIL* II.5, 1284 = *HEp* 1996, 574 = *AE* 2015, 580 (Baetica): [---]mia P. f. Polla, two sons [---]s Q. f. Pap(iria) and [---]ucius Q. f.

The number is striking when compared to the opposite cases: I have managed to find only some 16 clear cases from outside the senatorial elite in which a man has a cognomen but his wife, sister, or daughter does not. Furthermore, in some of these cases we are clearly dealing with local or equestrian aristocrats who, in imitation of the Roman elite, may have used a hereditary cognomen, meaning in

<sup>504</sup> Their son M. Vibius M. f. Homuncio and daughter-in-law Lusua C. f. Vera both have a cognomen.

<sup>505</sup> Full text: *P(ublius) Veidius C(ai) f(ilius) / Birro / Pontia Sex(ti) f(ilia) Tertia / uxor / C(aius) Veidius P(ubli) f(ilius) / Veidia P(ubli) f(ilia) Maxuma(!)*. While it is clear that Pontia Sex. f. Tertia was the wife of Veidius C. f. Birro, their exact relationship to C. Veidius f. and Veidia f. Maxuma is not explicit. Judging by the names and the filiations, it seems reasonable to assume that they were the children of Veidius Birro and Pontia Tertia – in which case we have to draw the conclusion that the son for some reason did not receive a cognomen, even though his father had one. But as we know from several other inscriptions, it does not always follow that children would receive a cognomen, even if their parents had one, e.g. *CIL* V 7601; V 916; *AE* 1993, 720. More examples in Salomies 1987, 295ff.

<sup>506</sup> Notably none of the men in three generations bear a cognomen, while all women do.

<sup>507</sup> Their son C. Genucius C. f. Sabinus also has a cognomen.

other words that all men of the family would bear the same cognomen. Such cases are, thus, better compared with Republican elite practice than with the practice of having an individualizing cognomen (for the early cognomina of the nobility, see 3.3.1). The cases (in no particular order) are the following:

**1)** *NSA* 1949, 172 (Neapolis): T. Plotidius T. f. Silo and his sister Plotidia T. f. (their *sobrinus* C. Pontius C. f. Gallus also has a cognomen); **2)** *Aesernia* 127 (Aesernia): M. Gracchus M. f. Tuscus and his wife Valeria C. f. (note that their daughter Graccha M. f. Polla has a cognomen); **3)** *Suppl It* 9-A 81 = *AE* 1992, 417 (Amiternum): Q. Canius C. f. Labeo and his wife Considia L. f.;<sup>508</sup> **4)** *CIL* X 5581 (Fabrateria Nova): M. Trebellius C. f. Sextan[us], his father C. Trebellius Sex. f. Sextanus, mother Purpurnia L. f., grandfather Sex. Trebellius Sex. f. Sextanus, and grandmother Gennia M. f.;<sup>509</sup> **5)** *CIL* V 913 (Aquileia): L. Flaminius L. f. Hister, his wife Titia P. f., mother Babullia T. f., and his sons Q. Flaminius L. f. Hister & Sex. Flaminius L. f. Hister;<sup>510</sup> **6)** *CIL* IX 139 (Brundisium): [---] f. Mae. Scalus and his wife Grania Sex. f.; **7)** *CIL* IX 806 = *ILS* 6477 (Luceria): L. Vibienus L. f. Cla. Licin[us], *IIvir Siponti IIIIvir Luceria*, and his sister Vibiena L. f. **8)** *CIL* XI 1349 (Luna): [L. Titini]us Petrini[anus] and his daughter/sister Titinia L. [f.];<sup>511</sup> **9)** *CIL* X 1074d = *ILS* 5053,4 (Pompeii): A. Clodius A. f. Men. Flaccus, a Pompeian *decurio* of equestrian rank, and his daughter Clodia A. f.<sup>512</sup> **10)** *RSVH* 241 (Verona): P. Cutius Bibulus and his wife Volesia C. f.; **11)** *CIL* X 5156 = *I<sup>2</sup>* 1536 (Atina): M. Staidius M. f. M. n. Ter. Capito and his wife Graicia C. f.; **12)** *CIL* IX 2522 (Saepinum): Q. Oppidius L. f. Hispanus and his wife Petronia N. f.; **13)** *CIL* IX 2787 (Terventum): [C.] Nummius N. f. Sucrinus and his wife Sufia C. f. (their son C. Summius C. f. Sucrinus bears the same cognomen as his father); **14)** *CIL* V 1016 (Aquileia): T. Vibius T. f. Ruso, *IIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) IIIIvir quinq(uennalis)*, T. Vibius T. f. Ruso, *augur*, and Caeparia Cn. f. (wife of one of the two); **15)** *CIL* III 399 (Pergmamum): Tullia M. f., together with her brother M. Tullius M. f. Cor. Cratippus, husband T. Aufidius T. f. Ani. Spinter, and

<sup>508</sup> The exact status of these individuals is unknown, but they were perhaps members of the local elite (at least the Canii seem to have left traces in local toponymy, cf. the name of Cagnano Amiterno).

<sup>509</sup> The cognomen *Sextanus* seems to be hereditary in this equestrian family. For M. Trebellius Sextanus, cf. Démougin 1988, 847.

<sup>510</sup> The cognomen *Hister* was clearly hereditary in the family. For the Flamini Histri of Aquileia, cf. Démougin 1988; for the women, cf. *PFCR* 142; 622.

<sup>511</sup> Petrinianus is also known from *CIL* XI 1348 = *I<sup>2</sup>* 3369; 10) *CIL* XI 6959 = *I<sup>2</sup>* 2093 = *ILS* 5437 = *ILLRP* 625.

<sup>512</sup> Cf. Démougin 1988; Álvarez Melero 2018, 280.

son T. Aufidius T. f. Ani. Balbus;<sup>513</sup> **16** *CIL* V 2015 (Opitergium, 1–50): brothers L. Seius L. f. Faustus & T. Seius L. f. Fronto, sister Seia L. f.

We can now take a closer look at Kajanto's argument. Based on the inscriptions in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, he observed that there was no significant difference in the early use of cognomina between men and women in terms of percentages. He provided the following table to better illustrate this:

Table 8: Distribution of cognomina in *CIL* I (after Kajanto 1973)

	without a cogn.	with a cognomen	total
<i>ingenui</i>	795 = 77.1 %	237 = 22.9 %	1032
<i>ingenuae</i>	138 = 79.3 %	36 = 20.7 %	177

It is true that the table shows no significant difference in terms of percentages. There are, however, some things that perhaps should be kept in mind here. For one, the percentage for women would probably be slightly higher if only late Republican material was included, because in earlier times we would not even expect to find a cognomen in a female nomenclature (though it is also true that the epigraphic documentation from earlier periods is scarce). Furthermore, it would perhaps be more revealing to count *all* the cases in which a woman has an individualizing name of some sort – whether a praenomen or a cognomen – because, as we know, women did not usually have any such names to start with, unlike men who already had their praenomen and therefore did not have a similar need for a further individualizing item. This is also supported by the fact that women's early cognomina were largely similar to many of their praenomina (of the type *Paulla*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Maxima*; cf. 2.3.4; 3.2). In this period, it was in many cases essentially the same name, the question is just whether it was prefixed to the nomen or placed after it – whereas the repertoire of men's cognomina was mostly different from their praenomina.<sup>514</sup>

Furthermore, the statistics seem to include cases in which men have a hereditary cognomen in the same way as the Roman senatorial aristocracy, and these cases should not be compared with the use of individual cognomina. Moreover, the

<sup>513</sup> These Aufidii, with individual cognomina, were Roman knights from Alexandria Troas (Démougin 1988, 702 no. 63). M. Tullius Cratippus, *sacerdos Romae*, was, in turn, a descendant of Cicero's client Cratippus (O'Brien-Moore 1942; cf. Salway 1994, 128).

<sup>514</sup> In other words, names such as *Gaius*, *Quintus*, or *Marcus* were never particularly common as cognomina, albeit they occur occasionally. For a survey of cognomina identical to men's praenomina, see Salomies 2008, 89f.; cf. Salomies 1987, 165f.

material is not very extensive in terms of women. This becomes particularly clear when comparing the numbers: 177 women versus 1032 men. For this study a larger set of evidence has therefore been collected (for the method, see the first paragraph of 3.2 below). When taking into account only cases that may be dated to a period between 125 and 1 BCE, we end up having at least 662 freeborn women. 237 of these appear with a cognomen, i.e. 35.8%. However, when we exclude all the cases that certainly postdate the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, we end up with a total of 469 women, out of which at least 99 have a cognomen, i.e. 21.1%. This figure is not radically different from the one presented by Kajanto. However, when taking into consideration all the cases in which a woman has an individualizing name of some sort – whether placed before or after the nomen – we arrive at a total number of 150 cases out of 466, i.e. 32.2%.

But even with the statistics that Kajanto had compiled from *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, he could not simply disregard the evidence collected by Schulze. Instead, he explained it with the fact that almost all of the female cognomina in it were, what he labelled as, ‘descriptive names’, i.e. diacritics that clarified birth order or the woman’s age relation to her sisters. According to Kajanto, such names were not genuine cognomina and could not be compared with the ‘real’, official names that men would receive on the *dies lustricus*.<sup>515</sup> While this in itself is a useful observation, it is only partly correct.

It is true that, unlike many cognomina, most of the early female cognomina were what Kajanto would label as ‘descriptive names’. But then again, what other function does a female cognomen primarily have if not to distinguish its bearer from other women with the same gentilicium, in other words, to serve as a diacritic? Of course, it is obvious that a comparative diacritic such as *Maior*, ‘elder’, or *Minor*, ‘younger’, could not, generally speaking, be used independently, that is to say without any reference to the nomen that they supplemented and, in this sense, they were not individual cognomina in the same sense as e.g. *Rufa* or *Sabina*. However, if such a name was nonetheless carved in stone as official part of the woman’s nomenclature and successfully fulfilled the function of distinguishing her from her sister(s), then surely it ought to be considered a sort of a cognomen. Furthermore, it is clear that many of the ‘descriptive names’ were also used independently, without any clear connection between their lexical meaning and the name-bearer. In fact, there are indications of this already in the late Republican material below (for instance, cases in which daughters called *Secunda*, *Quinta*, *Gemella* seem to have inherited the cognomen from their mother; see 3.2.2 below).

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<sup>515</sup> Kajanto 1973, 404.

The question now is what to make of all this. On the one hand, there seems to be no major statistical difference in the use of cognomina between men and women in the late Republican period and no evidence suggests that women in general would have adopted the use of cognomina at an earlier stage than men. On the other hand, we have a significant number of cases in which a woman has a cognomen, while her husband, brother, or son does not – whilst the opposite cases are much fewer (over 100 cases against 16). This cannot be explained purely as accident of survival. Instead, when taking into account all the caveats brought up above regarding Kajanto's argument, it may be, after all, concluded that Schulze perhaps had a point. In other words, even if the first attestations of cognomina among non-senatorial men and women are approximately from the same period, the evidence seems to suggest that, during the time when the cognomen was still to be a fully established item in the nomenclature of the freeborn *plebs*, it was more likely for a woman to have a cognomen than it was for a man – particularly in Northern Italy, but also elsewhere. One of course must bear in mind the somewhat different nature of these names in the early period and the fact that the repertoire of women's early cognomina corresponds in many ways (but not completely) to that of their praenomina.

The establishing of the cognomen was in any case a gradual process that started out slowly but then, over some three generations, gained in popularity with increasing pace. The Augustan period seems to have been a turning point. However, due to the scarcity and the nature of the material from the Republican period, this is difficult to investigate in detail. Unlike men, women are not found in official (and easily datable) lists of magistrates, and coherent, homogeneous material from the Republican period, such as the one from Praeneste, is a rare commodity (see 1.2.2 above).

Indeed, the Praenestan material is invaluable for our understanding of the onomastic practices concerning women during the Republic. It effectively portrays how women could be called in a Latin town, in close vicinity to Rome, during the second and the beginning of the first century BCE. The material has been discussed to a certain extent already above, but it may be summarized as follows.<sup>516</sup> The whole set of evidence, consisting of 340 inscriptions, provides information about 138 women. Most of them, by far, are known by their nomen and without any individualizing name. In 46 such cases the identity is clarified with a reference to the woman's father (e.g. *Anicia M. f.* in *CIL I<sup>2</sup> 74*), in 10 to

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<sup>516</sup> Cf. also Kajava 1994, 19ff. for a discussion regarding the Praenestan material from the point of view of women's nomenclature.



her husband (*Curtia Rosci*, I<sup>2</sup> 143; *Luscia M. uxor*, I<sup>2</sup> 184), and in five to both of them (*Geminia C. f. Cn. Vatroni uxor*, I<sup>2</sup> 171; *Saufeia C. f. Tondi*, I<sup>2</sup> 290).

A reference to the father and/or husband must have been sufficient in order to identify the woman in the public eye – as long as the population and the number of homonymous individuals remained low enough. But it did not serve to distinguish between sisters in one family. This is where individualizing names and diacritics – praenomina at first and later cognomina – came to be useful. In Praeneste, 23 women seem to bear a descriptive praenomen prefixed to the nomen (of the style *Tert(ia) Coriaria*, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 134), and three have an individual cognomen after the nomen (in addition to *Etrilia L. f. Longa* and *Samiaria M. f. Minor Q.*, there is a certain *Antestia Bosta* of unspecified status, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 78). All in all, this means that some 16% of the women buried in Praeneste had an individualizing name of some sort. It is likely that the number of women who had living sisters was higher, but it gives a rough idea of how common it was for a woman to have such a name on public record in this period, i.e. before the founding of Sulla's colony in 82 BCE.

But how did the situation develop in the following decades? In order to make a comparison with and to supplement the information we have from the Praenestan material, I have conducted a small-scale survey on the Latin funerary cippi from late Republican Caere and Tarquinia.<sup>517</sup> It is true that the materials are not univocally comparable with each other: Praeneste had always been a Latin town with a predominantly Latin population,<sup>518</sup> and the material, with a strict *terminus ante quem*, comes from a single cemetery, whereas Caere and Tarquinia were old Etruscan towns, with Etruscan traditions and influences, and the material from these, whose exact provenance is often unknown, does not have a clear chronological end point.<sup>519</sup> However, the material is rather homogeneous (consisting only of funerary cippi), it comes from a restricted geographical area, and it can be dated to a more or less specific time period between roughly 125 and 25 BCE (according to the dates given by J. Kaimio in *SECI*).

From the Latin cippus inscriptions of Caere and Tarquinia we know of at least 108 women. Of these, 58 are clearly *ingenuae*, 30 *libertae*, and 20 are of unspecified status. It is noteworthy that only three freedwomen are clearly without a cognomen, which reveals nicely how the cognomen had already by the early first century BCE

<sup>517</sup> Conveniently collected by J. Kaimio (*SECI*).

<sup>518</sup> For the population of Praeneste, see the estimations in Wachter, 211; 272; cf. Kajava 1994, 20f.

<sup>519</sup> Though Caere may have held the status of a *municipium* already as early as the 4th c. BCE. Sherwin-White 1973, 53f.

become a standard item in the nomenclature of the *liberti*.<sup>520</sup> What is even more noteworthy is that 15 out of the 58 freeborn women have an individualizing name and in 11 out of these 15 cases it is now used as a cognomen and in only four as a praenomen.<sup>521</sup> This shows a clear shift in tendency, from prefixing the individual name to the nomen to placing it after, but the material also illustrates the rise in popularity of individualizing cognomina in general. Whereas only 16% of the Praenestan women are given an individualizing name, the percentage for the freeborn women in Caere and Tarquinia is 26%. In terms of cognomina, the shift is remarkable: while there are only two *ingenuae* with a cognomen in Praeneste, the cippi of Caere and Tarquinia attest a cognomen for almost every fifth freeborn woman. Furthermore, when we exclude the earliest evidence from the late second century BCE, we end up with 11 out of 48 women having a cognomen; and if we further exclude evidence from the first quarter of the first century BCE, we are left with 19 freeborn women, of which 9 – that is practically half of them – have a cognomen. The fact that the Augustan period was something of a turning point is further corroborated by abundant evidence from this period of cases in which a woman has a cognomen but her mother does not.<sup>522</sup>

One could conclude that after the first appearance of the cognomen in the nomenclature of freeborn women outside the senatorial elite – let us say, starting from the two cippi of Praeneste – it took some three generations before the cognomen had become a typical item. But even then, it was not uncommon for a woman to be without one. In fact, we encounter women without a cognomen until the mid-first century CE and, in some rare cases, even beyond (see 4.1 below). Among senatorial women, the conservative style of not having a cognomen held its ground more persistently, but even in the most conservative families the practice of adorning daughters with a cognomen had made its way to common usage by the end of the first

<sup>520</sup> Alsinia A. l. (*SECI* 457), Liptinia Q. l. (*SECI* 458), Cutia M. l. (*SECI* 652).

<sup>521</sup> Praenomen (4): [T]anna Val[er]ia Sex. f. (*SECI* 30); Secunda Lucania A. f. (*SECI* 89), Secunda Rufia M. f. (*SECI* 580). Cognomen (11): Collia L. f. Celido (*SECI* 268; 100–75 BCE); Murria Q. f. Secunda (*SECI* 655, 100–75 BCE); [---]ia L. f. [---]ssa (*SECI* 32, 100–75 BCE); Campatia Q. f. Rufa (*SECI* 701, 75–50 BCE; homonymous woman in *SECI* 460, probably identical); Ancilia L. f. Bassa (*SECI* 173, 75–50 BCE); Caesennia Sf. Albana (*SECI* 83, 75–50 BCE); Pomponia f. Posilla (*SECI* 22; 50–25 BCE); Vibia C. f. Quarta Cossuti (*SECI* 156b, 50–25 BCE); Graecinia L. f. Tertulla (*SECI* 193, 50–25 BCE); Memmia f. Pollitta (*SECI* 205, 50–25 BCE); Spurrinnia L. f. Thannia (*SECI* 227, 50–25 BCE).

<sup>522</sup> Several examples in the catalogue below in 3.2.1, e.g., Antistia f. Prima (mother Septumia L. f.), Vass[ia] L. f. Sabina (mother Vale[r]ia M. f.), Vibbia L. f. Tertia (mother Maria M. f.), just to name a few.

Imperial dynasty. However, before proceeding to the onomastic habits of senatorial women, a detailed survey of the early cognomina of non-senatorial women is needed.

### 3.2 Early female cognomina of the *plebs ingenua*

We have now seen how and when cognomina came to be a part of Roman women's nomenclature. But what were these early cognomina like? In order to properly answer the question, I have conducted a survey of cases that may be dated before the end of the first century BCE. This means that cases that certainly postdate 1 BCE have been excluded – whereas cases that may postdate it but may also be earlier, e.g. “from c. 30 BCE to 30 CE”, are typically included. Since the onomastic habits concerning slaves and former slaves differed from the freeborn in some significant ways, the cases in the current survey only consist of freeborn women. The material has been collected by going through the evidence in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, *ILLRP* and their supplementa, as well as some other relevant corpora, and by searching the *EDCS* and *EDR* with certain dating criteria and search strings (e.g. the word *f(ilia)* to make sure that we are dealing with freeborn women). I have in most cases relied on the approximate dates given in the databases and editions, unless there has been some apparent reason for doubt.<sup>523</sup> It is worth noting that the material found through the online search only include cases that were attributed a date in the database at the time the search was conducted, and undoubtedly some potential cases may have been missed or have been excluded, but all in all, the data collected for this study will suffice to illustrate the general picture.<sup>524</sup> After presenting the names, an analysis on their type, form, and distribution will follow.

#### 3.2.1 Catalogue of cognomina

The catalogue of early cognomina is divided into three categories: 1) Latin cognomina (including Italic names that were well established in Latin onomastics), 2) nomina used as cognomina, and 3) clearly non-Latin cognomina (including Greek, Etruscan, and ‘barbaric’ names).

<sup>523</sup> For example, one case with the *D(is) M(anibus)* formula, which was included for some reason in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, has been omitted.

<sup>524</sup> The latest search for this study has been conducted in February 2019, and it is possible that more dates have been added to even some relevant cases in the database after that.

## 3.2.1.1 Latin cognomina

<i>ALBANA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> XI 3417 = <i>SECI</i> 83	Caesennia Sp. f. Albana	Tarquiniia	50–26 BCE
<i>AMOENA (2)</i>			
<i>CIL</i> VI 33316 = <i>CLE</i> 967 = <i>AE</i> 1894, 20	Flavia P. f. [Am]oena <sup>525</sup>	Rome	30–21 BCE
<i>AE</i> 1992, 153 = 1996, 108	Iunia L. f. Amoena <sup>526</sup>	Rome	Augustan
<i>APULA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> XI 6090	Maria C. f. Apula T. <sup>527</sup>	Urvinum Mataurense	1st c. BCE
<i>AUCTILLA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> VI 38297 = <i>AE</i> 1901, 143	Ebrilia M. f. Auctilla <sup>528</sup>	Rome	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>BARCHILLA</i>			
<i>PompIn</i> 70 = <i>ImpPomp</i> 3ES	Veia N. f. Barchilla <sup>529</sup>	Pompeii	30–11 BCE
<i>BASSA (2)</i>			
<i>Suppl It</i> III-V, 11 = <i>AE</i> 1988, 416	Aemilia C. f. Bassa <sup>530</sup>	Volcei	Augustan

<sup>525</sup> It is possible that she was *l.*, not *f.* in which case she would not belong to this catalogue. Autopsy could perhaps help in solving the matter.

<sup>526</sup> Her status is not entirely clear. She may also be *P(ubli) l(iberta)*. Autopsy could perhaps help. The restoration of the cognomen, however, stands, as the word *amoena* is also used as a pun in the first line of the funerary poem.

<sup>527</sup> The cognomen is also attested in later periods, cf. *CIL* IX 249 (Tarentum): Titia f. Apula; also *RICIS* II 605/1101 (Gallia Narbonensis): Ecimaria T. f. Apula.

<sup>528</sup> The inscription also mentions her husband L. Tarius Phylagurgus, who seems to have been a freedman. The diminutive *Auctilla* presupposes the existences of the name *Auctus/a* in the family tree (perhaps her father; or perhaps the diminutive form was simply preferred because of its feminine connotations?). *Auctus/a* in its turn was a particularly common name in the city of Rome (cf. Kajanto 1965, 18) but it was also particularly common among the *liberti*. It is quite possible that this woman was the daughter of a freedman.

<sup>529</sup> She is attested together with her husband N. Agrestinus Equitius Pulcher (who had two nomina and a cognomen). Her father N. (Veius) Barca is known from another inscription as a local magistrate candidate (*CIL* IV 49). His cognomen was transmitted to her in suffixed form.

<sup>530</sup> Attested together with four other people: Q. Insteius Q. f. Pom. Cimber, Q. Insteius Q. f. [---], Insteia Q. f. Firma, and Gresia C. f. Tertia (see below for the two other women.).

<i>CIL</i> XI 3406 = <i>SECI</i> 173	Ancilia L. f. Bassa	Tarquinia	75–51 BCE
<i>BASSILLA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> XI 1189 = <i>ILS</i> 5560	Baebia T. f. [Bas]silla <sup>531</sup>	Veleia	30–1 BCE
<i>CERULA</i>			
<i>InscrIt</i> X.4 363	Volumnia L. f. Cerula	Tergeste	25–1 BCE
<i>CORNUTA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> X 2832	Pavillia C. f. Cornuta <sup>532</sup>	Puteoli	40–1 BCE
<i>DECMA</i>			
<i>ILLRP-S</i> 76 = <i>AE</i> 1991, 146	Hosia C. f. Decma	Rome	50–1 BCE
<i>FAUSTA</i> (4)			
<i>CIL</i> VI 6797 = <i>Epigraphica</i> 56 (1994), p. 180 (G. Mennella)	Atilia Sp. f. Fausta <sup>533</sup>	Rome	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>Hispellum</i> , p. 256	[Va]leria Cn. f. Fausta	Hispellum	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 8191 = <i>InscrIt</i> X,3, 63 = Mander 2013, 240	Hostilia C. f. Fausta <sup>534</sup>	Eraclea Veneta	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>IRCI</i> 219 = <i>HEp</i> 1997, 244	Valeria C. f. Fausta <sup>535</sup>	Iluro (Hispania)	30 BCE–14 CE

<sup>531</sup> The monumental inscription informs us that she built a portico to her co-citizens (*calchidicum municipibus suis dedit*). The gens *Baebia* is a well-known family in the region and she clearly belonged to the local elite. The diminutive form *[Bas]silla* suggests that the name *Bassus* had perhaps been in use in the family.

<sup>532</sup> The inscription mentions members of her family remarkably in four generations but Cornuta, belonging to the fourth generation, is the only one to bear a cognomen. The other persons include her mother Instania M. f., father C. Pavillius C. f., brother C. Pavillius C. f. C. n., aunt Pavillia C. f., grandfather C. Pavillius Ti. f., and great-grandfather Ti. Pavillius M'. f. along with his sister Pavillia Ma(ni) f. The full text, for clarity's sake: *P]avillia Ma(ni) f(ilia) / Ti(berius) Pavillius Ma(ni) [f(ilius)] / C(aius) Pavillius Ti(beri) f(ilius) / C(aius) Pavillius C(ai) f(ilius) Ti(beri) n[epos(?)] / Ti(berius) Pavillius C(ai) f(ilius) / Pavillia C(ai) f(ilia) / Instania M(arci) f(ilia) / C(aius) Pavillius C(ai) f(ilius) C(ai) n[epos] / Pavillia C(ai) f(ilia) Cornuta.*

<sup>533</sup> She is attested together with her daughter Caesia Sf. Primigenia (below in the list; see n. 175).

<sup>534</sup> The inscription also mentions her sister Hostilia C. f. Quarta (see below).

<sup>535</sup> The object contains a funerary inscription on two sides: on the front side a commemoration of our Valeria C. f. Fausta and her husband C. Marcius C. f. Seneca, on the back side M. Aemilius

<i>FESTA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> V 3606 = <i>RSVH</i> 233	Fabricia L. f. Festa	Verona	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>FIRMA</i> (3)			
<i>CIL</i> XI 1863	Crispinia L. f. Firma Valeri Festi	Arretium	Augustan
<i>Suppl It</i> 3-V 11 = <i>AE</i> 1988, 416	Insteia Q. f. Firma <sup>536</sup>	Volcei	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 3655	Lanna Firma <sup>537</sup>	Verona	Late Republic
<i>FLACCA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> IX 5223	Calpurnia L. f. Flacca	Asculum Picenum	50–1 BCE
<i>GALLA</i> (10)			
<i>CIL</i> VI 26505 = I <sup>2</sup> 1386	[--]lia Q. f. Gal[la?] <sup>538</sup>	Rome	Late Republic
<i>CIL</i> VI 27692	Nummia L. f. Galla <sup>539</sup>	Rome	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AE</i> 2006, 282	Veratia A. f. Galla <sup>540</sup>	Stabiae	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AE</i> 1969/70, 179	Spedia C. f. Galla <sup>541</sup>	Cosilinum	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 6610	Tē[tti]a? Q. f. [G]alla <sup>542</sup>	Pisaurum?	1st c. BCE

Avitus, Cornelia f. Primula (see below), and Cornelia Quieta.

<sup>536</sup> For more details, see Gresia C. f. Tertia below; cf. also Aemilia C. f. Bassa above.

<sup>537</sup> The inscription also mentions her father L. Lannus Primi f., uncle C. Lannus and mother-in-law Tertulla Tordina. Note the men's lack of a cognomen and the use of the praenomen by the other woman. While Firma's own nomenclature does not include the filiation, it seems clear that, being the daughter of a freeborn man, she also was freeborn.

<sup>538</sup> Attested with two *liberti*, who both have a cognomen. As for her own cognomen, it could in theory also be her husband's name, i.e. *Gal[li]* (*uxor*).

<sup>539</sup> Attested with C. Tuccius L. f. Ste(latina) Calvos (her half-brother), L. Mucius L. f. Pap(iria), and three *liberti*: *C(aius) Tuccius L(uci) f(ilius) Ste(latina) Calvos sibi et / Nummiae L(uci) f(iliae) Gallae sorori et / L(ucio) Mucio L(uci) f(ilio) Pap(iria) et / L(ucio) Pomponio L(uci) l(iberto) Anchialo et / Corneliae Q(uinti) l(ibertae) Hermionae et / P(ublio) Cominio P(ubli) l(iberto) Claro*. Nummia Galla is styled as *soror* of C. Tuccius Calvos. We may only assume that they had a different father, since their nomina differ from one another.

<sup>540</sup> Attested with her husband L. Scanius L. f. Men. and son who had the same name as his father (both of whom are without a cognomen). The inscription also a woman called Horatia Q. I. Prima, perhaps the son's wife.

<sup>541</sup> The inscription also mentions her father and brother, both called C. Spedius C. f. Bassus, as well as her mother, whose name survives only partly but who probably did not have a cognomen (the name can only be restored as *[--]Jae Spedi*, the latter item representing the husband's name).

<sup>542</sup> Attested together with her husband L. Gaius L. f. Pol. Nerva. The exact provenance of the

<i>CIL</i> XI 4603	[C]aesia T. f. Galla	Carsulae	25–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 4071	Cannutia C. f. Galla <sup>543</sup>	Mantua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>IAquil</i> I 842 = Campedelli 2014, 140	[Ar]atria C. f. [G]alla	Aquileia	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 973	[De]cia Q. f. Ga[l]la	Aquileia	50–31 BCE
<i>AE</i> 1973, 236 = 1976, 226	Graecinia C. f. Galla <sup>544</sup>	Mutina	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> X 4197 = <i>RECapua</i> 155	Iunachilia P. f. Gal(la?)	Capua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>GAVA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> XI 5981 = I <sup>2</sup> 2122	Variana C. f. Gava <sup>545</sup>	Ad Caem	Late Republic
<i>GEMELLA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> V 2936 = <i>Suppl It</i> XXVIII 2936	Coelia C. f. Gemella <sup>546</sup>	Patavium	Augustan
<i>HILARA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> X 8239	Septumia M. f. Hilara	Cominium	1st c. BCE

inscription is unknown. It is preserved at the Museo Oliverano of Pesaro.

<sup>543</sup> The inscription also mentions her husband [M. Cornelius] Soccio and daughter Cornelia M. f. Procula (see below): ... *Soccioni patr[i] / et Cannutiai C(ai) filiae) / Gallai matri / et Corneliai M(arci) filiae) / Proculai filiae) an(norum) IIII*.

<sup>544</sup> Cf. her mother Metella C. f. Tertia below (n. 265).

<sup>545</sup> Her cognomen could perhaps be understood as *Gav(i)a*. Be that as it may, she is attested with T. Vedius V(ibi) f., Caedia C. f. Secunda (followed by *Ved.*), Vib. Vedius Sert(oris) f., and T. Vedius T. f., who dedicated the monument *parentibus*. The item *Ved()* after Caedia Secunda's name requires some explanation. It has been restored as *Ved(ia)*, and it certainly has to be an abbreviation of that nomen (cf. e.g. *CIL* XI 5981). As far as I see it, there are two possibilities: either there is a third woman, who was simply called *Ved(ia)* (with perhaps the filiation lost) and who probably was a sister of one of the Vedii (suggested by E. Bormann in *CIL* XI), or we are dealing with a gamonymic, in which case *VED* would be an abbreviation for *Ved(ii) (uxor)*. The first option seems more plausible given the positioning of the items: *VED* is in a separate column next to *CAEDIA · C · F* (after a small gap), and not under it like *SECVNDA*. For a similar reason it seems implausible that *Secunda* would be the praenomen of *Ved(ia)*, since it would be odd if the two items were placed in different columns and also with a significant distance between one another. As for the patronymic in the nomenclature of Vib. Vedius Sert. f., it usually been erroneously restored as *Sert(iti)*, but a much more likely option is the praenomen *Sertor*, hence *Sert(oris) filius*, cf. Salomies 1987, 46f.

<sup>546</sup> The epitaph was commissioned by A. Coelius C. l. Optatus (perhaps her husband).

<i>IANUARIA</i>			
<i>AE</i> 2006, 332	Pomponia Cn. f. Ianuaria <sup>547</sup>	Brundisium	20 BCE–30 CE
<i>LIBERA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> X 4298	Pomponia C. f. Libera	Capua	1st c. BCE
<i>LONGA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> I <sup>2</sup> 155 = Franchi De Bellis no. 53,3	Etrilia L. f. Longa	Praeneste	<i>ante</i> 82 BCE
<i>MACA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> V 6942 = I <sup>2</sup> 2158 = <i>Torino</i> , p. 75 no. 78	Sariena Sex. f. Maca <sup>548</sup>	Augusta Taurinorum	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>MAGNA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> VI 27509	Iulia C. f. Magna	Rome	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>MAGUL(L)A</i>			
<i>CIL</i> IX 3216 = I <sup>2</sup> 1783	Caesia V. f. Magul(l)a <sup>549</sup>	Corfinium	Late Republic
<i>MAIOR (4)</i>			
<i>CIL</i> VI 22556 = I <sup>2</sup> 1340	Minucia N. f. Maior	Rome	100–31 BCE
<i>CIL</i> XI 2278	Anicia C. f. Maior	Clusium	90–1 BCE
<i>MAAL</i> 1910, 15	Sergia L. f. Maior	Teanum Sidicinum	50–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> X 4146	Freia Cn. f. Maior	Capua	Early Augustan
<i>MARCELLA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> V 466 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.3 128	Voranica P. f. Marcella	Piquentum	25 BCE–25 CE
<i>MAX(S)IMA/UMA (18)</i>			
<i>BCAR</i> 1923, p. 83 = <i>MGR</i> 1994, p. 258	Attia Q. f. Maxima	Rome	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> VI 32443 = <i>ILS</i> 3343 = <i>AE</i> 1997, 103	Casponia P. f. Maxima <sup>550</sup>	Rome	Late Republic

<sup>547</sup> She died at the age of two years and four months.

<sup>548</sup> The cognomen shows Celtic substratum, cf. *Maco*, *Macco* in the area; cf. also the personal name *Maccus*. The Latin word *maccus*, ‘buffoon’, is a possible meaning, though not a very likely one, given its pejorative character.

<sup>549</sup> The cognomen seems to be derived from the nomen *Magius* with the suffix *-ulla* (compare *Fadulla* < *Fadius*, *Statulla* < *Staius*), cf. Solin 2014, 412f. The inscription also mentions Caesia C. f. Scina (see below).

<sup>550</sup> *Sacerdos Cereris publica populi Romani Sicula*. For the date, cf. Rüpke 2005, no. 1096; cf. also



<i>CIL</i> VI 7547	Serennia Sp. f. Maxsuma <sup>551</sup>	Rome	Late Republic
<i>AE</i> 1991, 414	Plaediatia C. f. Maxuma <sup>552</sup>	Aquinum	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> X 1153 = I <sup>2</sup> 1612 = <i>ILLRP</i> 230	Amatia Q. f. Maxim(a)	Abellinum	60–31 BCE
<i>CIL</i> X 1273 = <i>ILS</i> 6344	Aufidia St(ati) f. Maxima <sup>553</sup>	Nola	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> X 3689 = <i>AE</i> 2005, 369; <i>AE</i> 2010, 301; 302	Luceia Cn. f. Maxima <sup>554</sup>	Cumae	Augustan
<i>AttiAccLinc</i> 1901, p. 140 no. 266	Nutia M. f. Maxima <sup>555</sup>	Capua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> IX 1528	Septimia T. f. Maxuma <sup>556</sup>	Pagus Veianus	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 6180 = <i>CLE</i> 1795 = <i>Suppl It</i> 18-S, 19 = <i>AE</i> 1995, 485	Annia Sp. f. Maxima <sup>557</sup>	Suasa	Augustan
Sensi 1990, p. 163 no. 28	[H]erennia L. f. Maxima	Mevania	Augustan
<i>AE</i> 1990, 416	Appia Q. f. Maxima <sup>558</sup>	Verona	70–31 BCE

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*DPRR* CASP4641.

<sup>551</sup> She is recorded together with her husband M. Maecius M. l. Hilarus, mother-in-law Clodia M. l. Tyrannis, as well as her husband's stepfather M. Clodius M. l., second wife Perpernia l. Athenais and father Perperna Q. l. Philargyrus.

<sup>552</sup> Recorded together with her husband M. Licinius M. f. Ouf. Crassus and their son, also called M. Licinius M. f. Ouf. Crassus. They probably belonged to the municipal elite, whose nomenclature clearly imitates that of the senatorial Licinii Crassi of Rome, cf. Solin 2015, 22.

<sup>553</sup> The inscription also mentions her son Sextilius f. Fal. Rufus, who was a magistrate in Nola and Pompeii, and her husband (or at least her son's *vitricus*) L. Petronius L. f. Fal. Verus, who was also a *decurio* at Nola.

<sup>554</sup> Attested in several Cumaean inscriptions, she clearly was a locally prominent woman. Compare also the nomenclature of Luceiae Cn. f. Polla and Tertulla (*CIL* X 3685 = *ILS* 4040, see below), to whom she was probably related.

<sup>555</sup> Attested together with Valeria C. f. [P]aula (see below).

<sup>556</sup> The inscription also mentions her parents T. Septimius f. Ste(latina) and Postumia f. Rufa (see below in 3.2.1.3.). Note that her father does not have a cognomen, but her mother does.

<sup>557</sup> Mentioned with her husband C. Visenus C. l. Dendrio (a freedman), and their son C. Visenus C. f. Deliberatus.

<sup>558</sup> Mentioned together with T. Vassidius Exomni f. Namulla and Tedua Lasta. Appia's own nomenclature is clearly Roman, but the names of the two other people suggest a rather recent Roman status.

<i>IAquil</i> I 1092	Fabia L. f. Maxuma <sup>559</sup>	Aquileia	25 BCE–25 CE
<i>CIL</i> I <sup>2</sup> 2190 = <i>ILLConcordia</i> II 82	Gavillia Q. f. Maxima <sup>560</sup>	Concordia	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 320 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.3 189	Laelia C. f. Maxima <sup>561</sup>	Tergeste	Early Augustan
<i>InscrIt</i> X.3 92	Saticia P. f. Maxuma	Piemonte	25–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 4080	Sentia C. f. Maxsuma	Mantua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V1764 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.4 391	Vinisia Q. f. Maxuma <sup>562</sup>	Forum Iulii	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>MEDUL(L)A</i>			
Pais 1180 = <i>IAquil</i> III 3407	Clodia L. f. Medula Prima	Aquileia	Late 1st c. BCE
<i>MINOR</i> (2)			
<i>CIL</i> I <sup>2</sup> 271 = <i>ILLRP</i> 869 = Franchi De Bellis no. 117,10	Samiaria M. f. Minor Q.	Praeneste	<i>ante</i> 82 BCE
<i>CIL</i> XI 1934 = I <sup>2</sup> 3364 = <i>ILLRP</i> 638 = <i>ILLRP-S</i> 147 = <i>ILS</i> 2685 = <i>AE</i> 1979, 245	Tettia A. f. Minor <sup>563</sup>	Perusia	20–1 BCE
<i>MODESTA</i>			
<i>IAquil</i> I 561 = <i>AE</i> 1921, 111	Petillia Q. f. Modesta <sup>564</sup>	Aquileia	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>PAUL(L)A/POL(L)A</i> (26)			
<i>CIL</i> VI 17247 = <i>Suppl</i> <i>Imag. Roma</i> I, 799	Eppia L. f. Paulla & Eppia M. f. Polla <sup>565</sup>	Rome	25 BCE–25 CE

<sup>559</sup> Mentioned together with two freedmen (L. Fabius L. l. Urbanus & L. Fabius O. l. Mansuetus) and two freedwomen (Fabia L. l. Clara & Fabia O. l. Arbuscula).

<sup>560</sup> She is commemorated by her freedwoman, who is simply styled as *Cale*.

<sup>561</sup> She seems to have died at the age of 100, which dates her birth well into the Republican period.

<sup>562</sup> Attested together with her mother-in-law Apusidia C. f. Secunda (below).

<sup>563</sup> The inscription also mentions her son C. Atilius A. f. Glabrio, who was an equestrian auxiliary prefect, thus belonging to the local elite.

<sup>564</sup> Her husband C. Mutillius C. f., *decurio Aquileiensis*, did not have a cognomen.

<sup>565</sup> The inscription was set up by Q. Eppius Q. f. Cor. Ruf(us), and it also mentions Clodia C. l. Silenio (perhaps the dedicator's wife?). The exact relationship between the dedicator and the two Eppiae is difficult to explain, since they all share the same nomen but the filiation differs in each case. Even more noteworthy is the fact that *Eppia L. f. Paulla* is directly followed by *Voltenniana mater*. It seems unlikely that Eppia Paulla would have borne an additional cognomen (i.e. *Voltenniana*) and

<i>NSA</i> 1950, 84 = <i>AE</i> 1980, 186	Vettia L. f. Polla <sup>566</sup>	Rome	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> I <sup>2</sup> 1545 = <i>ILLRP</i> 564	Apsennia Q. f. Paulla <sup>567</sup>	Casinum	133–27 BCE
<i>NSA</i> 1938, 63,23 = <i>EpOst</i> 1350	Atania D. f. Polla <sup>568</sup>	Ostia	50–1 BCE
<i>AE</i> 1996, 433	Pontia P. f. Pol(l)a <sup>569</sup>	Teanum Sidicinum	20 BCE–20 CE
<i>AE</i> 1911, 71	Aesquillia C. f. Polla <sup>570</sup>	Pompeii	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> X 4416	Atleia C. f. Polla <sup>571</sup>	Capua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AE</i> 1990, 223e	Fufia Q. f. Polla <sup>572</sup>	Allifae	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> X 1305	Heia M. f. Polla <sup>573</sup>	Nola	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> X 3688a-b/3685	Luceia Cn. f. Polla <sup>574</sup>	Cumae	30 BCE–30 CE

therefore it is more reasonable to assume that we are dealing with two different people here: Eppia Paulla and her mother Voltenniana. This interpretation, as M. Kajava has pointed out to me, also leads to the discovery of an otherwise unattested gentilicium *Voltennianus*.

<sup>566</sup> Attested together with L. Vettius O. I. Alexand(er), Vettia O. I. Hospita, and Vettia L. I. Eleutheris.

<sup>567</sup> Her husband N. Savonius N. f., *pr(aetor)*, does not bear a cognomen.

<sup>568</sup> Attested together with her son C. Atanius C. f. Bassus who also has a cognomen and peculiarly the same nomen as his mother. Since he was clearly born in a legal marital union (hence C. f.), the use of the maternal nomen cannot be explained by illegitimacy. One option would be that the father was also an Atanius, but this is somewhat doubtful, since *Atanius/a* was a rare nomen; it is seldom found in the Latin West, and in Ostia this is the only case. The name is, however, found in various parts of the Greek East but not in great numbers (Salomies 2010, 198). The inscription, however, makes no mention of the father – or perhaps it did, but a significant part of the text has been deliberately erased.

<sup>569</sup> Attested with her husband M. Mestrius M. f. Ouf. (who does not have a cognomen), and sons M. (Mestrius) M. f. Ouf. Falco and (Mestrius) M. f. Ouf. Pollio.

<sup>570</sup> Her husband N. Herennius N. f. Men. Celsus was *d(uum)v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um) praef(ectus) fabr(um)*.

<sup>571</sup> She is attested together with M. Visellius C. f. Ter. Balitor, who probably was her husband.

<sup>572</sup> The inscription also mentions her mother Gavia M. f. Rufa (see below), father Q. Fufius M. f., and brother Q. Fufius Q. f. Ter. Rufus.

<sup>573</sup> The inscription also mentions M. Heius C. f. Gal., who most likely was her father.

<sup>574</sup> In *CIL* X 3685 she is attested together with two men, styled as *Cn. Luceius pater et filius pr(aetor)* – quite possibly her father and brother – and her sister Luceia Cn. f. Tertulla (who is also known from the other inscriptions; see below). They clearly belonged to the local elite, not only since the women are known from multiple sources, but since the men had restored a shrine of Demeter and the women a temple, its surroundings, and a portico *p(ecunia) s(ua)*. It is unclear

<i>AttiAccLinc</i> 1901, 140 no. 266	Valeria C. f. [P]aula <sup>575</sup>	Capua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AttiAccLinc</i> 1901, 15 no. 22	Valeria C. f. Polla <sup>576</sup>	Capua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> IX 2115 = <i>AE</i> 1945, 121	Curtia Salvi f. Polla <sup>577</sup>	Pastina	40–20 BCE
<i>AE</i> 1996, 457 = 1997, 391	Patulacia M. f. Polla <sup>578</sup>	Aeclanum	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> IX 5088	Publicia Sex. f. Paulla <sup>579</sup>	Interamnia Praetuttiorum	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 5461 = <i>Suppl</i> <i>It</i> XXIII, p. 307	Calventia C. f. Polla <sup>580</sup>	Asisium?	Augustan
<i>Suppl It</i> XVIII-S, 16 = <i>AE</i> 2000, 543	Magia M. f. Polla <sup>581</sup>	Suasa	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 2205	Calpurnia L. f. Paula	Clusium	Early Augustan
<i>AE</i> 1995, 501	Persia C. f. Polla <sup>582</sup>	Populonia	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 3503	Audasia C. f. Paulla <sup>583</sup>	Verona	50–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 6937 = I <sup>2</sup> 2153 = <i>Torino</i> , p. 65 no. 67	Iuncia Rufi f. Pol(l)a <sup>584</sup>	Augusta Taurinorum	Augustan

whether the two women are the daughters of Gnaeus Lucceius the elder or Gnaeus Lucceius the younger (since both have the same name), but this does not change the fact that they both have a cognomen, whereas the two men do not.

<sup>575</sup> Attested together with Nutia M. f. Maxima (3.2.1.1.). Perhaps related to Valeria C. f. Polla below.

<sup>576</sup> The inscription also mentions her father C. Valerius [--], mother Octavia, son L. Annus L. f. Fal. Celer, and husband L. Annus L. f. Fal. Pollio. Due to her name, date and location, a connection to Valeria C. f. [P]aula (above) could be established.

<sup>577</sup> Her parents Sal. Curtius L. f. Stel. and Curtia did not yet have a cognomen.

<sup>578</sup> Her husband [-- M]agullius N. f. Cor. Flaccus is titled as *pontifex IIIIvir aed(ilis) IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo)*.

<sup>579</sup> Attested together with her husband L. Ampius L. f. and son L. Ampius L. f. Severus.

<sup>580</sup> Her husband L. Vistinius and mother Gavia, both without a cognomen, are also attested in the inscription.

<sup>581</sup> Her husband L. Scoedius L. f. Cam. does not have a cognomen.

<sup>582</sup> Attested with her father C. Persius A. f. Gal., brother L. Persius C. f., and mother Gallonia M. f. Quar(ta) (see below.).

<sup>583</sup> The inscription also mentions C. Audasius Boduaci f., who was possibly her father and a first-generation Roman citizen.

<sup>584</sup> *Rufus* is well attested in the region, not only as a cognomen, but even in patronymics like here; cf. also L. Cornelius Rufi f. in *CIL* V 497 = *InscrIt* X.3 37.

<i>AE</i> 1999, 652	Nonia C. f. P[o]lla <sup>585</sup>	Sarsinam Fulvii	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 1132 = Criniti 2013, p. 66f no. 8	Vibia T. f. Polla <sup>586</sup>	Veleia	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> III 3780	Cannutia Ti. f. Paulla <sup>587</sup>	Emona	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> II.5, 1284 = <i>HEp</i> 1996, 574 = <i>AE</i> 2015, 580	[---]mia P. f. Polla <sup>588</sup>	Astigi	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> VIII 24679 = <i>Gummerus</i> I 316	Asyllia L. f. Pol[li]a <sup>589</sup>	Carthago	Augustan
<i>PAULLINA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> XI 5936	Fadia C. f. Paullina <sup>590</sup>	Tifernum Tiberinum	Augustan
<i>POLLITTA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> XI 3457 = <i>SECI</i> 205	Memmia P. f. Pollitta	Tarquinia	50–25 BCE
<i>POSILLA</i> (10)			
<i>CIL</i> VI 28422 = I <sup>2</sup> 1408 = <i>ILS</i> 8396 = <i>ILLRP</i> 934	Basilia Sp. f. Posilla <sup>591</sup>	Rome	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>CIL</i> VI 14065 = I <sup>2</sup> 1266	Calidia Q. f. Posil(la) <sup>592</sup>	Rome	Late Republic

<sup>585</sup> Attested with her husband and son, whose names survive poorly, and her daughter-in-law Metilia M. f. Verecunda (see below).

<sup>586</sup> Her husband L. Arranius f. Gal. and son L. Arranius L. f. Gal. are both without a cognomen. The date is according to Criniti 2013.

<sup>587</sup> Attested together with her husband (?) Q. Fulginas M. f. and daughter (?) Fulginas Q. f. Procla (see below).

<sup>588</sup> Attested with her two sons [---]s Q. f. Pap., and [---]ucius Q. f.

<sup>589</sup> She was a *medica* who lived for 65 years, according to the text. There is a possibility that the inscription in fact dates from a later period.

<sup>590</sup> The inscription also mentions C. Fadius C. f. Lem., *cent(urio) leg(ionis) XI*, who was probably her father. One could speculate that her mother perhaps was a *Paulla*, but this is pure guesswork.

<sup>591</sup> Attested with her husband C. Veius T. f. Ma<sup>f</sup>e<sup>l</sup>(cia). The last component of his nomenclature is somewhat problematic: Degrassi in *ILLRP* restores it as *Mai(or)*, but it could also very well be his *tribus*, emended thus into *Ma<sup>f</sup>e<sup>l</sup>(cia)* (thus the form in the *EDCS*). In fact, the *tribus* seems like a more appropriate solution, since it would not be extraordinary for a freeborn man to not have a cognomen in this period.

<sup>592</sup> The inscription also mentions her father Q. Calidius Q. l. Parnacis and (her mother?) Maria Q. l. Glucera.

<i>CIL</i> VI 23133	Numisia Q. f. Posilla <sup>593</sup>	Rome	50–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> X 5817	[---]ecia L. f. Posilla <sup>594</sup>	Aletrium	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> IX 852	Helvia C. f. Posilla <sup>595</sup>	Luceria	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 4438	Praeonia C. f. Posilla <sup>596</sup>	Ameria	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>SECI</i> 22	Pomponia C. f. Posilla	Tarquīnia	50–25 BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 1779	Aiteia L. f. Posilla <sup>597</sup>	Forum Iulii	Augustan
<i>AE</i> 1979, 252	Gavia L. f. Posilla <sup>598</sup>	Bononia	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 7448 = <i>AE</i> 1995, 523	Trebia Q. f. Posilla <sup>599</sup>	Forum Fulvii	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>SEG</i> XLIII 457 = <i>AE</i> 1995, 1389	Avia A. f. Posilla <sup>600</sup>	Thessalonica	Augustan
<i>POSTUMA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> VI 6982	Valeria L. f. Postuma <sup>601</sup>	Rome	30 BCE–30 CE

<sup>593</sup> Attested with her freedman Q. Numisius Orestes.

<sup>594</sup> With [-] Rufreius M. f. Ani., [-] Rufreius M. f. Ani. Gallus, [---]tia L. f. Rufa, and two liberti, [-] Rufreius M. C. l. [---]philus and [Ru]freia M. l. Dorcas.

<sup>595</sup> Attested with her husband(?) Q. Egnatius M. f. Cla(udia), who does not have a cognomen.

<sup>596</sup> For more details, see her daughter Artoria Sex. f. Secunda (above in 3.2.1.1.).

<sup>597</sup> Note that her husband T. Suttius L. f. Sca(pta) does not bear a cognomen.

<sup>598</sup> Attested together with [Li]burnia L. f. Hile (see below in the list of Greek cognomina).

<sup>599</sup> The inscription mentions her husband M. Vibius M. f. Pom, son M. Vibius M. f. Homuncio, and daughter-in-law Lusia C. f. Vera.

<sup>600</sup> She was clearly a woman of wealth and prominence. According to the bilingual inscription she built and consecrated a bath complex and a portico in Thessalonica with her own money: *Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ υἱῷ / Σεβαστῶι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ τῆι πόλει / Ἀυία Αὔλου θυγάτηρ Πόσιλλα τὸν / ναὸν καὶ τὰ θερμὰ καὶ τὴν δεξαμενὴν / καὶ τ[ᾶ]ς περὶ[κειμέν]ας στοὰς τῶι ὕδατι ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου // Imp(eratori) Caesari divi f(ilio) Aug(usto) pontif(ici) max(imo) / et Herculi et civitati Thessalonicensium / Avia A(uli) f(ilia) Posilla aedem aquas piscinam et / porticus circa piscinam de suo. She is also known from a bilingual dedication of a local temple to Isis, in which the name *Posilla* is placed before her nomen – and written with an omega instead of an omikron (*SEG* XLIII 458 = *RICIS* I, 113/532 = *AE* 1993, 1392): *Isi / Posilla Avia A. f(ilia) / aedem reficiunt(dam) / et pronaium faciuntum cur(avit) de suo // Εἰσιδι / Πώσιλλα Αὐία / Αὔλου θυγάτηρ τὸν / ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασεν / καὶ τὸ προνάϊον ἐπό/ησεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου.**

<sup>601</sup> Attested together with Q. Petillius Amphio and Ocrisia l. Iucunda in a columbarium with many funerary inscriptions of former slaves.

<i>PRIMA</i> (6)			
<i>AE</i> 1971, 56	Valeria L. f. Prima <sup>602</sup>	Rome	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>CIL</i> VI 39034a	Vettia P. f. Prima	Rome	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AE</i> 1913, 71	Antistia P. f. Prima <sup>603</sup>	Pompeii	Augustan
<i>AE</i> 1980, 412	Titia T. f. Prima	Sassina	70–31 BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 1293	Maria C. f. Prima <sup>604</sup>	Aquileia	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AE</i> 1992, 1343	Vettia C. f. Prima	Virunum	Augustan
<i>PRIMIGENIA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> VI 6797 = <i>Epigraphica</i> 56 (1994), p. 180 (G. Mennella)	Caesia Sp. f. Primigenia <sup>605</sup>	Rome	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>PRISCA</i> (2)			
<i>CIL</i> V 6944 = I <sup>2</sup> 2160 = <i>Torino</i> , p. 78 no. 81	Vibia Prisca Festi f.	Augusta Taurinorum	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 464 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.3 151	Voltia C. f. Prisca	Piquentum	25 BCE–25 CE
<i>PROC(U)LA</i> (6)			
<i>CIL</i> XI 5578	[A]nnia Cn. f. [Pro]cula	Asisium	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 4071	Cornelia M. f. Procula <sup>606</sup>	Mantua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 440 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.3 180	Graecinia P. f. Procula	Tergeste	25 BCE–25 CE

<sup>602</sup> The inscription also mentions her mother Luria L. f. Puella (see *s.v.* 'Puella') and M. Caecilius M. f. Mai(cia). The item *Mai()* most likely stands for the indication of the *tribus*, that is *Mai(cia)* = *Maecia*, just like in the case of C. Veius T. f. Mai(cia) (see n. 808 above). If Veius was Luria Puella's husband, he surely was not the father of Valeria Prima, since their nomina differ from each other.

<sup>603</sup> Note that her mother Septumia L. f does not have a cognomen.

<sup>604</sup> Sister of Maria C. f. Secunda (see below). The inscription also mentions their father C. Marius L. f., who does not have a cognomen, and mother Seia O. I. Aletia.

<sup>605</sup> Attested together with her mother Atilia Sf. Fausta (see above). In the normal case, the indication *Sp(uri) f(i)lius(a)* would suggest illegitimate birth (Buraselis 1996; Salomies 1987, 54ff.), whereupon the child would enter their mother's status and take her name – but since, in this case, the nomina of mother and daughter differ from each other, one could assume that at least Caesia's father actually carried the praenomen *Spurius*. But even in this case it seems like a strange coincidence that both women are labelled *Sp. f.* In the end, it is difficult to say what the legal situation behind this family was. For all we know, there may have been a more complex situation concerning adoptions and other such matters in the background.

<sup>606</sup> Mentioned together with her parents [---] Soccio and Cannutia C. f. Galla (see below)

<i>InscrIt</i> X.3 93	Sextilia T. f. Procula <sup>607</sup>	Tergeste	25–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> III 3780	Fulginas Q. f. Procla <sup>608</sup>	Emona	Augustan
<i>ELSagun</i> 93	Manlia Cn. f. Procula <sup>609</sup>	Saguntum	Augustan
	<i>PUELLA</i>		
<i>AE</i> 1971, 56	Luria L. f. Puella	Rome	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>QUARTA</i> (12)			
<i>ILLRP-S</i> 27 = <i>AE</i> 1991, 106	Postumia Sp. f. Quarta <sup>610</sup>	Rome	50–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> VI 7232	Turrania Quarta P. f. <sup>611</sup>	Rome	Augustan
<i>AE</i> 2001, 450	Vesonia L. f. Quarta <sup>612</sup>	Rome	50–31 BCE
<i>CIL</i> X 4981	Carnia T. f. Quarta <sup>613</sup>	Venafrum	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>Suppl It</i> XXII-A, 115 = <i>AE</i> 1995, 402	Pa(---) Quarta P. f. <sup>614</sup>	Corfinium	70–31 BCE
<i>CIL</i> XI 1984 = <i>FIHPer</i> 1384	Ursia A. f. Quarta Aconi	Perusia	50–1 BCE
<i>AE</i> 1995, 501	Gallonia M. f. Quarta <sup>615</sup>	Populonia	Augustan

<sup>607</sup> She died at the age of 75, which means that she will have been born in the early 1st c. BCE.

<sup>608</sup> Attested together with her father Q. Fulginas M. f. and mother Cannutia Ti. f. Paulla (see above).

<sup>609</sup> The inscription also mentions two men: L. Annius Odephorus and Cn. Manlius Acutus (perhaps her husband and father).

<sup>610</sup> The inscription also mentions a freedman and a freedwoman, both belonging to the same family: T. Postumius T. l. Nicepor, *aur(i)fex de sacra via*, and Postumia T. l. Rodine.

<sup>611</sup> Mentioned together with a freedman, C. Vibius C. l. Epaphras, who was perhaps her husband.

<sup>612</sup> The inscription also mentions Flavia [---]ulla, who perhaps had a cognomen with the termination *-ulla*. Her status and relation to Vesonia Quarta are unknown.

<sup>613</sup> Attested together with her husband(?) M. Popillius C. f. Cicero, whose cognomen was perhaps taken over from the Tullii Cicerones of Arpinum.

<sup>614</sup> Mentioned together with Mar(ius) Rus(ticus). The item *Pa(---)*, preceding her cognomen, was probably an abbreviation of her nomen, but it is difficult to say anything more of it. In theory it could even be that she was not a Roman citizen at all (and thus had no gentilicium), which would also explain the unorthodox placement of the filiation after *Quarta*.

<sup>615</sup> The inscription also mentions her husband C. Persius A. f. Gal., son L. Persius C. f., and daughter Persia C. f. Polla (see below). Note that both her husband and son lack a cognomen, while she and her daughter both have one.



<i>CIL</i> XI 3445 = <i>NSA</i> 1885, 154 = <i>SECI</i> 196	Hortensia P. f. Quarta	Tarquinia	50–25 BCE
<i>CIL</i> XI 3374 = <i>SECI</i> 156	Vibia C. f. Quarta Cossuti <sup>616</sup>	Tarquinia	50–25 BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 6925 = I <sup>2</sup> 2140 = <i>Torino no. 52</i>	Aibutia Quarta Lic. f. <sup>617</sup>	Augusta Taurinorum	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>AE</i> 1995, 590	[---]ia M. f. Quarta <sup>618</sup>	Concordia	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 3007	Curiatia L. f. Quarta <sup>619</sup>	Patavium	Augustan
<i>QUARTILLA</i> (2)			
<i>CIL</i> IX 6097	Marcia L. f. Quartilla	Brundisium	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> XI 1983 = <i>FIHPer</i> 1386	Aconia L. f. Quartilla	Perusia	25–1 BCE
<i>QUIN(C)TA</i> (9)			
<i>CIL</i> X 307 = <i>InscrIt</i> III.1 214	Baia T. f. Quinta & Ovilonia M. f. Quinta <sup>620</sup>	Tegianum	50–27 BCE
<i>CIL</i> XI 1736	Graecia A. f. Quinta <sup>621</sup>	Empoli	Augustan
<i>InscrIt</i> X.4 107	[Ce]stia T. f. [Q]uinta <sup>622</sup>	Tergeste	25 BCE–25 CE

<sup>616</sup> Her husband [-] Cossutius f., *IIIvir i(ure) d(icundo)*, is also mentioned. They clearly belonged to the local elite of Tarquinia.

<sup>617</sup> There are elements which do not suggest a profound level of ‘Romanness’. Firstly, the filiation is placed after the cognomen. Secondly, the patronymic *Lic.* seems to represent a rare praenomen, i.e. *Lic(inus)*, which is attested as a personal name in Cisalpine Gaul (cf. Salomies 1987, 126 n. 15).

<sup>618</sup> She is attested together with her husband [---]tius T. f. and two other men: [---]tius f. Philargur(us) and [-]ius T. f. Titullio. All of the gentilicia are fragmentary, but the patronymics of the two latter men indicate that they were not brothers, although one of them may have been the son of Quarta and her husband (who are labelled as *pater* and *mater*): *Jtius T(iti) f(ilius) pater / [---] ia M(arci) f(ilia) Quarta / mater / [---]tius P(ubli) f(ilius) Philargur(us) [-]ius T(iti) f(ilius) Titullio / f(ecerunt)*.

<sup>619</sup> Attested together with her husband T. Petronius T. f., son Petronius, brother Q. Curatius L. f. Celer, and Mucia L. f. Rufa, who probably was her mother or mother-in-law.

<sup>620</sup> Mother and daughter, both with the same cognomen. The inscription also mentions M. Ovilonius L. f. Lucanus, probably Baia’s husband/Ovilonia’s father.

<sup>621</sup> Attested together with her husband L. Gavius Q. f., their two sons C. & L. Gavii L. f., and her brother-in-law A. Gavius Q. f. All of the men are without a cognomen.

<sup>622</sup> The inscription also mentions her sister [Ces]tia T. [f. ---], whose name survives only partly. Her cognomen does not survive (if she ever had one).

<i>CIL</i> V 8960 = <i>InscrIt</i> IX.1 154	Geminia L. f. Quinta <sup>623</sup>	Pollentia	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 2240	Pontia C. f. Quincta <sup>624</sup>	Altinum	1st <sup>c</sup> BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 4072	Titia Stabilionis f. Quinta <sup>625</sup>	Mantua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 438 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.3 133	Volginia L. f. Quincta <sup>626</sup>	Piquentum	25 BCE–25 CE
<i>CIL</i> XII 4494 = <i>ILN</i> IX 238	Iulia M. f. Quinta <sup>627</sup>	Narbo	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>RECEPTA</i>			
<i>AE</i> 1972, 110	Norbana C. f. Recepta <sup>628</sup>	Tarentum	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>RUFA</i> (25)			
<i>AE</i> 1982, 305	Resi[a] T. f. Ru[fa]	Ferentinum	Early Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XIV 3945	Titia T. f. Rufa <sup>629</sup>	Nomentum	30 BCE–20 CE
<i>CIL</i> X 5817	[---]tia L. f. Rufa <sup>630</sup>	Aletrium	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AE</i> 1990, 223e	Gavia M. f. Rufa <sup>631</sup>	Allifae	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> X 1555 = <i>ILS</i> 3256	Graecia P. f. Rufa	Puteoli	Augustan

<sup>623</sup> Attested with her husband L. Caesius Sf., their three sons C(aius) (the dedicator), M(arcus) and Q(uintus) Caesii L. f., her grandson L. Caesius C. f., her granddaughter Caesia C. f. Secunda, and her daughter-in-law Mucia M. f. Rufa. Notably all men in three generations are without a cognomen, while all the women bear one. The relationship of these people with one another may be deduced from the original text: *L(ucio) Caesio Sp(uri) f(ilio) / patri / Geminiae L(uci) f(iliae) Quintae / matri / M(arco) Caesio L(uci) f(ilio) fratri / Q(uinto) Caesio L(uci) f(ilio) fratri / L(ucio) Caesio C(ai) f(ilio) filio / v(ivis) Caesiae C(ai) f(iliae) Secundae f(iliae) / Muciae M(arci) f(iliae) Rufae uxori / C(aius) Caesius L(uci) f(ilius) Pol(lia) / test(amento) fieri iussit.*

<sup>624</sup> The inscription also mentions her husband, whose name, however, survives only partly. The text can be restored in the following manner: *[---] Iuni[us ---] f(ilius) Fa[b(ia) ---] / O[---] / testamento fie[ri] / iussit sibi et / Pontiai C(ai) f(iliae) Quinctai uxori / suae.*

<sup>625</sup> Her husband C. Maesius L. f., who is also mentioned in the inscription, does not have a cognomen.

<sup>626</sup> She was buried together with her husband Flaminius Macer who also bears a cognomen.

<sup>627</sup> The inscription was commissioned by Iulia Quinta's husband C. Valerius Gemellus, a *navicularius* from Forum Iulii.

<sup>628</sup> She is attested together with her husband C. Carrinas C. l. Aphrodisius.

<sup>629</sup> Attested together with her brother T. Titius T. f. Ser. Tappo *XXVVir*, father T. Titius T. f. Ser., and mother Gessia Ma. f.

<sup>630</sup> Attested together with [---]ecia L. f. Posilla (above).

<sup>631</sup> For more details, see Fufia Q. f. Polla (her daughter) above.

<i>CIL</i> X 1213 = I <sup>2</sup> 1610 = <i>ILLRP</i> 520	Ofillia C. f. Rufa <sup>632</sup>	Abella	50–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> X 4291 = I <sup>2</sup> 3124	Staia C. f. Rufa <sup>633</sup>	Capua	50–1 BCE
<i>AE</i> 1987, 282	Lollia M. f. Rufa <sup>634</sup>	Canusium	Augustan
<i>AE</i> 1984, 243	Magia L. f. Rufa <sup>635</sup>	Canusium	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> IX 1528	Postumia P. f. Rufa <sup>636</sup>	Pagus Veianus	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> X 292 = I <sup>2</sup> 1688 = <i>ILS</i> 5430 = <i>InscrIt</i> III.1 207 = <i>ILLRP</i> 574	Ansia Tarvi f. Rufa <sup>637</sup>	Tegianum	Late Republic
<i>AE</i> 1996, 462	Caesia P. f. Rufa <sup>638</sup>	Copia	Late Republic/ early Augustan

<sup>632</sup> The inscription also mentions her husband [-] Mullius C. f. Macer, a local magistrate.

<sup>633</sup> Attested together with L. Plotius L. I. Philippus, probably her husband.

<sup>634</sup> The inscription also mentions Sex. Mutronius Q. f. who was probably her husband. The text as a whole is restored in the editions in the following way: *Sex(tus) Mutroniu(s) / Q(uinti) f(ilius) Sac(i)e<r=D>d(os) / Lollia M(arci) f(ilia) / Rufa sit{e|i}*. However, Kajava has proposed to me another reading which seems to be in good accordance with the picture provided in the *EDCS*: *Sex. Mutroniu(s) / Q. f. Acte Dio / Lollia M. f. / Rufa sitei*. In this case we would also be dealing with two slaves called by the Greek names *Acte* and *Dio*.

<sup>635</sup> The inscription also mentions her son Arrius f. Ouf. Rufus who shares the same cognomen with his mother. While Magia Rufa may have received the cognomen for semantic reasons, this was clearly no longer the case with her son, who, instead, was simply named after his mother.

<sup>636</sup> With her husband T. Septimius f. Ste(latina) and daughter Septimia T. f. Maxuma (see above). The inscription also mentions Iunia O. I. Hilara, second wife of T. Septimius.

<sup>637</sup> She commissioned the building of a gate and walls, by the decree of the local council, around a sacred grove *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)*. As for *Tarv(i)us*, it was, according to Salomies 1987, 92, probably her father's praenomen, since it would have been most peculiar to use a cognomen in this position in the Republican period, and "somit scheint *Tarv(i)us* ein sonst unbekanntes Pränomen zu sein".

<sup>638</sup> She clearly belonged to the local aristocracy in Bruttium. She had monument built to her husband L. Annelius L. f. Aem. Rufus, her father-in-law, L. Annelius L. f. Aem. Rufus, her brother-in-law L. Annelius L. f. Aem. Cordus, as well as to herself and to her mother-in-law Safinia L. f. Her relationship to the elder L. Annelius Rufus and to L. Annelius Cordus is described with the words *pater* and *frater*, which obviously should not be understood as references to her actual father and brother, but rather to her father-in-law and brother-in-law (since she was married to the younger L. Aemilius Rufus). For clarity's sake, the original text: *L(ucio) Annelio L(uci) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Rufo p(atr) [tr(ibuno) mil(itum) pont(ifici) IIIIvir(o) iur(e) d(icundo) iter(um)] / L(ucio) Annelio L(uci) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Rufo f(ilio) IIIIvir(o) [iur(e) d(icundo) Caesia P(ubli) f(iliae) Rufae uxori] / L(ucio) Annelio L(uci) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Cordo // frat(ri) // IIIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um) Safinae L(uci) f(iliae) socru(i) / ex testamento Ca(esia) P(ubli) f(ilia) Rufa uxor fecit HS XXV(milibus)]*. It may also

<i>CIL</i> IX 1616	Helvia L. f. Rufa <sup>639</sup>	Beneventum	40–21 BCE
<i>CIL</i> IX 6287 = I <sup>2</sup> 1741	[R]utilia Q. f. Rufa <sup>640</sup>	Beneventum	Late Republic
<i>CIL</i> IX 4487 = I <sup>2</sup> 1886	Rutilia Sex. f. Rufa <sup>641</sup>	Amiternum	Late Republic
<i>Suppl It</i> IV-T, 70 = <i>AE</i> 1951, 195c	Ursia T. f. Rufa	Trebula Suffenas	50–1 BCE
<i>AE</i> 1995, 424	Volsa C. f. Rufa <sup>642</sup>	Trebula Suffenas	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> XI 5333	Pontia L. f. Rufa	Hispellum	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 5281 = I <sup>2</sup> 3382 = <i>ILLRP</i> 611	Ruspuleia L. f. Rufa	Hispellum	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> XI 5348	Veturia L. f. Rufa	Hispellum	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 3644 = I <sup>2</sup> 1940 = <i>CIE</i> 5902 = <i>SECI</i> 701	Campatia Q. f. Rufa <sup>643</sup>	Caere	75–50 BCE
<i>CIL</i> I <sup>2</sup> 2729 = <i>CIE</i> 5902 = <i>SECI</i> 460	Campatia Q. f. Rufa (identical with the former?)	Caere	75–50 BCE?
<i>CIL</i> V 2704	Calventia M'. f. Rufa <sup>644</sup>	Ateste	Augustan

be worth pointing out that for these Annelii the cognomen was an individual item instead of a hereditary one, meaning that it was the cognomen rather than the praenomen that distinguished the two brothers from one another. There seem to be no other attestations of the gentilicium *Annelius* elsewhere. Furthermore, no Safinii are known from anywhere in Bruttium or Lucania (besides the woman of this inscription), but there are some Caesii on record in Atina, Paestum, and Vibo Valentia (although no one called *Publius*); *CIL* X 348; 387; 69; I<sup>2</sup> 3159; cf. also the comments in *AE* 1996, 462.

<sup>639</sup> Attested together with her husband M. Lisidius Q. f. Pub(lilia) and son C. Lisidius M. f. Ste(latina) (both of whom are without a cognomen) as well as three liberti connected to the family.

<sup>640</sup> Note also the existence of another Rutilia Rufa in Samnium (below in the list).

<sup>641</sup> Attested together with her husband T. Tadius At(ti) f. Qui. Drusus. The husband's father seems to have been called by the Sabine name Attus (cf. Salomies 1987, 68, including this case). They perhaps belonged to the local Sabine elite. Compare the nomenclature of [R]utilia Q. f. Rufa above.

<sup>642</sup> Attested with L. Annus C. f. Ani(ensis) and L. Annus L. f. Ani(ensis) Rufus (probably her husband and son).

<sup>643</sup> The cognomen appears as *Rum* (?) in both *CIL* and *CIE* (and also in the *EDCS*), but the form Rufa – suggested by Kaimio – is much more likely. She is perhaps identical with the homonymous woman recorded in another cippus from Caere (see below). Cf. also Campatia Sf. Rufilla, also from Etruria (below in the list).

<sup>644</sup> Attested with her husband Q. Terentius L. f. and her two *nepotes*, who are styled as *L. M. Blattii*.

<i>CIL</i> V 3007	Mucia L. f. Rufa <sup>645</sup>	Patavium	Augustan
<i>SEG</i> LXI 433 = <i>AE</i> 2011, 1124	<i>Maxsuma Hetria</i> L. f. Rufa / Μαξίμα Ἑτρίου (sic!) Λευκίου Ῥοῦφα	Dyrrachium	Early Augustan
<i>RUFILLA</i> (2)			
<i>AE</i> 1990, 342	Campatia Sp. f. Rufilla <sup>646</sup>	Falerii	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> VIII 24867	Manlia D. f. Rufilla	Carthago	50–44 BCE
<i>SABINA</i> (6)			
<i>CIL</i> VI 21230 = I <sup>2</sup> 1326	Vineia M. f. Sabina <sup>647</sup>	Rome	1st c. BCE
<i>CIL</i> X 4817	Turia C. f. Sabina	Teanum Sidicinum	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> X 4133	Fabia L. f. Sabina	Capua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> IX 4922 = I <sup>2</sup> 1836 = <i>CLE</i> 62	Manlia L. f. Sabi[na]	Trebula Mutuesca	Late Republic
<i>CIL</i> XI 4903	Allia Sp. f. Sabina <sup>648</sup>	Spoletium	50–1 BCE
<i>IRC</i> IV 226	Vassia L. f. Sabina <sup>649</sup>	Barcino	Augustan
<i>SALVIA</i> (2)			
<i>AE</i> 1981, 328	Murrasia Cn. f. [S]alvia	Sentinum	50–31 BCE
<i>CIL</i> XI 2015 = <i>Suppl It</i> XXX, p. 174–175 = <i>FIHPer</i> 1404	Tertia S. f. Salvia <sup>650</sup>	Perusia	75–50 BCE
<i>SATURNINA</i> (3)			
<i>CIL</i> XIV 2188	Duronia Q. f. Saturnina <sup>651</sup>	Aricia	30 BCE–30 CE

<sup>645</sup> Attested together with Curiatia L. f. Quarta (see above).

<sup>646</sup> Her husband's name does not survive but the inscription records him with a rather impressive career: *] aed(ilis) cur(ulis) et honore usus Ilvir / iure dicundo II(vir) quinquennalis pontif(ex) cur(ator) / pecuniae publicae iterum a decurionibus / per tabellam creatus testamento fieri iussit / arbitratu Campatiae Sp(uri) f(iliae) Rufillae uxoris.*

<sup>647</sup> Attested with her father(?) M. Vineius Urbanus (status unclear) and six *liberti*, five of whom seem to have been connected to the Licinii Luculli.

<sup>648</sup> Attested together with a freedman L. Pipedijs L. l. Tyrannus, who was probably her husband.

<sup>649</sup> Her funerary inscription was commissioned by her mother Vale[r]ia M. f. and Cn. Ratumed[i] us C. f. Vat. (probably her husband).

<sup>650</sup> Various restorations of the patronymic have been suggested, most recently *S(exti) f(ilia)* (or possibly *S(ervi) f(ilia)*), by J. Kaimio in *FIHPer* 526, who also rejects the previous suggestion *S(etres) f(ilia)* by M. C. Spadoni in *Suppl It* XXX, p174–175.

<sup>651</sup> Attested together with Q. Duronius Q. l. Pamphilus (perhaps her father).

<i>CIL</i> XI 2012 = <i>Suppl It</i> XXX p. 174 = <i>FIHPer</i> 1403	Fannia L. f. Saturnin(a) <sup>652</sup>	Perusia	50–25 BCE
<i>CINAr</i> II 147	Aninia M. f. Saturni[na ---] <sup>653</sup>	Narona	Augustan
<i>SCINA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> IX 3216 = I <sup>2</sup> 1783	Caescia C. f. Scina <sup>654</sup>	Corfinium	Late Republic
<i>SECUNDA</i> (38)			
<i>CIL</i> I <sup>2</sup> 3014 = <i>AE</i> 1969/70, 27	Mar[---] Q. f. Secunda	Rome	1st c. BCE
<i>CIL</i> VI 19247 = <i>AE</i> 1983, 35	Nonia T. f. Secunda	Rome	Late Republic
<i>AE</i> 2015, 303 = <i>EpRom</i> 2015_01_029	Helvia C. f. Secunda <sup>655</sup>	Casinum	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 4438	Artoria Sex. f. Secunda <sup>656</sup>	Ameria	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> XI 5981 = I <sup>2</sup> 2122	Caedia C. f. Secunda <sup>657</sup>	Ad Caem	30–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> XI 4608	Conetania L. f. Secunda	Carsulae	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> XI 4617	Neriana C. f. Secunda	Carsulae	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> XI 5005 = <i>Suppl It</i> XXIX, p. 289	[---]ossia T. f. Secunda <sup>658</sup>	Trebia	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> I <sup>2</sup> 3308 = <i>CIE</i> 6188 = <i>SECI</i> 655	Murria Q. f. Secunda	Caere	100–75 BCE
<i>CIL</i> XI 2264	Alfia C. f. Secunda	Clusium	90–1 BCE

<sup>652</sup> In absence of the last letter, one cannot completely exclude the possibility that we are dealing with a gamonymic (*Saturnin(i)*) rather than a cognomen.

<sup>653</sup> The restoration *Saturni[na ---]* is the most plausible alternative, but we cannot rule out the possibility of a gamonymic instead of a cognomen.

<sup>654</sup> Attested together with Caesia V. f. Magul(l)a (see above). The cognomen perhaps derives from the Greek σκῆνος (Lat. *sc(h)inus*), as suggested by Solin 2014, 413.

<sup>655</sup> She was buried together with her mother Afinia L. f. Helvi, who does not bear a cognomen.

<sup>656</sup> She had the monument built to her father Sex. Artorius Sex. f., her mother Praeconia C. f. Posilla (see above), and her two brothers Sex. Artorius Sex. f. and L. Artorius Sex. f. Note that her father and brothers do not have a cognomen, while she and her mother both have one.

<sup>657</sup> For analysis of the inscription, see n. 114 (under Variana C. f. Gava).

<sup>658</sup> Attested with her husband T. Rubrius T. f. Aem., who does not have a cognomen, and their son T. Rubrius T. f. Aem. Crispus, who has one.

<i>CIL</i> IX 3549	Casinia P. f. Secunda <sup>659</sup>	Furfo	14 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> IX 3518	Salvidia T. f. Secund[a] & Quinctia Sex. f. Secunda <sup>660</sup>	Furfo	14 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V1764 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.4 391	Apusidia C. f. Secunda <sup>661</sup>	Forum Iulii	Late Republic/ Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 6439	Attia M. f. Secunda <sup>662</sup>	Ticinum	50–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 412 = <i>ILS</i> 3482 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.3 77	Barbia L. f. Secunda <sup>663</sup>	Histria	25 BCE–25 CE
Tirelli 2003, p. 23	Caesia Ti. f. Secunda <sup>664</sup>	Opitergium	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>InscrIt</i> X.3 47	Calpurnia C. f. Secunda <sup>665</sup>	Siparis	25 BCE–25 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 435 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.3 179	Cassia L. f. Secunda <sup>666</sup>	Tergeste	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 2452 = I <sup>2</sup> 2192	Curtia L. f. Secunda <sup>667</sup>	Selva	Late Republic
<i>CIL</i> V 916 = <i>IAquil</i> II 2859	Hortia C. f. Secunda <sup>668</sup>	Aquileia	Augustan

<sup>659</sup> Attested together with her husband T. Rufrius T. f. Parmeno, son Rufrius T. f. Quir. Pius Pudens (unclear if one of the last two items or both of them are simply adjectives or cognomina), and mother-in-law Risnacidia A. f.

<sup>660</sup> It is not necessary to establish a kinship between the two. The inscription mentions them together with two freedwomen (Casnasia Q. l. Rufa & Casnasia Q. l. Sperat(a)) and a slave (Sperata Munatidi A. ser(va)) in the capacity of *magis(trae) Veneris*.

<sup>661</sup> The inscription also mentions her two sons Q. Caedius f. Pup (*sexvir Tergeste*) and C. Caedius f., both of which without a cognomen, as well as her daughter-in-law Vinisia Q. f. Maxuma (see below).

<sup>662</sup> She is attested together with C. Camillius C. l. Corumbus, who perhaps was her husband.

<sup>663</sup> Clearly a locally prominent woman, who commissioned the building of a temple *d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua)*.

<sup>664</sup> The inscription also mentions her husband Q. Gellius Q. l. Antiochus and son C. Gellius Q. f. Pap(iria), IIIIvir.

<sup>665</sup> She commissioned the monument to herself and her parents C. Calpurnius Proculus (of unspecified status) and Ionia L. Callami l(iberta).

<sup>666</sup> She died at the age of 80 years.

<sup>667</sup> She is mentioned as the *nurus* of a woman who is simply styled as *Maxima*. Maxima's two *nepotes* Q. Novellius Q. f. Crescens (perhaps Secunda's husband?) and Sex. Novellius Q. f. are also mentioned.

<sup>668</sup> Her husband Q. Gavius Q. f. Aquila, *decurio tr(ibunus) mil(itum) a populo*, belonged to the equestrian aristocracy (cf. Démougin 1988, no. 156). Peculiarly enough, their daughter Gavia Q. f. had no cognomen, despite the fact that both her parents had one.

<i>IAquil</i> III 3425	Iulia Iulli f. Secunda & Lucia M. f. Secunda <sup>669</sup>	Aquileia	50–1 BCE
<i>IAquil</i> II 1479	Rauconia M. f. Secunda <sup>670</sup>	Aquileia	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 1293	Maria C. f. Secunda <sup>671</sup>	Aquileia	30 BCE–30 CE
Lettich 2003, no. 461 = Buonopane 2016, p. 168	Summia L. f. Secunda <sup>672</sup>	Aquileia	50–1 BCE
<i>AE</i> 2002, 552	[P]ontia Sex. f. [Se]cunda <sup>673</sup>	Tarvisium	100–71 BCE
<i>AE</i> 1991, 796	Titia C. f. Secunda & Silia C. f. Secunda <sup>674</sup>	Tarvisium	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 1841	Retinacia L. f. Secunda <sup>675</sup>	Iulium Carnicum	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> V 2518 = I <sup>2</sup> 1412	Terentia T. f. Secunda <sup>676</sup>	Ateste	Late Republic
<i>CIL</i> V 7601	Vibia Q. f. Secunda(a) <sup>677</sup>	Alba Pompeia	Augustan
<i>InscrIt</i> X.3 182	[V]olginia P. f. [Se]cunda	Parentium	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 2928	Cipia P. f. Secunda	Patavium	50–1 BCE
Pais 51 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.3 176	Remia Maximi f. Secunda	Rotium	25 BCE–25 CE

<sup>669</sup> Mother and daughter. The inscription also mentions M. Lucius M. I. Davus and M. Lucius M. f. Labeo, presumably Iulia's husband and son/Lucia's father and brother.

<sup>670</sup> She is mentioned together with C. Servilius C. I. Veneto, who probably was her husband.

<sup>671</sup> Sister of Maria C. f. Prima (above; see n. 174).

<sup>672</sup> The inscription is divided in four parts, which can be restored in the following way: *Summiae L(uci) / f(i)liae) Secu(n)dae // Q(uintus) Ves[---] // L(oca) n(umero?) LV // Pompon[iae] / Optata[e]*. In the second part there seem to be remnants of a man's name, which however is too fragmentary to be properly read. The fourth part records a woman called Pompon[ia] Optata, whose status is not specified.

<sup>673</sup> Her husband M. At[---]n[i]us L. f. Lucanus, who appears in the inscription, also had a cognomen.

<sup>674</sup> Mother and daughter. The inscription also mentions Titia's husband C. Silius C. f. and son M. Silius C. f. Note that both men are without a cognomen.

<sup>675</sup> The inscription also mentions her husband C. Retinacius C. f., Ilvir, and children Retinacia L. f. Gaia and L. Retinacius L. f. Crispus. Note that Secunda's husband does not bear a cognomen.

<sup>676</sup> Attested together with her husband C. Veturius A. f., her father-in-law A. Veturius A. f., and her mother-in-law Petronia A. f. Tannia (see below in the list of non-latin cognomina) who also bears a cognomen, unlike the two men.

<sup>677</sup> Her husband L. Geminius L. f. Cam(ilia) and son M'. Geminius L. f. Cam. are both without a cognomen.



<i>CIL</i> XII 4506 = <i>ILN</i> IX 254	Plania M. f. Secunda <sup>678</sup>	Narbo	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CLE</i> 1076 = <i>HEp</i> 2002, 354	Sicinia C. f. Secunda <sup>679</sup>	Carthago Nova	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> III 504 = <i>IPatras</i> 154	Coelia M. [f.] Secunda <sup>680</sup>	Patras	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>TERTIA</i> (23)			
<i>CIL</i> VI 21216 = I <sup>2</sup> 1400	Cořuncania Sp. f. Tertia <sup>681</sup>	Rome	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> VI 2171	Fufia P. f. Tertia <sup>682</sup>	Rome	50–30 BCE
<i>CIL</i> VI 24627 = I <sup>2</sup> 1367a = <i>ILS</i> 4420 = <i>SIRIS</i> 426	Iunia L. f. Tertia <sup>683</sup>	Rome	Late Republic
<i>CIL</i> VI 38697 = I <sup>2</sup> 1351 = <i>ILLRP</i> 951	Trebia Q. f. Tertia <sup>684</sup>	Rome	70–31 BCE
<i>AE</i> 2001, 489	Trebia M. f. Tertia <sup>685</sup>	Rome	1st c. BCE

<sup>678</sup> Sister of Plania M. f. Tertia (see below). In addition, the inscription mentions Albius C. I. [---] cinus, perhaps husband of one of the two sisters.

<sup>679</sup> Epitaph in verse: *Sicinia C(ai) f(ilia) Secunda / filia cum matre est hospes sei forte requiris / heic sita quas rapuit mortis acerba dies / sed prius eripuit matri qui in omnia pollet / crudelis cassus filiolum e manibus paene innatura / morte ereptam sibi gnatan heu quantum mater [fleverit] / indiciosam postquam [fletu] et monumento hoc conde/coravit gnatan per luctus reddidit ipsa animam.*

<sup>680</sup> There should be no doubt of her status as *ingenua*, since the inscription also mentions her father M. Coelius f., *vet. leg. XII Fulm.*

<sup>681</sup> Attested together with (her husband?) C. Licinius C. I. Trup(h)o, *mag(ister) desig(natus)*.

<sup>682</sup> The inscription also mentions her brother L. Antestius Cn. f. Hor. Sarculo, who was *salius Albanus*, and several *liberti* connected to his family. Fufia Tertia is labelled as Sarculo's *soror*, but since their *nomina* and filiations differ from each other, one can only assume they had different fathers (unless there was a case of adoption in the background).

<sup>683</sup> She appears in a list of *melanephoroi* of an Egyptian cult, including two *ingenui* without a cognomen (C. Pomponius C. f. Ser. and Sex. Coelius Sex. f. Col.), at least six freedpersons (all with a cognomen), and two women of unknown status whose names are fragmented. The text in its entirety: *C(aius) Pomponius C(ai) f(ilius) Ser(gia) / melanep(h)orus / Marcia L(uci) l(iberta) Salvia / melanep(h)ore / C(aius) Publili(us) C(ai) l(ibertus) Trupho / melanep(h)orus / Sex(tus) Cloelius Sex(ti) f(ilius) / [R] Col(lina) / Iunia [(mulieris) l(iberta) Nebris // Valgia A(uli) l(iberta) Truphera / Maria P(ubli) l(iberta) Salvia / C(aius) Marius [(mulieris) l(ibertus) Antiochus / Secunda / [[---]] Salvia / [[---]] / Iunia L(uci) f(ilia) Tertia.*

<sup>684</sup> The inscription also mentions Sex. Oppius T. I. Surus, a freedman, who probably was her husband.

<sup>685</sup> She is attested together with two other *ingenui*, T. Aebutius T. f. Hor. and Hostilia A. f., both of whom are without a cognomen.

ZPE 2016, 220-222 = <i>EpRom</i> 2016_01_018	Plautia L. f. Tertia <sup>686</sup>	Signia	70–30 BCE
CIL XIV 2317	Precilia Q. f. Tertia <sup>687</sup>	Albanum	30 BCE–30 CE
CIL IX 2118	V[---] P. f. Tertia <sup>688</sup>	Beneventum	20 BCE–20 CE
CIL IX 1403	Vibbia L. f. Tertia <sup>689</sup>	Vibinum	50 BCE–30 CE
<i>Suppl It</i> III 11 = <i>AE</i> 1988, 416	Gresia C. f. Tertia <sup>690</sup>	Volcei	Augustan
CIL IX 5138	Aiedia L. f. Tertia <sup>691</sup>	Interamnia Praetuttiorum	50 BCE–30 CE
<i>Epigraphica</i> 2009, p. 373 (L. Gasperini) = <i>AE</i> 2009, 336	[M]inucia Cn. f. Te[rtia?] <sup>692</sup>	Blera	70–1 BCE
<i>InscrIt</i> III.1 266/267	[Here]nnia L. f. [T]ertia <sup>693</sup>	Tegianum	20 BCE–20 CE
CIL V 8328 = <i>IAquil</i> III 3395 = Lettich 2003, no. 58	Albia L. f. Tertia	Aquileia	50–1 BCE
<i>IAquil</i> I 732 = Lettich 2003, no. 193	Arkaia C. f. Tertia <sup>694</sup>	Aquileia	30 BCE–30 CE

<sup>686</sup> The inscription, commissioned by Plautia Tertia's grandfather, marks the burial of Tertia herself, her father L. Plautius M. f. Ouf. Scurra, mother Rusticelia O. I. Rufa, and brother L. Plautius (who perhaps died an infant and was not given a cognomen).

<sup>687</sup> Attested together with her husband M. Antistius M. f. Fab(ia) and son M. Antistius M. f. Fab. Saturninus. Note that her husband does not have a cognomen.

<sup>688</sup> Attested together with her husband [---] f. Gal., son Q. Vinius Q. f. Gal., and daughter Vini[a] Q. f. Note that both her children (and husband) are without a cognomen.

<sup>689</sup> Attested together with her mother Maria M. f. and brother C. Vibbius L. f. Ser. Note that her brother does not bear a cognomen (and we may assume that their father did not have one either).

<sup>690</sup> She is attested together with Insteia Q. f. Firma and Aemilia C. f. Bassa (see above for both) as well as Q. Insteius Q. f. Pom. Cimber and Q. Insteius Q. f. [---].

<sup>691</sup> Mentioned together with her father L. Aiedius M. f. and mother Novernia T. f., both of whom lack a cognomen. She seems to represent the first generation in her family to have a cognomen.

<sup>692</sup> The inscription also mentions her husband [--- Ca]nulei[us ---] Col. Cilo, *scr(iba)*. Both names are rather fragmentary.

<sup>693</sup> Attested together with her husband C. Luxsilius C. f. Pom. Macer, who will have belonged to the municipal elite of Tegianum (having partaken in a ludus at Campus Martius in Rome).

<sup>694</sup> The inscription also records her husband L. Alfius L. f. Staius, whose mother Maxuma L. f. and sisters Statia Alfa L. f., Secunda Caesia M. f., and Galla Caesia M. f. are also mentioned. Judging by the different nomina, the two Caesiae probably had a different father than L. Alfius Staius and

<i>CIL</i> V 1384 = I <sup>2</sup> 3427 = <i>Aquil</i> III 3463	[--] S Staṭi f. Tertīa <sup>695</sup>	Aquileia	50–1 BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 4072	Cassia L. f. Tertia	Mantua	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AE</i> 1979, 265	Cornelia M. f. Tertia	Opitergium	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 3576 = <i>InscrIt</i> X.3 60	Maecia C. f. Tertia <sup>696</sup>	Eraclea Veneta	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AE</i> 1973, 236 = 1976, 226	Metella C. f. Tertia <sup>697</sup>	Mutina	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> V 6939 = I <sup>2</sup> 2155 = <i>Torino</i> no. 76	Pinaria P. f. Tertia	Augusta Taurinorum	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XII 4506 = <i>ILN</i> IX 253	Plania M. f. Tertia <sup>698</sup>	Narbo	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>AE</i> 2000, 471	Licina P. f. Tert[ia?] <sup>699</sup>	Asculum Picenum	50–30 BCE
	<i>TERTULLA</i> (6)		
<i>CIL</i> VI 16614 = I <sup>2</sup> 1297 = <i>ILLRP</i> 918 = <i>AE</i> 2014, 125 = <i>EpRom</i> 2015_00_010	Cupie[?]nnia L. f. Tertulla <sup>700</sup>	Rome	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> X 3688a–c; X 3685 = <i>ILS</i> 4040	[Luc]ceia Cn. f. Tertulla <sup>701</sup>	Cumae	Augustan

Statia Albia. The inscription also provides a good example of a case, in which women's praenomina and cognomina are used side-by-side in the same period.

<sup>695</sup> The line is badly preserved but the name can be restored with certain level of confidence. The inscription also mentions f. Statius (probably Tertia's father), [-] f. Lucullus, and [-] f. Tertius, whose nomina are omitted/not preserved.

<sup>696</sup> Attested together with her husband (?) T. Corneli[us] Felix, whose exact status is not specified.

<sup>697</sup> Note that her husband C. Graecinius C. f. Pol. and son L. Graecinius C. f. Pol. do not have a cognomen, while she and her daughter Graecinia C. f. Galla both do.

<sup>698</sup> Sister of Plania M. f. Secunda (above in the list; see n. 248).

<sup>699</sup> Her cognomen does not survive completely and the restoration remains somewhat uncertain – but *Tert[ia]* seems the most likely option (unless *Tert[ulla]*; perhaps autopsy could help). The picture in *Picus* 20 (2000) 32–34 no. 1 (by G. Paci; also in the EDR) does not provide much clarity on the matter, since the exact extent of the object and therefore what is lost, seems to be difficult to measure. Furthermore, it is possible that the monument in fact dates from a later period.

<sup>700</sup> Described as *ultima suorum*. The inscription has previously been attributed a date as early as the late 2nd/early 1st c. BCE, but according to a more recent estimation by S. Panciera, the inscription is more likely from a later period (possibly Augustan or Tiberian). See Panciera 2014–2015; cf. also the commentary in *EpRom* 2015\_00\_010.

<sup>701</sup> Sister of Luceia Cn. f. Polla (above; cf. n. 145). In *CIL* X 3688a-c/3685 she is styled as *Luceia*

<i>CIL</i> IX 848	Talania Q. f. Tertulla <sup>702</sup>	Luceria	Augustan
<i>CIL</i> XI 3441 = <i>SECI</i> 193	Graecinia L. f. Tertulla	Tarquiniā	50–25 BCE
<i>CIL</i> XI 181	Gallia C. f. Tertulla	Ravenna	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>CIL</i> XIV 2187	Deciria Q. f. Tertulla <sup>703</sup>	Aricia	50–1 BCE
<i>VERA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> IX 6790 = <i>Aesernia</i> 119 = <i>AE</i> 1999, 553	Cominia C. f. Vera	Aesernia	1st c. BCE
<i>VERECUNDA</i>			
<i>Suppl It</i> XVII 5 = <i>AE</i> 1999, 652	Metilia M. f. Verecunda <sup>704</sup>	Forum Fulvii	Augustan
<i>VET(U)LA</i>			
<i>AE</i> 1981, 497 = 1982, 540	Coilia Q. f. Vetla	Baetica	Augustan

### 3.2.1.2 Nomina used as cognomina

<i>MASURA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> XI 4195	[---]a T. f. Masura <sup>705</sup>	Interamna Nahars	Augustan
<i>MEMMIA</i> (?)			
Miele 2005, p. 546 no. 10	Socidia Memmia Q. f. <sup>706</sup>	Teanum Sidicinum	100–50 BCE

*Cn. f. Tertulla* but in *CIL* X 3685 her name appears as *Luceia Cn. f. Tertulla Pia Galli*. Given the omission of *pia* in the other sources, I would be inclined to treat it as an adjective rather than a second cognomen.

<sup>702</sup> The inscription also mentions Tertulla's husband M. Croni(us) Sf., their son A(l)banus, her mother-in-law Iucunda, and freedwoman Talania Q. l. Helpis.

<sup>703</sup> Her cognomen was derived from that of her mother Deciria Q. l. Tertia.

<sup>704</sup> She is attested together with her husband and father-in-law, whose names survive only partly, and mother-in-law Nonia C. f. P[o]lla (see above).

<sup>705</sup> The inscription also mentions her son [C. Albi]us T. f. Pansa, who was a local *IIIvir*. The same Albius Pansa is attested in *CIL* XI 4206 = *ILS* 5645: *T(itus) Albius C(ai) f(ilius) Pansa, IIIvir i(ure) / d(icundo), [p]ontifex, C(aius) Albius T(iti) f(ilius) Pansa f(ilius), IIIvir [i(ure) d(icundo)] / opus theatri perfect(um) in muliebrib(us) aeramentis adórnaver(unt)*. As for Masura's nomen, the restorations [Tuli]a and [Albi]a have been suggested (cf. *CIL* and *SupplIt* 19, 61), but the nomen could equally well be something else as well.

<sup>706</sup> The case is problematic. The important question is, whether *Socidia* is to be interpreted as an otherwise unknown female praenomen of Oscan extraction (as suggested by Miele 2005, 549) or as an otherwise unknown nomen gentilicium (in which case the filiation would be placed peculiarly

<i>MIMISIA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> XI 5278 = <i>ILS</i> 6624	Alfia C. f. Mimsia <sup>707</sup>	Rome	30–21 BCE
<i>NERIA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> IX 1927 = I <sup>2</sup> 1739 = <i>ILS</i> 8073	Epidia P. f. Neria <sup>708</sup>	Beneventum	Late Republic
<i>SUETIA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> IX 5283	Sentia C. f. Suetia <sup>709</sup>	Asculum Picenum	30 BCE–30 CE

### 3.2.1.3 Greek, Etruscan, and other non-Latin cognomina

<i>AGELE</i>			
<i>CIL</i> X 4397	Versiculana Sp. f. Agele <sup>710</sup>	Capua	Augustan
<i>ANINNA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> II 1586 = <i>Gerion</i> 39 (2021), 273–277	Fabia M. f. Aninna M. Pompei Q. f. (uxor) <sup>711</sup>	Baetica	30–1 BCE
<i>ARCHAIS</i>			
<i>CIL</i> X 1440 (cf. <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 622)	[Vi]cira A. f. Archais Balbi <sup>712</sup>	Herculaneum	Augustan

after the second nomen *Memmia*). Dupraz (2017, 84f.) discusses both options in detail but does not draw any definite conclusions. Since the name is otherwise unknown, the matter is difficult to resolve. If *Socia* was, indeed, a nomen gentilicium, this would, by far, be the earliest known case of a nomen used as a cognomen. The matter, however, is far from being certain.

<sup>707</sup> An equestrian *matrona* from Hispellum (*PFCR* 53). For *Mimesius/Mimisius* as a nomen: Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*, 119.

<sup>708</sup> The inscription also mentions her husband C. Petuilius Q. f. Fal., who does not have a cognomen.

<sup>709</sup> For the nomen *Suetius*, cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*, 178. The inscription also mentions her husband Audienus Q. f. Fab. Capito.

<sup>710</sup> Attested together with her mother Versiculana Daphne, who was probably a freedwoman. Servile background is also suggested by Agele's status as an illegitimate child (*Sp. f.*).

<sup>711</sup> The cognomen appears to be an indigenous name (Turdetan), cf. Beltrán Fortes 2021, 274. She is attested in the same group of inscriptions as Iunia L. f. Inghana and Pompeia Q. f. Nanna, who also bear indigenous names (see below).

<sup>712</sup> Mother of the senator M. Nonius Balbus of Herculaneum. She was of Etruscan origin and her family belonged to the municipal elite of Rusella (Wiseman 1971, 62; cf. Camodeca 1982, 126). For Volasennia Tertia, wife of Balbus, see Ch. 3.3.2 below.

<i>CELIDO</i>			
<i>SECI</i> 268	Collia L. f. Celido <sup>713</sup>	Tarquinia	100–75 BCE
<i>CHILA</i>			
<i>Suppl It</i> XX, 168 = <i>AE</i> 1981, 263	Statia C. f. Chila <sup>714</sup>	Venusia	Augustan
<i>DADA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> VI 14004	Caesia M. f. Dada <sup>715</sup>	Rome	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>FREMA</i>			
<i>AE</i> 1982, 379	Baebia Q. f. Frema <sup>716</sup>	Aquileia	50–1 BCE
<i>HELPIS</i>			
<i>CIL</i> IX 87 = <i>AE</i> 1980, 280	Caesellia L. f. Hel{s}pis	Brundisium	30 BCE–30 CE
<i>HILE</i>			
<i>AE</i> 1979, 252 = 1980, 482	[Li]burnia L. f. Hile <sup>717</sup>	Bononia	Augustan
<i>INSGHANA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> II 1593 = <i>Gerion</i> 39 (2021) 273–277	Iunia L. f. Insghana <sup>718</sup>	Baetica	30–1 BCE
<i>NANNA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> II 1588 = <i>Gerion</i> 39 (2021) 273–277	Pompeia Q. f. Nanna <sup>719</sup>	Baetica	30–1 BCE
<i>?PIRA / GLAPIRA (?)</i>			
<i>CIL</i> XIV 2259	[L]ucilia C. f. Pira <i>or</i> [L]ucilia Glapira <sup>720</sup>	Albanum	30 BCE–30 CE

<sup>713</sup> The cognomen corresponds to the Greek Χελιδών. She died at the age of 80.

<sup>714</sup> The inscription also mentions Octavia O. I. Arbuscula and C. Staius C. I. Staius, who was perhaps her father and whose nomen and cognomen, peculiarly enough, seem to have been identical with each other.

<sup>715</sup> Cf. the Greek name Δάδας (59 cases in the *LGP*N online).

<sup>716</sup> The cognomen seems to be Venetic (from the stem *Frem-/vbre*m-; cf. Untermann 1961, 147). She is attested together with two *ingenui*, two *liberti* (one of whom has a cognomen), and a woman of unclear status, who is styled as Secunda L. f. and who was perhaps the daughter of Baebia Frema and her husband (?) L. Tudicius C. f. The last person in the inscription, who appears as *L. Tucidi L. f. Cervoli* and is restored as *L. Tucidi(us) L. f. Cervoli(us)* in *AE* 1982, 379, was probably her brother.

<sup>717</sup> Attested together with Gavia L. f. Posilla (see above).

<sup>718</sup> Indigenous to the Iberian peninsula, cf. Fabia M. f. Aninna above.

<sup>719</sup> Indigenous name, cf. Fabia M. f. Aninna above.

<sup>720</sup> This case is somewhat dubious, since the cognomen and status of the woman in question is

<i>T(H)ANNIA</i> (3)			
<i>CIL</i> XI 2443 = I <sup>2</sup> 2025	Sentia A. f. Thannia	Clusium	Late Republic
<i>CIL</i> XI 3489 = <i>SECI</i> 227	Spurinnia L. f. Thannia	Tarquinius	50–25 BCE
<i>CIL</i> V 2518 = I <sup>2</sup> 1412	Petronia A. f. T(h)annia <sup>721</sup>	Ateste	Late Republic
<i>TONCETA</i>			
<i>CIL</i> II.7 942	[---] Q. f. Tonceta <sup>722</sup>	Baetica	Augustan

### 3.2.2 Type and form

The list above consists primarily of Latin cognomina but also of some nomina (used as cognomina) and non-Latin cognomina. In the following analysis, I will mainly focus on the Latin cognomina, since they offer the most interesting points for the present study, but some aspects regarding the other groups will also be discussed. The 61 Latin cognomina – attested for 260 women – are the following:

<i>Albana</i>	<i>Flacca</i>	<i>Marcella</i>	<i>Primula</i>	<i>Scina</i>
<i>Amoena</i> (2)	<i>Galla</i> (10)	<i>Marcellina</i>	<i>Prisca</i>	<i>Secunda</i> (36)
<i>Apula</i>	<i>Gava</i>	<i>Max(s)imaluma</i> (17)	<i>Proc(u)la</i> (6)	<i>Sexta</i>
<i>Auctilla</i>	<i>Gemella</i>	<i>Medul(l)a</i>	<i>Puella</i>	<i>Statia</i>
<i>Barchilla</i>	<i>Hilara</i>	<i>Minor</i> (2)	<i>Quarta</i> (12)	<i>Tertia</i> (23)
<i>Bassa</i> (2)	<i>Ianuaria</i>	<i>Modesta</i>	<i>Quartilla</i> (2)	<i>Tertulla</i> (6)
<i>Bassilla</i>	<i>Iusta</i>	<i>Paul(l)a/Pol(l)a</i> (27)	<i>Quinta</i> (9)	<i>Vera</i>
<i>Cerula</i>	<i>Libera</i>	<i>Paullina</i>	<i>Recepta</i>	<i>Verecunda</i>
<i>Cornuta</i>	<i>Longa</i>	<i>Pollitta</i>	<i>Rufa</i> (26)	<i>Vet(u)la</i>
<i>Decma</i>	<i>Mac(c)a</i>	<i>Posilla</i> (10)	<i>Rufilla</i> (2)	
<i>Fausta</i> (4)	<i>Magna</i>	<i>Postuma</i>	<i>Sabina</i> (6)	
<i>Festa</i>	<i>Magul(l)a</i>	<i>Prima</i> (6)	<i>Salvia</i> (2)	
<i>Firma</i> (3)	<i>Maior</i> (4)	<i>Primigenia</i>	<i>Saturnina</i> (3)	

unclear. *Pira* is rather difficult to explain. A plausible solution was offered to me by Mika Kajava, who suggested the reading [*L*]ucilia *Glapira* (the letters *LA* in a ligature), rather than [*L*]ucilia *C. f. Pira*. In this case the cognomen would correspond to the Greek name *Glaphyra* (cf. *A[u]l[e]na* [*G*]lapira, recorded in *CIL* X 4926 from Venafrum). Assuming that this is the case, it seems unlikely that we are even dealing with a freeborn woman.

<sup>721</sup> Cf. her daughter-in-law Terentia T. f. Secunda above (n. 239).

<sup>722</sup> *pia heic sita est*. The cognomen is an indigenous name of the Iberian peninsula (cf. *AE* 1971, 164b and *CIL* II 296 from Lusitania).

The Latin names can be roughly divided into the following groups: 1) names that in some way reflect the order or circumstances of birth, 2) wish-names, 3) names referring to physical characteristics/qualities, 4) geographical/ethnic names, 5) cognomina with obscure etymology or with no obvious connection between their lexical meaning/etymology and their object of reference (including, amongst others, cognomina coined from praenomina/nomina and from other Italic languages). A name could, obviously, be chosen for multiple reasons and there is certain overlap between the categories.

The first group – by far the largest – consists of names that in one way or another reflect birth order, i.e. the name-bearer's age relation to her other siblings, or in general the circumstances of her birth, including time or the child's social status at the time of birth/conception (for the choice of names of this type in the Imperial period, see 4.7.2). The names belonging to this group are *Dec(i)ma*, *Ianuarina*, *Libera*, *Maior* (3), *Maxima* (18), *Minor* (2), *Postuma*, *Prima* (3), *Primigenia*, *Prisca*, *Quarta* (11), *Quartilla* (2), *Quinta* (7), *Recepta*, *Saturnina* (2), *Secunda* (26), *Tertia* (23/24), *Tertulla* (6).

While it is obvious why some names belong to this category (e.g. numeral names and names of the type *Maxima* 'elder/eldest'), some other names may need some justification. *Ianuarina* and *Saturnina*, for instance, are in this category for calendaric reasons (the month of January and the day of Saturn, i.e. Saturday; cf. the discussion regarding these names in 2.3.1.1) – though these names must have been chosen for other reasons as well, *Ianuarina* perhaps for its apposite theophoric connotations (Ianus being the god of beginnings) and *Saturnina* for its elevated label.<sup>723</sup> In this light it would also be easier to understand why a calendaric name such as \**Februaria*, with a less tangible etymology, is not at all attested.<sup>724</sup> *Prisca* ('old', 'ancient', 'previous') could also be interpreted as a name given to a first-born daughter – just like *Priscus* was sometimes given to a first-born son.<sup>725</sup> In addition, the name also had various "prestigious" connotations (e.g. implying someone/something being venerable), which surely had an impact on the name-choice. As for *Libera*, the name can be regarded as reflecting the child's social status at the time of birth or conception. The possibility also exists that the name

<sup>723</sup> The cognomen *Saturninus* was used., e.g., by some senatorial Sentii (*cos.* 19 BCE; 4 CE; *suff.* 4 CE) and Volusii (*cos. suff.* 12 BCE; *suff.* 3 CE) around the same time period. For an early case of an upper-class woman with the cognomen *Saturnina*, cf. Volusia Saturnina in 3.3.2 below.

<sup>724</sup> The name of the month is based on the pre-classical adjective *februus*, which according to Varro (*ling.* 6,13) was connected to a Sabine purification ritual.

<sup>725</sup> For examples, see Salomies 2009, 529 n. 88.



was associated with the goddess Proserpina, who sometimes was called *Libera*. However, names of divinities were only rarely given to humans, and in most of the cases we are dealing with slave names (some examples in 2.3.2.2). A suffixed form of a theophoric cognomen would have been more apposite. *Recepta*, in turn, ('accepted' or 'received') is comparable to names such as *Optata* and has to do with the child's entering the world (cf. 2.3.1.2). Numeral names were often given in accordance with birth order, as is clear for example from an Augustan inscription from Aquileia, which records two sisters, Maria C. f. Prima and Maria C. f. Secunda, who were daughters of C. Marius L. f. and Seia O. l. Aletia (*CIL* V 1293; see 4.7.2 for some examples from the Imperial period). On the other hand, it is difficult to tell if Hostilia C. f. Quarta, sister of Hostilia C. f. Fausta (*CIL* V 8191 = *InscrIt* X.3 63), had been the fourth child/daughter (since we only know of two).

In fact, it seems that already in an early period a name of this type could be chosen simply because it had already been in use in a previous generation. This seems to be the case, for instance, in the following four inscriptions:

1) *IAquil* III 3425 (Aquileia): mother Iulia Iulli f. Secunda, daughter Lucia M. f. Secunda.

2) *AE* 1991, 796 (Tarvisium): mother Titia C. f. Secunda, daughter Silia C. f. Secunda.

3) *CIL* X 307–308 (Tegianum): mother Baia T. f. Quinta, daughter Ovilonia L. f. Quinta.

4) *CIL* X 4343 (Capua): mother Sevia Gemella, daughter Fisia Gemella.

Sometimes the name itself may give cause for suspicion (although not necessarily). For instance, in the case of suffixed forms such as *Quartilla* or *Tertulla*, which presuppose the existence of the non-suffixed *Quartus* and *Tertius*. Sometimes this is more than evident, as in the case of Deciria Q. f. Tertulla, whose cognomen was derived from that of her mother Deciria Q. l. Tertia (*CIL* XIV 2187, Aricia, 50–1 BCE).<sup>726</sup> In most cases, however, we are not fortunate enough to have any other clues and, at the same time, it is clear that cognomina of the 'speaking' type could be chosen throughout the Imperial period because of their lexical meaning or the appellative lemma they were based on (cf. 4.7).

<sup>726</sup> And sometimes we may not be sure if we are even dealing with a cognomen. Suetonius (*Ves.* 2), for example, informs that the paternal grandmother of the emperor Vespasian was called *Tertulla*. The possibility, however, exists that she in fact had the praenomen *Tertia*, of which Suetonius simply decided to use the diminutive form *Tertulla*. This is suggested by Kajava 1994, 210, and it is true that Suetonius has the tendency of calling women by diminutive forms, e.g. *Terentilla* pro *Terentia* (the wife of Maecenas) in Suet. *Aug.* 69,2; cf. also Iunia Claudia/Claudilla below in n. 930.

In categorizing the early cognomina, I have in principle operated under the assumption that, unless there is sufficient reason to believe otherwise, the lexical meaning or etymology of the name was in some way related to the choice.

The second category – that of wish-names – consists of names that refer to positive traits of the mind or character, happiness, or a good future in general. The following names, at least, can be classified as such: *Amoena* ‘delightful’, *Fausta* ‘lucky’ (3), *Firma* ‘firm’ (2), *Hilara* ‘cheerful’, *Magna* ‘great’, *Vera* ‘truthful’, *Verecunda* ‘modest’. Even *Vet(u)la*, a diminutive of *vetus* ‘old’, may be included in this category, when interpreted as a name given in hope for long life.

The third category includes cognomina that refer to a physical feature or characteristic, or physical appearance in general. Names that can be included in this category are *C(a)erula*, *Flacca*, *Longa*, *Paulla* (6), *Paulina*, *Polla* (19), *Pollitta*, *Posilla* (10), *Puella*, *Rufa* (24), *Rufilla* (2). Some words ought to be said about some of these names. *Paulla* and *Polla* could technically be categorized as names referring to birth order (as opposed to *Maxima*), meaning in other words ‘younger sister’, and they may surely have been used in this function occasionally. However, the lexical meaning of *paullus* is closer to ‘little’ or ‘small’, and it seems that the name could be given to any new-born girl in a more general sense, ‘little one’.<sup>727</sup> *Posilla* is an interesting case in this respect. It was, like *Paulla/Polla*, widely distributed in Italy in this period (cf. 3.2.3). According to Kajanto and Schulze, it was a diminutive form of *pusa*, ‘little girl’.<sup>728</sup> It would, thus, be close to *Paulla/Polla* in both meaning and use. According to Leumann, however, the name was formed from *\*Pauxilla* (but “nicht für *Pusilla*”).<sup>729</sup> The exact etymology seems somewhat unclear – which it perhaps was for the Romans as well. This is reflected in Greek inscriptions in which the name is sometimes written with an omicron, sometimes with an omega – as in the case of Avia A. f. Posilla (in the catalogue above), whose cognomen appears in two bilingual dedications at Thessalonica in the Augustan period, both as Πόσυλλα and Πώσυλλα (see n. 600 above).<sup>730</sup> In any case, *Posilla* was clearly deemed a suitable name for a girl and, to me, it seems best to follow Kajanto’s interpretation – although in many cases *Posilla* was undoubtedly considered simply a name without necessarily any thought put into its meaning.

<sup>727</sup> This is pointed out by Kajanto 1972, 29f.

<sup>728</sup> Kajanto 1972, 30; Schulze 1966 [1904], 462 n. 4.

<sup>729</sup> Leumann 1977, 72.

<sup>730</sup> Other cases with omicron: *IAnazarbos* 163 (= SEG L 1360); *IG II<sup>2</sup> 11626* (= SEG XXVII 364). With omega: *IG XII,6 2:876*; *IKios* 66.

This of course applies to other names as well. One also has to remember that, in addition to lexical meaning, names often have connotations, which can arise, for example, through emotion and association. For instance, *Rufus*, *Paullus*, and *Longus* are names that are attested for the aristocracy and this may have influenced the choice of their female forms. *Rufa*, in particular, became a fashionable name in the late Republican and early Imperial period (as is evident from the 26 cases in this investigation alone), and in the course of the Imperial period the suffixed form *Rufina* came to be even more popular.<sup>731</sup> While the name may have been originally given to women with red hair, it is difficult to imagine that this applied to all of the name-bearers.

*Longa* ‘tall’, seems like an odd choice for a girl from a lexical point of view. The name, as has been seen above, is attested for Etrilia L. f. Longa from Praeneste (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 155 = Franchi De Bellis no. 53,3), one of the earliest cases of a female cognomen on record (cf. 3.1 above). It might be worth noting that some of the Praenesten Etrilii are known to have borne the cognomen *Raucus* (‘hoarse’), but this name, due to its pejorative nature, would have been unsuitable for a woman and therefore another name had to be chosen (cf. 2.6.2). Why exactly this choice came to be *Longa*, is difficult to establish, but the name perhaps had an upper-class ring to it – or perhaps the girl was exceptionally tall.

Suffixed forms (*Paullina*, *Pollitta*, *Rufilla*) are also problematic, as has been noted above. How much of the original meaning could they convey and to what extent were such forms considered simply names? The answer to this must have, of course, varied, just as it did in terms of non-suffixed forms, which could be inherited as such, losing thus (in most cases) the possible connection to their original meaning (cf. 4.7.1 below).

*Cerula*, attested only once (*InscrIt* X.4, 363), is problematic. According to Kajanto’s interpretation, the name ought to be read as *C(a)erula*, ‘dark blue’, ‘dark green’, and most likely relating to the name-bearer’s eye-colour.<sup>732</sup> This is a plausible solution. The noun *cerula*, meaning a piece of wax, cannot be taken as a serious candidate for a personal name. It could be, of course, that the name was, in fact, not Latin at all. Solin, for instance, suggests a Greek etymology.<sup>733</sup> This is not impossible, though it seems somewhat improbable that a freeborn woman from Tergeste would bear a Greek cognomen. A third, perhaps less likely, solution

<sup>731</sup> Kajanto (1965, 229) documents 197 women called *Rufa* and 403 called *Rufina*.

<sup>732</sup> Cf. Kajanto 1965, 227.

<sup>733</sup> The name would, thus, be related to forms such as Κηρύλος, Κηρυλάς, *Cerylus*. Solin 2012, 197f.

is that the name was derived from the goddess *Ceres* through haplology (*Ceres* > \**Cererula* > *Cerula*, although, to my knowledge, similar case with *ula* are not on record).

*Flacca*, ‘flap-eared’ is the only name that can be considered pejorative in terms of its lexical meaning. However, since *Flaccus* clearly had a certain noble ring to it, I would argue that the name was perhaps chosen with this in mind, without any special attention given to its original meaning (cf. 2.6.2).<sup>734</sup> That being said, the habit of taking over cognomina from famous people will have been more limited for women than it was for men, since notable female precedents were less available – while on the other hand a man could easily take into use a cognomen such as *Africanus*, *Capito*, *Cicero*, *Frugi*, and so forth, in imitation of the famous generals and statesmen of the Republic (see 4.6.2 below).

The fourth category consists of names that, at least in theory, indicate geographical or ethnic background. These include *Albana*, *Apula*, *Galla* (9), and *Sabina* (5). It should, however, be noted right away that *Galla* and *Sabina*, in particular, were generally considered elegant names and were in many cases used for this reason rather than for their actual meaning (see the discussion regarding geographical cognomina in 2.3.1.1 above).

The fifth group is perhaps the most debatable. In theory, it includes all cognomina whose etymology is obscure or which do not have an obvious connection between whatever lexical meaning they might have and their object of reference, that is to say the name-bearer. To put it simply, this category entails all the names that were surely or most likely simply regarded as names without any lexical associations. These names include, amongst others, cognomina originating from praenomina (*Marcella*) and from gentilicia (*Magul(l)a*, < *Magius* + *-ulla*) as well as personal names of Italic extraction which had consolidated themselves in the Latin onomastic repertoire (*Bassa*, *Salvia*). I would also be inclined to include *Cornuta* in this category, since it seems difficult to see how it could have been chosen for its literal meaning (‘horned’). Instead, it seems more likely that it was chosen simply because it had an upper-class ring to it.<sup>735</sup> The name was by no means popular. The case documented in the present survey (*CIL* X 2832) is the only known case from outside the senatorial *ordo*.<sup>736</sup> Comparable to the

<sup>734</sup> The name was used by certain Republican families as their hereditary cognomen (e.g. Fulvii, Valerii), but it was probably not chosen because of any family in particular.

<sup>735</sup> The cognomen *Cornutus* is already recorded for some early Imperial Sulpicii Camerini, e.g. the consuls of 500, 490, 461, 451, 402, and 398 BCE.

<sup>736</sup> For more details, see Appendix 3a *s.v.* ‘Cornuta’. The name is also attested for two senatorial

cognomina in this category are also the nomina used as cognomina (four such cases were found in the survey, the earliest cases dating possibly from the late Republican period; cf. 3.2.1.2).

The cognomen *Medula* is somewhat problematic in terms of categorization. It is attested for Clodia L. f. Medula Prima in Aquileia in the late first century BCE (Pais 1180 = *Aquil* III 3407). The name can hardly be connected to the ancient town of Medullia in Latium (from which the cognomen of the Republican Furii Medullini derived; cf. Livia Medullina in 4.6.1). One option could be that the name was *Medul(l)a*, thus corresponding to the Latin word meaning ‘marrow’. Why such a name would have been chosen is difficult to explain. The name is not attested for any other woman, but there is one example of *Medulla* as a male cognomen, viz. a senator from the time of Nerva.<sup>737</sup> It is furthermore interesting that the woman from Aquileia had an additional cognomen, *Prima*, perhaps used as a diacritic to distinguish her from a sister or a daughter.

I will only briefly discuss the clearly non-Latin names, since they are of lesser interest from the point of view of this study. It will suffice to briefly summarize that most of these names are Greek, but Etruscan, Celtic and Venetic names as well as indigenous names of Illyria and the Iberian Peninsula are attested.<sup>738</sup> Most of these cases are found in remote and peripheric areas and we seem to be mostly dealing with women of recent Roman status (with perhaps the exception of old Etruscan names such as *T(h)annia*). The use of a Greek name might also suggest that the person, despite herself being freeborn, was the daughter of a freedman or, perhaps in the context of the Magna Graecia, a Romanized Greek. One also needs to take into account that in some cases the filiation may have been misread (e.g. *[L]ucilia C. f. Pira* in *CIL* XIV 2259 should perhaps be read *[L]ucilia Glapira*, cf. n. 720 above).

The present survey proves that, already in an early period, there was a relatively large variety of different cognomina. However, only a few names were truly popular and dominate the statistics, particularly *Maxima*, *Polla*, *Rufa*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia*, which together make up over half of all the cases (and there were some other relatively popular names as well, such as *Posilla* and *Quinta*; for the distribution, see 3.2.3 below).

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women of the Imperial period, cf. Appendix 2a.

<sup>737</sup> T. Mustius Hostilius Fabricius Medulla Augurinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 759).

<sup>738</sup> Greek: *Agele*, *Celido*, *Chila*, *Dada* (Δάδα), *Helpis*, perhaps also *Pira* (or rather *[Gla]pira*); Etruscan: *T(h)annia*; Venetic: *Frema*; “Illyrian”: *Voltiomna*. Indigenous names from the Iberian Peninsula: *Aninna*, *Insghana*, *Nanna*, *Tonceta*.

In general, it is safe to say that the large majority of the names fall under what Kajanto labelled as descriptive names – which, according to him, were not genuine names in the same sense as most of men’s cognomina.<sup>739</sup> It is true that, especially in the early period, many names of the type *Secunda*, *Tertia* were used as simple diacritics, indicating birth order and so on. However, in some cases they were not – and even if they were, they still were cognomina. Kajanto’s idea seems to reflect a sentiment similar to that of Sir Alan Gardiner, according to whom, “the purest of proper names are wholly arbitrary and totally without significance”.<sup>740</sup> This, in my view, is not true. Firstly, names, even those without a clear lexical meaning, require some sort of ‘significance’.<sup>741</sup> Secondly, even when names do correspond to the words of the lexicon, they can nonetheless perfectly fulfil their function as proper names.

From a formal point of view, the clear majority of the cases, unsurprisingly, are of the simple, non-suffixed type. In other words, the use of different suffixes was still limited in this period, though some forms in *-ulla*, *-illa*, and *-ina* are already attested, especially towards the Augustan and Tiberian periods (*Tertulla*, *Magul(l)a*, *Barchilla*, *Bassilla*, *Quartilla*, *Rufilla*, *Paullina*) – but of these only *Tertulla* (6), *Rufilla* (2), and *Quartilla* (2) are attested more than once. It may also be argued that a name such as *Marcella* should not be considered a real suffixed form, since *Marcellus* had already been used by the Roman aristocracy for long – and even as a female praenomen – and it was in most cases simply taken over as such.

### 3.2.3 Distribution

Some words ought to be said about the distribution of the early cognomina. The following table will give a general picture of the geographical distribution of the names in Italy:

<sup>739</sup> Kajanto 1973, 404.

<sup>740</sup> Gardiner 1954 [1940], 19 n. 1.

<sup>741</sup> This has been convincingly argued by W. Nicolaisen (1995, 388), amongst others. He also points out that while words must have meaning, names cannot function without content, which sometimes leads to the fact that the lexical meaning, if transparent, or etymology, if ascertainable, may contradict the content of a name.

Table 9: Distribution of women's early cognomina in Italy

	Number of cases	Names per region <sup>742</sup>
Rome	34	21
Central Italy <sup>743</sup>	80	38
Southern Italy <sup>744</sup>	62	30
Northern Italy <sup>745</sup>	79	29
Outside Italy <sup>746</sup>	24	20

The total number of different names in Roman Italy is 67. Of these, 26 are attested more than once and 17 more than three times. Popular names with five or more attestations amount to 11: 1. *Secunda*, 2. *Paulla/Polla*, 3. *Rufa*, 4. *Tertia*, 5. *Max(s)imaluma*, 6. *Quarta*, 7. *Posilla*, 8. *Galla*, 9. *Quinta*, 10. *Tertulla*, 11. *Sabina*.

These figures, however, do not reflect the onomastic situation all over Italy. There are some significant differences between different regions, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 10: Distribution of early female cognomina with five or more attestations

	Northern Italy / Gallia Cisalpina	Central Italy, incl. the city of Rome	Southern Italy
1. <i>Secunda</i>	20	9	2
2. <i>Paulla/Polla</i> <sup>747</sup>	4	11	8
3. <i>Rufa</i>	2	7	14
4. <i>Tertia</i>	9	9–10	3
5. <i>Maxima</i>	7	5	5

<sup>742</sup> Note that the numbers here represent number of different names in each area and many of the names are found in several areas. Thus, the total number of different names (67) from all regions cannot be counted by adding the numbers per region together.

<sup>743</sup> Including Latium, Etruria, Umbria and Picenum.

<sup>744</sup> Including Apulia, Calabria, Bruttium, Lucanum, Campania and Samnium.

<sup>745</sup> Including Aemilia, Liguria, Transpadana, Venetia and Histria.

<sup>746</sup> The cases are from Hispania (12), Achaia & Macedonia (3), Gallia Narbonensis (3), Africa (2), Pannonia (2), Dalmatia, Noricum.

<sup>747</sup> *Polla* was by far the more popular variant (19 cases) in comparison to the more conservative *Paulla* (6 cases). In addition to Italy, *Polla* is attested during this period in Africa and Baetica.

6. Posilla <sup>748</sup>	3	7	0
7. Quarta	2	8	1
8. Galla	3	4	2
9. Quinta	5	1	2
10. Tertulla	1	3	2
11. Sabina	0	3	2

The most popular cognomen *Secunda*, for instance, is predominantly found in Northern Italy, with 20 cases, and also occasionally in Central Italy, with 9 cases (4 of which in Umbria), but it is practically non-existent in the south. The only two cases classified as coming from the ‘south’ are, in fact, from Furfo in Samnium, which belongs to the northernmost part of Samnium. *Rufa*, on the other hand, which appears among the top three cognomina, is conspicuously absent in Northern Italy: only two cases are known from the region. The opposite is true for Southern Italy, where the cognomen is attested 14 times. *Rufa* is also fairly well attested in the central parts of the peninsula, with 7 attestations, none of which, however, is from the city of Rome (though this might be due to accident of survival). This is interesting, given the popularity of *Rufus* in Northern Italy in general.<sup>749</sup> In later times, *Rufa* seems to be attested in the region at least 23 times (in *CIL* V, that is).

Generally speaking, numeral names seem to have been popular in the north – which is not at all surprising, given the fact that such names had been used there for long as praenomina, not only in women’s but also in men’s nomenclature.<sup>750</sup> *Secunda* is in a league of its own, but *Tertia*, for instance, is also attested 9 times in the north (out of 20), and *Quinta* five times (out of 8). *Quarta*, however, is attested only twice in the north and is primarily found in Central Italy (mostly in Rome and Etruria, both with 3 cases).

There is some geographical discrepancy in other names as well. *Posilla*, for instance, is not found in the southern material, but it is attested in all of the central and northern parts of Italy, including the city of Rome. *Paulla/Polla* and *Maxima*, on the other hand, seem to more evenly distributed around Italy, although the former has a significant concentration in Campania (with 6 cases).

<sup>748</sup> Also one case outside Italy, in Macedonia.

<sup>749</sup> A quick search in the *EDCS* yields some 130 cases of *Rufus*, attested in *CIL* V.

<sup>750</sup> Salomies 1987, 111ff.



Note also that the monophthong variant *Polla* was by far the more popular form (19 cases) than the more conservative *Paulla* (6 cases). *Tertia* is also fairly evenly distributed, with attestations ranging from the north to the south, but it was perhaps particularly typical in the north.

Table 11: Geographical distribution of women's early cognomina

Region	Names
Rome	Amoena (2), Auctilla, Dada, Decma, Fausta, Galla (2?), Magna, Maior, Max(s)ima/uma (2), Paulla, Polla, Posilla (3), Postuma, Prima (2), Primigenia, Puella, Quarta (3), Sabina, Secunda (2), Tertia (5), Tertulla
Latium	Hilara, Longa, Maior, Maxuma (2), Minor, Pira?, Paulla, Pol(l)a (3), Posilla, Quarta, Rufa (3), Sabina, Saturnina, Secunda, Tertia (2), Tertulla
Campania	Agele, Barchilla, Cornuta, Galla, Libera, Maior, Maxima (4), Paula, Polla (5), Prima, Rufa (4), Sabina, Tertulla
Apulia et Calabria	Chila, Helpis, Ianuaria, Maxuma, Polla (2), Quartilla, Recepta, Rufa (3), Tertia (2), Tertulla
Bruttium et Lucania	Bassa, Firma, Galla, Quinta (2), Rufa (2), Tertia
Samnium	Magul(l)a, Neria, Quarta, Rufa (5), Sabi[na], Scina, Vera
Picenum	Flacca, Paulla, Suetia, Tertia, Tert[---]
Umbria	Apula, Fausta, Galla (2), Gava, Masura, Max(s)ima (2), Mimosia, Minor, Paullina, Polla (2), Posilla, Procula, Quarta, Quartilla, Rufa (3), Sabina, Salvia (2), Saturnin(a), Secunda (4)
Etruria	Albana, Bassa, Celido, Firma, Paula, Polla, Pollitta, Posilla, Quarta (3), Quinta, Rufa, Rufilla, Secunda, Te[rtia?], Tertulla, Thannia
Aemilia	[Bas?]silla, Polla (2), Posilla, Tertia, Tertulla, Verecunda
Liguria	Posilla, Quinta, Secund(a)
Venetia et Histria	Cerula, Fausta, Festa, Firma, Frema, Galla (3), Marcella, Maxima (7), Medula, Paulla, Posilla, Prisca, Procula, Quarta (2), Quinta (4), Rufa (2), Secunda (17), Tannia, Tertia (7), Voltiomna
Transpadana	Maca, Pol(l)a, Prisca, Secunda, Tertia
Outside Italy	Polla (2), Rufa, Rufilla, Posilla

We can see, for instance, that the distribution of *Secunda* is uneven in N. Italy: almost all of the attestations come from the eastern parts, from Venetia and Histria to be more precise, while the name is only sporadically found elsewhere. This, in fact, is not surprising, given the popularity of numeral names in the region already as praenomina and individual names. However, in terms of men's nomenclature, this seems to have been the case particularly in the western parts

of Gallia Cisalpina, while evidence concerning women's numeral praenomina is much better attested precisely in Venetia and Histria.<sup>751</sup> This is also true for the early cognomina of the region, most of which are found in Venetia and Histria (53 cases out of 69). *Secunda*, from a sociological point of view, did not have a particularly elevated status. While it is frequently attested for women of the lower classes, it is only rarely attested for women of the highest strata (cf. 2.6.1).

There are, in general, some significant differences when compared to the cognomina used by men. For example, while *Secundus* was undeniably one of the popular male cognomina, numeral names only form about 4% of all the male cognomina in the early period.<sup>752</sup> O. Salomies has compiled a list of first-generation (male) cognomen-bearers.<sup>753</sup> The list, consisting of 122 different names attested for 247 individuals, shows that the variety of men's cognomina was already larger at this point than that of women.

The popularity of *Secundus/a* may have to do partly with the fact that in families with more than one child, it was probably considered a natural choice for the second-born, whereas the first-born was more likely to either receive a name of more original flavour or not receive a cognomen at all.<sup>754</sup>

As for the cognomina attested in provincial areas, the names seem to correspond roughly to those in Italy, although, perhaps unsurprisingly, there is a larger proportion of indigenous names, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula (which are of lesser interest from our point of view; cf. n. 738 above).

In terms of social distribution, the material is rather heterogeneous. Putting aside those cases in which we do not have any significant clues of the person's background, the following generalization can be made: many of the cases clearly represent well-off families, who had some influence and prestige on the local and municipal level – although this may also have to do with the fact that prominent people are more likely to be recorded in inscriptions than people with fewer economic and social resources. Many cases, furthermore, seem to represent descendants of freedmen, in whose families the use of a cognomen could be expected for other reasons (and one must remember that the descendants of

<sup>751</sup> For men's numeral praenomina in the region, see Salomies 1987, 115ff. For women's numeral praenomina, see Kajava 1994, 90ff.

<sup>752</sup> Salomies 2009, 524; cf. also Salomies 2008.

<sup>753</sup> Cf. Salomies 2008.

<sup>754</sup> Salomies 2009, 525 illustrates this well with some examples of families with more than one son, in which the second one carries the name *Secundus*. See also the discussion regarding numeral cognomina in 2.3.1.3 above.

*liberti* could and often did rise to local prominence). With the exception of the latter group and those families who had hereditary cognomina, it is likely that in many of the cases we are dealing with first-generation cognomen-bearers and sometimes, when the parents are also attested, this becomes explicit. But in many families in which the father did not yet have a cognomen the mother may have had one (see the discussion in 3.1 above).

### 3.3 Senatorial women's early use of cognomina

The practice of using hereditary cognomina was a well-established tradition among the Roman aristocracy of the Republican period (see 1.2.2). The inheritance of such cognomina did not, however, automatically apply to women. It seems that if and when a woman of a noble house in this period was to receive a cognomen, the choice of the name would typically follow the (male) family practice, assuming that there was a hereditary cognomen. In practice, this meant that the daughter's cognomen would either be identical to the hereditary cognomen of the family or derived from it with a suffix. The earliest cases of senatorial women's cognomina were precisely of this type (see below).

One may now ask, how the cognomen was chosen in families that did not have a similar tradition of using a hereditary cognomen or whose hereditary cognomen was for one reason or another unsuitable for women (I will return to these reasons later). In such cases – that is, if the family wanted to bestow a cognomen on their daughter(s) in the first place – the name, obviously, had to be taken from somewhere else. It follows that among the late Republican and early Imperial nobility there were two different types of cognomina: On the one hand, cognomina that were identical to or derived from the hereditary family cognomen and, on the other hand, cognomina that clearly had a more individualizing function – although a female form of the hereditary cognomen could naturally also function as an individualizing name, assuming that other daughters in the same family did not bear the same name.<sup>755</sup>

As for the sources, epigraphic evidence concerning upper-class women of the Republican period is rather scarce. Many of the cases come from the Greek East, where the tradition of honouring important persons in public had been

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<sup>755</sup> This distinction is already noted by Schulze (1966 [1904], 323): "(...) dass Individualcognomina und Familiencognomina ihrem Werthe nach ganz verschiedene Dinge sind und deshalb auch aus ganz verschiedenen Wurzeln entstanden sein mögen."

long established before such practice was even heard of in the Latin West.<sup>756</sup> The daughters, wives, and mothers of Roman officials were no exception.<sup>757</sup> This also means that there is a difference in the type of inscriptions between the East and the West. While the evidence from the East consists of honorific inscriptions, often carved in statue pedestals, the Latin cases from the West are either funerary inscriptions or indirect attestations (e.g. epitaphs of freedmen).

Since the onomastic practices of the old nobility who had long traditions of using hereditary cognomina differed in some significant ways from those of less distinguished families – who had only recently risen in rank and who may not have used cognomina before – it is best to discuss these two groups separately.

### 3.3.1 Old nobility

I will now discuss the use of female cognomina among the *nobiles* during the Republic and the early Augustan period.<sup>758</sup> The cases are presented in a rough chronological order, starting from the earliest. The evidence consists of both literary and epigraphic sources.

#### Caecilii: *Metella*

According to Cicero, the daughters of Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (*cos.* 143 BCE) and Q. Caecilius Metellus Calvus (*cos.* 142 BCE) bore the cognomen *Metella*. He refers to them collectively as *Metellae*, whose offspring were *Luculli*, *Servilii*, *Scipiones*, *Metellarum filii*, ‘Luculli, Servilii, and Scipiones, sons of Metellae’ (Cic. *p. red. in sen.* 37).<sup>759</sup> If Cicero’s testimony is to be believed, some

<sup>756</sup> For some generalities concerning honorific inscriptions, see e.g. Beltrán Lloris 2014. For honorific inscriptions set up for senators in the Greek East, see Tanner 2000; Salomies 2001.

<sup>757</sup> In this period Roman women were rarely honoured for their own actions, but instead for those of their fathers and husbands, and in some cases their sons. Much of the evidence concerning Roman upper-class women who were honoured in the Greek East during the late Republican and Augustan periods is conveniently collected by M. Kajava. His catalogue includes 37 women, nine of whom are attested with a cognomen (cf. Kajava 1990, esp. 110–118).

<sup>758</sup> Families of the old Republican nobility are conveniently listed by Mommsen 1864, 112ff. Another useful work that I have consulted is Münzer 1920.

<sup>759</sup> There were in total four daughters: Macedonicus had three and his brother Calvus one. One of the three daughters of Macedonicus was the wife of C. Servilius Vatia and mother of Servilius Vatia Isauricus (*cos.* 79 BCE). Her existence and family relations come also clear from another Ciceronian passage (Cic. *Verr.* 2,3,211), although she is not mentioned in it by name. The second daughter of Macedonicus was married to Scipio Nasica (*cos.* 111 BCE). The fact that Macedonicus

daughters of the senatorial Caecilii bore the cognomen *Metella* already around the mid-second century BCE. It could of course be that Cicero used the collective name *Metellae* in a more general sense ('daughters of Metelli') rather than as an actual cognomen – but from not much later we also have epigraphic evidence of the cognomen *Metella*.

The earliest is Caecilia Metella, wife of the dictator Sulla and daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus (*cos.* 119 BCE). She was honoured by the people of Oropos as 'Metella Caecilia, wife of Lucius Sulla' (*IG VII 372 = IOropos 443*).<sup>760</sup> Plutarch also mentions the same Metella in three passages, once as 'Caecilia, daughter of Metellus' (Plut. *Sul.* 6,10), and twice by her cognomen (Plut. *Pom.* 9,2; *Cat. Mi.* 3,1).

There is also another epigraphically attested Caecilia Metella – in fact, one of the most instructive examples from the Latin West. The inscription (*CIL VI 1274 = ILS 881*), situated on the side of her enormous funerary monument facing the Via Appia, records her full nomenclature as *Caecilia Q. Cretici f. Metella Crassi (uxor)*. There has been a good amount of scholarly debate about the date of the monument and Metella's exact identity. The chronological frame suggested by various scholars ranges from 62 BCE to 14 CE,<sup>761</sup> but I am willing to accept the date suggested by H. Gerding, who has convincingly argued that the tomb was built between 30 and 20 BCE.<sup>762</sup> In doing so, it is necessary to identify – in accordance with the general consensus – Metella's husband as M. Licinius Crassus, the eldest son of the triumvir, and her father as Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, the conqueror of Crete, who celebrated his triumph in 62 BCE.<sup>763</sup> Based on all this, Metella's birth may plausibly be dated to the 80s BCE. All in all,

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had a third daughter is, again, revealed by Cicero (*fin.* 5,82): *Q. Metellus, qui tris filios consules vidit [...] quantum autem praetorem, eosque salvos reliquit et tris filias nuptas* (whence the citation of Val. Max. 7,1,1). Finally, the daughter of Metellus Calvus can be identified as the mother of L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.* 74 BCE). Plutarch refers to her as Κεκιλία, i.e. by her nomen only (Plut. *Luc.* 1,1), which, of course, should not be taken as a proof that she was not called *Metella* as well. She is also the sister of Metellus, to whom Cicero refers as the wife of L. Lucullus but gives her no name (Cic. *Verr.* 4,147).

<sup>760</sup> The fact that her nomen and cognomen are in reverse order should not cause any alarm, since this seems to happen quite often in Greek inscriptions.

<sup>761</sup> A comprehensive table is provided by Gerding 2002, 45.

<sup>762</sup> His argument is based, inter alia, on a large set of technical and prosopographical evidence. For his conclusions, Gerding 2002, 71f.

<sup>763</sup> Some of his descendants bore the triumphal cognomen as well, but it seems likely that Metella's father was indeed the conqueror of Crete. For a detailed discussion, see Gerding 2002, 68ff.

the monument provides a rare and remarkable testimony of how a noble woman of the late Republic could be called by her full nomenclature. It might also be worth noting that our Metella is known from the funerary inscription of one of her freedmen, in which her cognomen, however, is omitted.<sup>764</sup>

#### Aurelii: *Orestilla*

The Tiberian author Valerius Maximus reports to us an early case of an Aurelia bearing a cognomen. In a brief account he mentions M. Plautius (i.e. M. Plautius Hypsaesus, who served as *praetor* before 100 BCE) and his wife Orestilla (Val. Max. 4,6,3). *Orestilla* is a female derivative of *Orestes*, the hereditary cognomen of one branch of the Aurelii, to whom Orestilla will have belonged (her father was probably L. Aurelius Orestes, *cos.* 126 BCE).<sup>765</sup>

Furthermore, there is another, more famous, Aurelia Orestilla, who was born some decades after the wife of M. Plautius. She was the wife of L. Sergius Catilina (the conspirator) and most probably daughter of L. Aurelius Orestes (*cos.* 71 BCE).<sup>766</sup> She is mentioned by her full name by Sallust (*Cat.* 15,2) and by her cognomen by Cicero (*fam.* 8,7,2). There is no reason to doubt the onomastic reliability of these two accounts. It ought to be noted as well that these two Orestillae are the earliest known instances of a female cognomen coined with the diminutive suffix *-illa* (or any other suffix for that matter) – although it is also clear that a non-suffixed form of *Orestes* was not an option for a woman.

#### Aemilii: *Lepida*

Plutarch (*Cat. mi.* 7,1) tells us that the younger Cato had sought to marry a woman called Lepida who, however, became the wife of Q. Metellus Scipio (*cos.* 52 BCE) instead. She seems to have been the daughter of Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus (*cos.* 77 BCE) and, thus, belonged to the old patrician branch of the Aemilii who used *Lepidus* as their hereditary cognomen.

*Lepida* ('sweet' 'charming' 'elegant') was a suitable cognomen for an upper-class woman, not least in terms of meaning. The same cannot be said of the hereditary cognomen of the Aemilii Scauri, another contemporary branch of the

<sup>764</sup> CIL VI 37380: *Q(uintus) Caecilius Caeciliae Crassi l(ibertus) Hilarus medicus.*

<sup>765</sup> The Aurelii had other prominent branches as well, such as the Cottae, but their daughters are not known to have had cognomina, even during the Empire (perhaps because a feminine form of *Cotta* would have been awkward to form). For example, the daughter of M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messallinus (*cos.* 20 CE) had a daughter who seems to have been simply called *Aurelia* (PFOS 31). A Vestal virgin, she was publicly honoured at Athens (IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 3534)

<sup>766</sup> See Syme 1975, 85 n. 8; Evans 1987.

*gens Aemilia*. *Scaurus* was a pejorative name, referring to a physical defect of the feet, which perhaps explains why no daughter of this family is attested with the cognomen (cf. 2.6.2).<sup>767</sup> The name *Lepida*, instead, appears later during the early Empire almost systematically on all known daughters of the Lepidi.<sup>768</sup> It was also transmitted to other *gentes* through marriages.<sup>769</sup>

#### Marcii: *Censorina*

A fragmentary inscription from Patrae records the local *demos* honouring ‘Censorina, daughter of Censorinus and wife of Atratinus’ (*SEG* XXX 433).<sup>770</sup> There should be no doubt that she was a Marcia, belonging to the family of the Marcii Censorini. Her husband, in turn, has been identified as L. Sempronius Atratinus (*cos. suff.* 34 BCE) who served as a propraetorian legate in Achaëa in 39/37 BCE and as a fleet commander of Marcus Antonius in the Aegean.<sup>771</sup> The inscription attests him as the patron of Patrae, which in the late thirties BCE served

<sup>767</sup> In fact, only one daughter is known, i.e. Aemilia M. f., daughter of the *princeps senatus* M. Aemilius Scaurus (*cos.* 115 BCE) and Caecilia Metella (who was married later to Sulla).

<sup>768</sup> Cf. *PFOS* 28–32. In addition to these cases there is one more Aemilia Lepida on record. The *patrona* of a freedwoman is styled as *Lepida Servili* in an inscription found in the *monumentum Marcellae* (thus datable to the early first century AD; the *columbarium* was dedicated in 10 CE; cf. Syme 1986, 147). Who her husband was, is not known. It is, however, likely that he was a close relative, perhaps son, of Servilius Isauricus, consul of 48 and 41 BCE (Syme 1986, 147). In any case, it is clear that the otherwise unattested Aemilia Lepida was in some way related to Marcella the Younger. It has therefore been suggested that, having divorced M. Valerius Appianus Barbatus (*cos.* 12 BCE), Marcella had married Paullus the Censor and, thus, become a close relative with the Aemilii Lepidi. For different hypotheses regarding Marcella’s marriages and family relations, see Fusco & Gregori 1996.

<sup>769</sup> Cf. Domitia Lepida and Iunia Lepida (Ch. IV); also Calpurnia Lepida (*PFOS* 179) and Valeria Lepida (*PFOS* 771), though their connection to the patrician Aemilii, if there ever was one, is unclear.

<sup>770</sup> Note, however, that, from an onomastic point of view, it would be somewhat peculiar for a woman of this early period to be named in an inscription by her cognomen alone – or in such case, one would at least expect the gentilicium to be mentioned as part of the filiation. Therefore the reading offered by L. Moretti and reproduced in *SEG*, is not entirely satisfying, viz.: ἡ πόλι[ς] / [Κην]σωρεῖναν [Κηνω]/[ρεῖν]ου θυγάτε[ρα Σεμπρω]/[νίου δ]ε Ἄτρατε[ίνου γυνάικα]/[πάτ]ρωνος [καὶ εὐεργέτου] / θε[οῖς]. M. Kajava (1990, 85ff.) offers alternative solutions, including the gentilicium, which seem more apposite to me: 1) ἡ πόλι[ς] / [Μαρκίαν Κην]σωρεῖναν, [Μαρκίου Κην]σωρεῖ[ν]ου θυγάτε[ρα, γυνάικα] / [δ]ε Ἄτρατε[ίνου], and 2) ἡ πόλι[ς Μαρκίαν] / [Κην]σωρεῖναν, [Μαρκίου Κην]σωρεῖ[ν]ου θυγάτε[ρα, γυνάικα] / [δ]ε Ἄτρατε[ίνου].

<sup>771</sup> Kajava 1990, 86.

as the Antonian headquarters in the region.<sup>772</sup> Due to the Antonian connection, a possible identification for Censorina's father is L. Marcius Censorinus (*cos.* 39 BCE) who governed Achaëa and Macedonia under Antony.<sup>773</sup> The cognomen goes back to the first bearer C. Marcius Rutilus Censorinus, 'Ex-Censor' – thus named after having twice served as censor in the late fourth century BCE. We have no information of other senatorial Marciae using a cognomen during the Republic.

Sempronii: *Atratina*

There is a closely related case from Athens. A dedication was set up on the Acropolis by 'Sempronia Atratina, daughter of L. Sempronius Atratinus and wife of Paul[us --]' (*IG II/III*<sup>2</sup> 5179 = *SEG XIII* 130).<sup>774</sup> It seems that she was the daughter of L. Sempronius Atratinus (*cos. suff.* 34 BCE), whereupon it follows that her mother must have been the above-mentioned (Marcia) Censorina. The monument was set up either during her husband's proconsulate of Macedonia (35 BCE?) or while her father served there as *legatus pro praetore* (39-36 BCE).<sup>775</sup> Her nomenclature may also be deduced from the epitaphs of her freedmen in Rome (that is, if we are dealing with the same woman: *CIL VI* 6834, *L. Sempronius Atratinae l. Faustus*; *CIL VI* 6832, *Sempronia Peloris Atratinae opstetrix* [sic]).

It has also been argued that she was not the daughter but the sister of the suffect consul of 34 BCE. This would also make her the sister of Sempronia L. f., who is known from *IG II/III*<sup>2</sup> 4230-31, in which case only one of the two sisters would have borne a cognomen. There are some similar examples from the Julio-Claudian period, e.g., the sisters Domitia (*PFOS* 319) and Domitia Lepida (*PFOS* 326, aunt of Nero). The idea should, thus, not be refuted, although it could also be, as Kajava argues, that the two Semproniae belonged to two subsequent generations.<sup>776</sup>

Fabii: *Paullina* (also *Numantina*, *Eburna*)

Around the same period, viz. the 30s BCE, the people of Samos commemorated

<sup>772</sup> Dio 50,9,3; cf. also Kajava 1990, 86.

<sup>773</sup> Suggested by Kajava 1990, 86. For L. Censorinus as proconsul, see *MRR II*, 362.

<sup>774</sup> The husband was with all probability Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, who was consul together with Atratinus in 34 BCE. For the erroneous identification and restoration of Atratina's name, cf. Kajava 1990, 73 n. 69.

<sup>775</sup> For the father's career, cf. *MRR II*, 615.

<sup>776</sup> Cf. Kajava 1990, 72f.



‘Paullina, daughter of Fabius Maximus and wife of Marcus Titius, son of Lucius’ (*IG IV 1716 = SEG I 383*). She belonged to the old patrician house of the Fabii Maximi, her father being Q. Fabius Maximus who died during his consular year 45 BCE.<sup>777</sup> Her husband M. Titius L. f., in turn, governed the province of Asia around 34 BCE and later commanded the Antonian fleet in the Aegean.<sup>778</sup>

It is noteworthy that she was not called *Maxima*. In other words, she did not, unlike most other patrician women who had a cognomen in this period, bear a female form of the hereditary cognomen of the agnatic line, but a name of more personal nature. The same, in fact, also applies to other daughters of the Fabii Maximi of the early Imperial period, who are known by such cognomina as *Numantina* and *Eburna*, but not by *Maxima* (see 4.6.1 below). This requires some explanation, given the fact that *Maxima* had already been in use as a female praenomen and, as we have seen, it was one of the most widely used female cognomina in general.<sup>779</sup> In fact, this may have been, as Kajava suggests, one reason for why it was avoided in this patrician family: its use would have too much resembled the onomastic habits of the *plebs*.<sup>780</sup>

Why *Paullina* then? It is important to note that (Fabia) Paullina had two brothers who bore rather exceptional praenomina: Paullus Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 11 BCE) and Africanus Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 10 BCE). These praenomina, as Salomies points out, were chosen to underline the family’s historical ties with two powerful families of the Republic: the Aemilii Paulli and the Cornelii Scipiones (for more details, see 4.6.1 below).<sup>781</sup> Paullina’s cognomen, as observed by Kajava, was obviously chosen for a similar reason, namely to establish a connection to the Aemilii Paulli.<sup>782</sup> Furthermore, the suffixed form *Paullina* was probably deemed a more elegant solution than a non-suffixed *Paulla* (cf. the discussion in 2.6.1). We have seen above that ‘simple’ names of the type *Paulla/Polla* were popular among the lower classes, and while such names were also used by some senatorial women, this mostly applied to women coming from new and less distinguished senatorial families (see the discussion below in 3.3.2).

<sup>777</sup> Kajava 1990, 91.

<sup>778</sup> He, however, eventually deserted Antony and joined forces with Octavian. For a prosopographical entry, see *RE s.v.* ‘Titius’ nr 18; cf. also Kajava 1990, 91.

<sup>779</sup> See e.g. Table 1 in Ch. II above; for the early attestations as a cognomen among the *plebs*, see Ch. 3.2. For *Maxima* as a praenomen (and also as cognomen), see Kajava 1994, 46ff.; 125ff.

<sup>780</sup> Kajava 1994, 126.

<sup>781</sup> Salomies 1987, 322f.

<sup>782</sup> Kajava 1994, 126.

Livii: *Drusilla*, *Ocellina*

The most important branch of the Livii in the late Republican period bore the cognomen *Drusus*. At least one woman of the family seems to have borne a cognomen in this period, i.e. Livia Drusilla, wife of Octavian/Augustus and daughter of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus (*pr.* 50 BCE).<sup>783</sup> As expected, she is known from numerous sources, both literary and epigraphic, mostly by her gentilicium alone (or later as *Iulia Augusta*), but the cognomen *Drusilla* – a diminutive form of the hereditary cognomen *Drusus* – is also attested for her, if only rarely.<sup>784</sup> It is in fact quite noteworthy that the cognomen is so rarely attested, given the enormous source material concerning Livia. There seems to be only one (indirect) epigraphic attestation from the Latin West, marking the burial of *Leivia Drusillae l. Galatea* (*CIL* VI 13179; unless we assume that the *patrona* was an earlier Livia).<sup>785</sup>

It is, in fact, generally believed that Livia more or less abandoned the use of her cognomen after her marriage to Octavian Caesar – hence the usual dating of the inscription *ante* 38 BCE.<sup>786</sup> But she did not clearly abandon the name completely. In fact, in the Greek East occasional honorific inscriptions attest the cognomen during the time when she was married to Augustus, which is clear from the following four cases:<sup>787</sup>

*SEG* XXIV 212 = *Eleusis* 296 (Eleusis, 30–27 BCE): ὁ δ[ῆμ]ος / Λιβίαν Δρούσιλλαν / [Αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος / γυναῖκα.

*IG* XII,6,1, 390 = *Samos* 274 (Samos, 30–27 BCE): [ὁ δῆμος Δ]ρούσιλ[λ]αν, γυναῖκα τοῦ / [αὐτοκράτο]ρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Καίσαρος (...)

*IG* XII,6,1, 391 = *Samos* 275 (Samos, 27 BCE–14 CE): ὁ δῆμος / Δρούσιλλαν αὐ[τοκράτο]ρος Καίσαρος [θεοῦ υἱοῦ] / Σεβαστοῦ γυ[ναῖκα (...)]

*IG* XII,8, 381 = *IGR* I, 835 (Thasos, 19–12 BCE): (...) ὁ δῆμος Λειβίαν Δρούσιλλαν τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος γυναῖκαν (...)<sup>788</sup>

<sup>783</sup> Her father was a patrician Claudius Pulcher by birth but was adopted in early childhood by M. Livius Drusus (tribune in 91 BCE). Livia herself was born in 59/58 BCE.

<sup>784</sup> In literature the only accounts seem to be *Plin. nat.* 15,100; *Suet. Aug.* 62,2; *Tib.* 4,3; and *Dio* 48,15,3. For a comprehensive list of sources, consult *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 301; for the Greek East in particular, see Hahn 1994, 34–105.

<sup>785</sup> The name *Drusilla* is also possibly attested in some coins from Romula, Spain (Cohen I<sup>2</sup> no. 169) – but for one reason or another these are not included in *RPCI*.

<sup>786</sup> Take, for instance, the editor of *CIL* VI 13179; L. Ollendorf in *RE* XIII.1, 900; Kienast 2017, 60; Hahn 1994, 34ff.

<sup>787</sup> Cf. also Hahn 1994 and my own comments in Nuorluoto 2019, 5 n. 26.

<sup>788</sup> The inscription also mentions *Iulia*, the daughter of Augustus, as well as her and M. Agrippa's daughter *Iulia*.

Furthermore, Marcus Antonius – according to the account of Suetonius – called her *Drusilla* in a scornful letter to Octavian (Suet. *Aug.* 69,2): *Tu deinde solam Drusillam inis?* (‘What about you then – do you only have sex with Drusilla?’).<sup>789</sup> This seems to imply that the cognomen was still in use, at least in informal communication.

A less distinguished branch of the Livii bore the cognomen *Ocella*. There is one woman of the family who is relevant for the discussion at hand. From an account of Suetonius, we know Livia Ocellina who was married to C. Sulpicius Galba, father of the future emperor Galba (Suet. *Galba* 3,4; 4,1). As for her cognomen, a non-suffixed female form of *Ocella* was naturally out of question, and we have already seen above that the primary strategy for coining a female cognomen from a masculine name with the ending *-a* was with the suffix *-ina* (2.4.3.2).

#### Quinctii: *Crispina*

The people of Thespieae commemorated ‘Crispina, wife of M. Iunius Silanus’ with a statue in the early Augustan period (*IG VII* 1851 = *IThesp* 400; the husband was the consul of 25 BCE). They also honoured Silanus’s mother Sempronia (*IG VII* 1851), who clearly did not have a cognomen. Crispina’s nomen is not explicit but, according to the general hypothesis, she belonged to the patrician Quinctii who used *Crispinus* as their hereditary cognomen.<sup>790</sup> This, as we have seen, would be in accordance with the general tendency of the period, namely families of the old nobility giving their daughters a female form of the family cognomen.

#### Claudii: *Marcella, Pulchra*

We know from multiple sources that the two daughters of C. Claudius Marcellus (from the noble plebeian branch of the Claudii) and Octavia, sister of Augustus, bore the cognomen *Marcella*.<sup>791</sup> They were both born towards the end of the Republic, the elder sister in c. 43 BCE and the younger one in 39 BCE.<sup>792</sup>

<sup>789</sup> After which he lists several women with whom Octavian had allegedly had intercourse by the time he read the letter. Antony wrote the letter in defence of his own conduct with Cleopatra.

<sup>790</sup> Cf. T. Quinctius Capitolinus Crispinus (*cos.* 354, II 351 BCE); Q. Quinctius Crispinus (*cos.* 208 BCE); L. Quinctius Crispinus (*pr.* 186 BCE); T. Quinctius Crispinus (*q.* before 69 BCE).

<sup>791</sup> For the elder Marcella, see *PFOS* 243; the younger Marcella is for some reason not included in Raepsaet-Charlier’s catalogue. For more details on them, see e.g. Syme 1986, 141ff.; also Fusco & Gregori, 1996, 229ff.

<sup>792</sup> Syme 1986, 143.

They seem to be the first Claudiae on record to bear a cognomen, but shortly after we have evidence of Claudia Pulchra (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1116), who was possibly the daughter of the younger Marcella and of M. Valerius Messalla Appianus, who was born a Claudius Pulcher (from the patrician branch of the *gens*).<sup>793</sup> Note that since the two Marcellae bore the same cognomen, we can hardly speak of an individualizing cognomen. Instead, the practice is more comparable to the Republican elite practice of using hereditary cognomina.

Valerii: *Messalina*

It seems that the daughter of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (*cos.* 31 BCE), who will have been born towards the end of the Republic, may have had the cognomen *Messalina*, as suggested by Raepsaet-Charlier (cf. *PFOS* 773). The entry in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 240 does not give any extant sources for her cognomen but restores the name as (*Valeria Messalina*). However, it seems likely that she is the same Messalina who is known as the *domina* of two slaves in *CIL* VI 6300 = *ILS* 7434 and *CIL* VI 6335. These *tituli* were found at the monument of the Statilii in Rome, and the daughter of Corvinus was married to a Statilius Taurus.<sup>794</sup> Hence, it is reasonable to assume that we are dealing with the same woman. Her name should, thus, be restored as (*Valeria*) *Messalina* (as it is in *PFOS* 773). To my knowledge, there are no other Valeriae with a cognomen on record from the Republican period (but there is one Valeria Messalina from the early Imperial period, i.e. the wife of the emperor Claudius).<sup>795</sup>

Plautii: *Hypsaea* (?)

In addition to the accounts above, there is a case of more uncertain nature.

<sup>793</sup> She was *sobrina Agrippinae*, viz. the wife of Germanicus (*Tac. ann.* 4,52; cf. also *ibid.* 4,66; 4,52). For the genealogy, see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1116. If Syme is correct, she will have been born before 12 BCE, the year of her father's death, but probably even earlier. Claudia's nomen suggests that she was born already before her father's adoption took place. Syme 1986, 149; cf. also Fusco & Gregori 1996, 230. Claudia Pulchra is also found in the *DPRR* (CLAU4331), although it seems to me that she cannot have been born before the reign of Augustus. There is also one earlier case of a female praenomen in the *gens*: Quinta Claudia, daughter of Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 249 BCE). However, we do not know of any senatorial Claudiae with a cognomen from the Republic, besides these two Marcellae.

<sup>794</sup> Cf. the stemma in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S, 322.

<sup>795</sup> The individualizing name of Polla Valeria, daughter of L. Valerius Flaccus (*pr.* 63 BCE), must be treated as a praenomen rather than a cognomen. Cf. Kajava 1994, 180. The name is presented as a cognomen in the *DPRR* (VALE4913), but this seems to be a consistent error in the database, since many other women's praenomina are also presented as if they were cognomina (compare e.g. Tertia Aemilia and Quinta Claudia, who appear in the database as Aemilia Tertia and Claudia Quinta).

Horace, in one of his Satires, mentions a woman called *Hypsaea* (Hor. *sat.* 1,2,91). No gentilicium is attributed to her, except by Porphyrio (*ad. loc.*), who in his commentary calls her *Plotia Hypsaea* (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 523). A branch of senatorial Plautii in fact used the cognomen *Hypsaeus* during that time (cf. Aurelia Orestilla's husband M. Plautius Hypsaeus above), and it may well be that the Hypsaea mentioned by Horace belonged to that house.<sup>796</sup>

### 3.3.2 Other senatorial women

It is now time to take a look at the cognomina used by women of more recent senatorial families. We are naturally not dealing with a homogeneous group of people. Some had established close ties with the old aristocracy and went on to rise to great prominence, while others remain practically unknown to us, save for sporadic glimpses. In the former group, moreover, cognomina had in some cases been used for several generations (in imitation of the nobility) before they found their way to women's nomenclature, whilst in some other cases the women under the discussion here seem to have represented the first generation of cognomen-bearers in their family.

I start by presenting the late Republican cases in which the family had already taken in use a cognomen that could potentially be passed on to a daughter. Perhaps one of the earliest is CAECILIA ATTICA, daughter of Cicero's friend T. Pomponius Atticus, who was born in 51 BCE. While Atticus himself was of equestrian rank, his daughter married M. Vipsanius Agrippa (probably in his first consular year, 37 BCE; cf. *Nep. Att.* 12,1–2). We know from multiple passages in Cicero's letters that she was called Caecilia Attica. In the majority of the cases, she is simply called by her cognomen (*Cic. Att. passim*), but also twice by her gentilicium (*Cic. Att.* 6,2,10; 6,4,3), and once by the diminutive form *Atticula* (*Cic. Att.* 6,5,4).<sup>797</sup> Her father had moved to Athens as a young man and subsequently assumed the individual cognomen *Atticus*, which obviously reflected his lengthy stay there, but presumably also his extensive Greek learning (*Cic. Cato* 1). The name was then passed on to his daughter.

<sup>796</sup> Licordari 1982, 47 seems to include her under the senatorial Plautii of Trebula Suffenas.

<sup>797</sup> The fact that her gentilicium was *Caecilia* and not *Pomponia* is due to the fact that she was born after her father had been adopted by his maternal uncle Q. Caecilius. In modern scholarship she is sometimes attributed the nomen *Pomponia* (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 769), despite the fact that it is never attested for her. There seems to be no reason to believe that she ever had the name.

Cicero also informs us that Atticus's friend Q. Gellius Canus had a daughter called Gellia Cana, but her exact status is unclear (she may have married Cicero's nephew Quintus).<sup>798</sup> Furthermore, it may be noted here that M. Vipsanius Agrippa had a sister who is attested by Pliny and Dio simply as *Polla* (Plin. *nat.* 3,17; Dio 55,8,4). It is, however, unclear whether the name was her cognomen or praenomen – although the boundary between these names was rather fluid in this period. It could well be that the name was first intended to be prefixed to the nomen, but later, as the use of cognomina grew in popularity, it was used as a genuine cognomen.<sup>799</sup>

MUNATIA PLANCINA, in turn, is known to us as a contemporary and friend of Livia, the Augusta. In literary sources she is usually called by her cognomen *Plancina*, and her full name is evident from the funerary inscription of a freedman, styled as *L. Munatius Plancinae l. Polyclitus* (*CIL* VI 22668).<sup>800</sup> From the aforementioned inscription we also learn that she was the daughter of a L. (Munatius), who must have also had the cognomen *Plancus*, since the name seems to have become hereditary in the family already some generations earlier.<sup>801</sup> It is also possible, as suggested by Kajava, that this name could be deduced from the cult of *Diana Planciana* on the Quirinal in Rome (*CIL* VI 39845).<sup>802</sup> *Plancus*, 'flat-foot', was a pejorative name and therefore the suffixed form *Plancina* was a more appropriate choice for a woman than the simple *Planca* would have been (cf. 2.6.2).<sup>803</sup>

The existence of another woman, who probably belonged to the senatorial elite, can be deduced from the nomenclature of a freedman, recorded at Rome as *P. Antistius Reginae l. Eros* (*NSA* 1923, 374 = Gregori 2001 no. 475). The *patrona*, obviously called ANTISTIA REGINA, is not known from elsewhere, but her name suggests that she belonged to the senatorial Antistii of the late Republic,

<sup>798</sup> Cic. *Att.* 13,41; cf. Shackleton Bailey 1995, 30; *RE s.v.* 'Gellius' no. 15.

<sup>799</sup> For the latest prosopographical entry, see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 684, in which her name is restored as (*Vipsania*) *Polla*.

<sup>800</sup> And her nomen is also attested by Dio 58,22,5. For a list of sources, cf. *PFOS* 562.

<sup>801</sup> Plancina's grandfather seems to have been L. Munatius Plancus (*cos.* 42 BCE), who was a *homo novus* from Tibur. *Plancus* is attested for several Munatii, some of whom also had a further cognomen (e.g. the tribune T. Munatius Plancus Bursa or Munatius Plancus Paulinus, *praeses Pannoniae*): see Wiseman 1971 for references.

<sup>802</sup> See Kajava 2022, 34–36.

<sup>803</sup> The cognomen also appears later in the Imperial period in the nomenclature of the polyonymous Cornelia Cethegilla Aemilia Plancina (*PFOS* 281).

who used the cognomen *Reginus*.<sup>804</sup> Orthographic and other details furthermore suggest that the monument possibly dates from the late first century BCE.<sup>805</sup>

But what could be done in families that did not use a cognomen or whose cognomen was unsuitable for women? An example is provided by the sisters LOLLIA PAULINA (PFOS 504) and LOLLIA SATURNINA (PFOS 506), granddaughters of the *homo novus* M. Lollius (*cos.* 21 BCE) and daughters of another M. Lollius (PIR<sup>2</sup> L 312). Saturnina's cognomen – which is attested through the nomenclature of a freedman and a slave (CIL VI 21473b; AE 1978, 148 = 1984, 229) – clearly came from the maternal side of the family: their mother, a Volusia, was the sister of L. Volusius Saturninus (*cos. suff.* 3 CE).<sup>806</sup> Saturnina's sister Paulina, being the second wife of Caligula, is well attested in literary and epigraphic sources, both by her full nomenclature and by either her nomen or cognomen.<sup>807</sup> The origin of her cognomen, however, is less clear than that of her sister. Given the fact that there were no previous cognomina in the family, it could well be that it was freely chosen, perhaps simply because it pleased the name-giver – though in an aristocratic context, in which naming was usually a more carefully calculated matter, this seems slightly dubious. As we have seen in the case of (Fabia) Paullina above, the suffixed form *Paullina* was perhaps considered more elegant than the non-suffixed *Paulla*.

A similar, though later, example is provided by the sisters VERANIA GEMINA and VERANIA OCTAVILLA, daughters of Q. Veranius (*cos.* 49).<sup>808</sup> Their names are recorded at Xanthus during their father's governorship of the region between 43 and 48 CE (AE 1981, 825a/825b), and Gemina is furthermore recorded in her (and her husband's) funerary inscription by her full nomenclature (CIL VI 31723 = ILS 240):

<sup>804</sup> The first Antistius on record who used the cognomen *Reginus* is the tribune of 103 BCE and the last one C. Antistius Reginus, moneyer in 13 BCE; and there was also C. Antistius Reginus, Caesar's legate during the Gallic war. For a list of senatorial Antistii, see Salomies 1996, 56f.; for the *triumvir monetalis* more specifically, cf. Wiseman 1971, 150 n. 5; for Caesar's legate, cf. Caes. Gall. 6,1,1; 7,83,3; 7,90,6).

<sup>805</sup> E.g. the word *sibei*, the use of travertine as material, and also the letter forms point to this conclusion.

<sup>806</sup> It is sometimes assumed that she also had the cognomen *Saturnina* (cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> V 990), but if she did, it is nowhere on record.

<sup>807</sup> For reference, see PIR<sup>2</sup> L 328 & PFOS 504.

<sup>808</sup> For the sources regarding Q. Veranius, see PIR<sup>2</sup> V 389. The latest prosopographical entries concerning the two Veraniae: PIR<sup>2</sup> V 392 & 393.

*Dis Manibus / [L(uci)] Calpurni Pisonis / Frugi Liciniani / XVvir(i) s(acris) f(aciundis) / et Veraniae / Q(uinti) Verani co(n)s(ulis) aug(uris) f(iliae) / Geminae / Pisonis Frugi.*

The cognomen of Octavilla derives from the *gens Octavia* – but how exactly is unclear. A. Birley has suggested that Veranius was married to an Octavia, which is a plausible solution, but the name could also go back to an earlier generation.<sup>809</sup> In any case, it is a good example of the fact that cognomina could be derived from gentilicia in families that did not have suitable cognomina in store. As for Gemina, the name may reflect the circumstances of her birth, i.e. her being the twin-sister of Octavilla.

Furthermore, a second gentilicium could simply be used as such in place of a cognomen. Some early examples of this include AEDIA SERVILIA, daughter of M. Aedius (*pr.* before 17 BCE), and, somewhat later, PLAUTIA QUINCTILIA, daughter of A. Plautius (who was executed by Nero; see 2.5 above for references). In both cases it has been assumed that the names were taken from the maternal family, which would seem like a plausible option, but in the absence of further evidence the matter remains unverified.

There are also many other examples of families, in which the men did not bear cognomina but the daughter(s) could nonetheless receive one. APPULEIA VARILLA, daughter of Sex. Appuleius (*cos.* 29 BCE) and Quinctilia, was honoured at Cyme around 23/22 BCE (*AE* 1966, 422). She is also mentioned by Tacitus as *sororis Augusti neptis* (*Tac. ann.* 2,50). Varilla's father did not have a cognomen, nor did her brother Sex. Appuleius Sex. f. (*cos.* 14). Her cognomen instead was taken from the maternal, more distinguished, side of the family: her mother Quinctilia was the sister of P. Quinctilius Varus (*cos.* 13 BCE), *Varilla* thus being a female form of the hereditary cognomen of the patrician Quinctilii Vari.<sup>810</sup>

It is noteworthy that the cognomen appears in a diminutive form. *Varus* was a pejorative name ('knock-kneed') and a non-suffixed female form such as *Vara* would have been unsuitable for a woman (cf. the discussion in 2.6.2). The suffixed form *Varilla*, instead, was clearly more appropriate, and the name was also transmitted to other families (cf. (Nonia) Varilla, *PFOS* 576).<sup>811</sup>

<sup>809</sup> Birley, *Fasti*, 54 has postulated that Veranius's wife was a daughter of C. Octavius Laenas (*cos.* 33); cf. also Birley 2005, 43 n. 101.

<sup>810</sup> For the family relations, see Syme 1986, 313ff. Cf. also Kajava 1990, 98f.

<sup>811</sup> Furthermore, as M. Kajava (1987) has argued, even the 'simple' equivalent of *Varus* would probably not have been *Vara* but *Varia*, much in the same way as the standard female equivalents of



In one case we even have evidence that, whilst the men were without a cognomen, there had been cognomina in use among the women of the previous generations. An inscription from Rome, dating from the Augustan period, records COTTIA A. COTTI F. GALLA, whose father and brother both were simply called A. Cottius (*CIL* VI 1396 = 31644 = *ILS* 8343). Her mother in turn is simply styled as *Paculla* (probably a cognomen, as it is labelled by G. Camodeca, but it could have originally been a praenomen)<sup>812</sup> and, importantly, her grandmother was called Memmia Galla, Cottia's cognomen thus deriving from her:

*Cottia A(uli) Cotti filia) Galla / testamento fieri iussit / A(ulo) Cottio patri proco(n)s(uli) / Hispaniae et Pacullae matri et / A(ulo) Cottio fratri quaestori aed(ili) / plebi(s) et Memmiae Gallae aviae / huic monumento tutelae nomine / cedunt agri puri iugera decem et / taberna quae proxim(a)e eum locum est.*

In some other cases the father did have a cognomen, but it was not suitable for a woman. One example of this comes from the family of the Nonii Asprenates. NONIA POLLA, the daughter of L. Nonius Asprenas (*cos. suff.* 36 BCE), was honoured at Pergamum as the mother of L. Volusius Saturninus at the beginning of the first century (*AltPergamon* VIII.2, 427).<sup>813</sup> A female form of *Asprenas* would have surely sounded awkward and therefore another name had to be chosen. *Polla* was clearly a socially acceptable choice in the family, which had only recently risen in rank (her father was the first consul of the *gens*).

*Polla* is also attested for other senatorial women of less distinguished background. The earliest case is found at Magnesia-on-Maeander perhaps already during the first half of the first century BCE (though the date is somewhat unclear): COELIA POLLA, daughter of an unattested Coelius, who served as legate in Asia, was honoured by the local *demos* with a statue (*IMagnesia* 148).<sup>814</sup>

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*Marcus* and *Titus* were *Marcia* and *Titia* (and not *Marca* and *Tita*; see 2.4.7 above).

<sup>812</sup> Camodeca 2008, 345: "...A. Cottius (...) sposato ad una *Paculla* (un rarissimo *cognomen*, derivato da un antico prenome osco-campano)" (with reference to Salomies 1987, 84 and Kajava 1994, 134).

<sup>813</sup> According to Kajava (1994, 128), this happened during or shortly after her son's proconsulate in Asia – which probably took place in 11 or 12 CE (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 979). Nonia Polla must have been born before the 50's BCE. Her son, who died in 56 CE at the old age of 93, was already in his forties in his consular year in 3 CE. This means that Polla must have already been an elderly lady by the time of the dedication. Cf. Kajava 1990, 94; 1994, 129.

<sup>814</sup> Date according to Kajava 1994, 128. It has been suggested that the father may be identical with Q. Coelius Latiniensis, a *homo novus* known from Cic. *Manil.* 58. Cf. Syme 1979, 557f.; Wiseman 1971, 225 no 128; also Kajava 1994, 128.

There is also RUFRENA T. F. POLLA, attested at Rome in the Augustan period as the mother of L. Attius L. f. Vel. Rufus (*CIL* VI 25575). According to T. P. Wiseman, her father was probably a pottery-manufacturer from Arretium who became a senator under Caesar.<sup>815</sup>

In addition to these cases, there are some other instructive examples that illustrate the similarity between the onomastic repertoire of many upper-class women of municipal origin, on the one hand, and women of the *plebs*, on the other:

VARENA Q. F. MAIOR, wife of Sex. Lartidius, who was perhaps of senatorial rank,<sup>816</sup> is attested in *EE* IX 906 = *InscrIt* IV,1, 225 = *Suppl. Imag.* I, 944 and *CIL* XIV 3859 = *EE* IX 907 = *InscrIt* IV,1, 226 (Tibur).<sup>817</sup> She was probably born towards the end of the Republic.<sup>818</sup>

OFRANIA T. F. QUARTA and STATIA Q. F. QUINTA, two (subsequent) wives of C. Papirius C. f. Vel. Masso, *tr(ibunus) mil(itum) aed(ilis) pl(ebis) / q(uaesitor) iud(ex) cur(ator) fru(menti)* (*CIL* VI 1480 = *ILS* 907; *CIL* VI 1481). Both seem to have lived in the late Republican/early Imperial period.

VOLASENNIA C. F. TERTIA BALBI, attested as the wife of M. Nonius Balbus of Nuceria, benefactor of Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1435 = *ILS* 896b). She was of Etruscan origin, as was Balbus's mother who is attested in *CIL* X 1440 as Viciria A. f. Archais and who belonged to the Etruscan elite of Rusella (but was apparently of non-senatorial background).<sup>819</sup>

BESIA C. F. SABINA, whose funerary monument dates from the Augustan period and informs us that she died at the age of 15 (*CIL* VI 1489). Her status is unclear – she may not have even been senatorial – but if she was married to L. Pinarius Ruscus, who is mentioned in the inscription as *tr(ibunus) mil(itum) q(uaestor)*, then she at least was senatorial through marriage.<sup>820</sup> In any case, it is difficult to say anything about the origin of her cognomen, since her parents are unknown, but as has been seen above, *Sabina* was also a well-attested cognomen among the *plebs*.<sup>821</sup>

<sup>815</sup> Wiseman 1971, 61f.; 257 no. 365.

<sup>816</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 264: *Maritus senator fuisse videtur*.

<sup>817</sup> The cognomen is restored in the latter inscription.

<sup>818</sup> Date according to Kajava 1994, 128.

<sup>819</sup> Wiseman 1971, 62; cf. Camodeca 1982, 126.

<sup>820</sup> Wiseman 1971, 61 seems to be sure that they were married.

<sup>821</sup> It may be worth noticing that there is a senatorial Besius ... Sabinus from Trajan's time; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> B 112; cf. also Thomasson, I 419.

Finally, there is SALVIDIENA Q. F. RUF(A) (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 121), who will have been closely related to Q. Salvidienus Rufus (*cos. designatus* 39 BCE), perhaps even his daughter. Her exact status, however, remains unclear.

### 3.3.3 General observations

The automatic inheritance of family cognomina, as a rule, did not apply to Roman women. In contrast to the nomenclature of Roman men, it is, thus, impossible to make a strict distinction between the use of hereditary and non-hereditary names. However, one can hardly avoid noticing that the early female cognomina of the old nobility largely correspond to the hereditary cognomina used by the men of the family. These names were transmitted to women in identical and suffixed forms. These strategies can be summed up in the following manner:

- i) Identical: *Metellus* > *Metella*; *Lepidus* > *Lepida*
- ii) Derived with a suffix: *Drusus* > *Drus-illa*
- iii) Derived from a name with no direct feminine form: *Orestes* > *Orest-illa*; *Agrippa* > *Agripp-ina*; *Messalla* > *Messall-ina*

The first woman of the old nobility who seems to have had a cognomen that did not correspond to the hereditary name was (Fabia) Paullina, daughter of Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 45 BCE). Her name, instead, was chosen to recall a historical connection to the Aemilii Paulli. In the Imperial period, it became more and more common for daughters to receive cognomina that differed from those used by their fathers, although the practice of using a paternal cognomen remained common throughout the Empire (though these names were normally not hereditary; see 4.3.1 below).

There is also a recognizable distinction between the women of the old nobility, on the one hand, and the daughters of *homines novi* and new senatorial families, on the other. Whilst the early cognomina of the old nobility were mostly similar to the hereditary cognomina and were associated with particular families, this was largely not the case with senatorial women of less distinguished families, who often resorted to a much more generic stock of cognomina (of the type *Maxima Polla Tertia*). Such names did not differ in any significant way from those of many non-elite families. This, however, is not always the case. Whilst women of less distinguished background often had cognomina of this type, there were also some recently senatorial families that had assumed the use of cognomina and could pass these names on to their daughters. Furthermore, the daughters of some families which either did not have cognomina or whose cognomina were unsuitable (e.g. from a formal point of view) could, for instance, have names

that were derived from gentilicia (of the type *Octavilla*, from *Octavia*) – or use gentilicia as such (e.g. *Aedia Servilia*). The cognomen could also be taken over from other prestigious branches of the family (e.g. the maternal line), as in the case of *Appuleia Varilla*, whose mother belonged to the patrician *Quintilii Vari*.

During this transitional period – i.e. when the cognomen was yet to establish itself as a standard item in women's nomenclature – we also have evidence of families, in which one daughter (probably the first-born) was named in the 'traditional' way, viz. without a cognomen, whilst the second daughter would receive a cognomen to distinguish her from her sister (e.g. *Sempronia Atratina* & *Sempronia*; and *Domitia Lepida* & *Domitia*).

As for the chronology, it seems that cognomina could be used by senatorial women already in the late second century BCE (according to Cicero), thus occurring roughly in the same period as the earliest attestations of cognomina among the *plebs ingenua*. The first contemporary documents are not much later, from the early first century BCE. The habit of having a cognomen, however, remained somewhat unusual until the Imperial period (see 4.1 below). The power of tradition was an important factor among the Roman elite and the conservative style of calling women by their nomen alone seems to have held its ground in some families throughout the Julio-Claudian period, particularly in families that had no tradition of using a hereditary cognomen or whose cognomina were unsuitable for women (the *Calpurnii*, for instance). For a comparison, a quick search in the *DPRR* gives a total of 308 upper-class women who were born between 150 and 27 BCE.<sup>822</sup> Only some 35 had a cognomen, which makes c. 11% (among the freeborn *plebs*, the percentage is over 20%).<sup>823</sup> As has been noted above, the habit of not having a cognomen remained in fashion among upper-class women for somewhat longer than in the lower classes. In fact, it was not entirely uncommon until the middle of the first century.

According to the calculations made by P. Gallivan, about half of all known senatorial women were still without a cognomen at the end of the Augustan period and the number is c. 39.7% by the middle of the first century. Under the Flavians the proportion drops to 14%, and after that the phenomenon becomes practically non-existent.<sup>824</sup> However, one must be careful with calculations such

<sup>822</sup> Although it should be noted that the dating of many cases in the *DPRR* is questionable.

<sup>823</sup> It may be pointed out that most of the names that have been classified as female cognomina in the database are, in fact, praenomina. I have gone through all the cases individually and used my own judgement in order to arrive at the figures presented above.

<sup>824</sup> Gallivan 1992, 59.

as these. Gallivan fails to take into consideration some important contextual factors such as the nature of the different source types (for instance, many of the women are only known from literary authors such as Tacitus). It is probable that many women who are recorded without a cognomen, in fact, had one, as will be seen in 4.1 below. Hence, the percentage of women who did not have a cognomen by the mid-first century must have been considerably smaller.

The idea, however, that the upper classes sometimes preferred a more conservative style would not be surprising, since keeping track on what is fashionable and what is not is often the concern of the ‘middle’ rather than the uppermost class (though a term such as ‘middle class’ is rather anachronistic in the Roman context).<sup>825</sup>

### 3.4 Summary of the chapter

The objective of this chapter has been to discuss the early stages of the cognomen in women’s nomenclature (with focus on freeborn women). The following questions have been addressed: When did the cognomen first emerge in women’s nomenclature? How quickly did it become an established part of it and how does this process compare to what went on in the nomenclature of Roman men? Moreover, what were these early cognomina like and how were they distributed?

The results, briefly put, can be summarised in the following manner. The earliest somewhat datable epigraphic attestations of cognomina among the women of the *plebs ingenua* are carved on two funerary cippi from Praeneste, dating probably from the end of the second century BCE, and in any case *ante* 82 BCE (cf. 3.1). Among senatorial women, the earliest epigraphic attestations are from the early first century BCE, but there are literary testimonies referring to noble women who presumably had cognomina already around the mid-second century BCE (cf. 3.3.1).

The establishment of the cognomen among freeborn women was a gradual process. In the late second and early first century BCE, their use was largely sporadic and throughout the Republic the cognomen remained an optional item. But in course of the early Imperial period, the cognomen quickly became a standard item in women’s nomenclature and, by the end of the Julio-Claudian period, the clear majority of Romans – men and women alike – had one.

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<sup>825</sup> For the term ‘middle class’ in the context of the Roman society and the problems concerning it, see Mayer 2012; Newby 2016, 20f.

There is also the question of whether or not women were more likely to receive a cognomen than men in the early period. W. Schulze, well over a century ago, thought they were, but his arguments were later met with criticism. According to the evidence collected for this study, it seems that Schulze's idea might be valid after all (3.1). Early cases of women bearing a cognomen, while their husbands/brothers/sons are without one, are in clear majority in comparison to cases of the reverse. This is the case particularly in Northern Italy, but evidence exists from other parts of Italy as well. However, there is no evidence showing that women in general would have started to use cognomina at an earlier time than men. On the contrary, the earliest attestations among men and women seem to occur in approximately the same period, i.e. in the late second century BCE. It simply seems that freeborn women were, particularly in Northern Italy, more likely to receive a cognomen than their male relatives – who already had an individualizing name in the form of the praenomen.

The majority of the early cognomina among the *plebs ingenua* were from a rather common stock (3.2) and often defined birth order or the woman's age relation to her other (female) siblings. Other typical cognomina of the early time were adjectival names referring to either physical qualities or to the geographical/ethnic origin of the name-bearer. Some nomina were also used as cognomina already in this period. In some cases, women of municipal or provincial extraction bore local names of Italic, Etruscan or indigenous origin but these are of lesser interest for the general development of the Roman onomastic system. There are also several cases of Greek cognomina and it is to be assumed that in such cases we are mostly dealing with descendants of freedmen (or perhaps in some cases, Greeks with Roman citizenship). Suffixed forms were rare in this period, which is only to be expected, since their existence presuppose the use of non-suffixed forms which have to come first.

Senatorial women's early use of cognomina differed in some significant ways from that of the lower classes. This is, to be more precise, the case with women of the high aristocracy, i.e. women belonging to old families whose men had often been using hereditary cognomina for a long time. Evidence of both literary and epigraphic nature reveals that in most such families women – if they were to receive a cognomen at all – would be given the family cognomen, either in a simple feminine form (e.g. *Metella*, *Lepida*) or in a suffixed form (e.g. *Orestilla*, *Drusilla*). Unfortunately, we do not have much evidence of families with several daughters using a cognomen, but at least in some early cases it seems that the use was somewhat comparable to the elite male practice of having hereditary cognomina (Caeciliae Metellae, Aemiliae Lepidae, Claudiae Marcellae). In

families with only one daughter this was naturally not a problem. In the early Imperial period, however, we already have some examples of two sisters bearing different, i.e. truly individualizing, cognomina.

In the beginning this was mostly the case with senatorial women of less distinguished background. In fact, cognomina borne by women of new senatorial families were often similar to those used by the lower classes, including descriptive names of the type *Polla*, *Tertia*, *Maxima*. Such names were often employed in families that did not have any traditions of using cognomina. Some families, however, had different strategies, for instance taking cognomina over from other branches of the family, or deriving cognomina from nomina (or simply using nomina as cognomina). As time went on, the possibilities grew, and during the Empire cognomina could be chosen for numerous reasons, as will be seen in the next chapter.





## 4 The Choice of the Female Cognomen during the Empire

### 4.1 Women without a cognomen in the Imperial period

By the time of Claudius, the majority of Roman women already had a cognomen. It was, however, not unheard of until the mid-first century CE for a woman to not have one.<sup>826</sup> This was particularly the case in upper-class families who had no traditions of using a cognomen or whose hereditary *cognomina* were otherwise not suitable for women. There are, moreover, some individual women who appear with only a *nomen* in our sources even in later periods.<sup>827</sup> It is therefore good to start the discussion of the use of *cognomina* by in fact discussing the *non*-use of *cognomina* in the Imperial period.

There is both literary and epigraphic evidence. In the case of the former, it is likely that the author sometimes used an abbreviated nomenclature and omitted the cognomen, which the woman in question in reality had. Furthermore, as has been seen, *nomina* were also used as *cognomina* (cf. 2.5) and therefore the *nomen* given by a Roman author may, in fact, have been the woman's cognomen (e.g. (Clodia) Fannia [PFOS 259] is always called simply *Fannia* by Pliny and others). Epigraphic sources can be considered more reliable in this respect, since they tend to record the nomenclature of the relevant person in a more complete form – but even in the case of inscriptions we cannot always rule out the possibility of an abbreviated nomenclature. This is particularly the case with certain types of inscriptions, such as those carved on *instrumenta*. In a funerary or honorific inscription, on the other hand, it would be strange if the relevant person were called without her cognomen. Thus, one is puzzled to find out that Iulia Severina (PFOS 459), a woman of senatorial rank, seems to be recorded in a recently published bilingual dedication from Patara simply as *Iulia Tiberi f.*<sup>828</sup> This, however, may be a misinterpretation, as pointed out to me by M. Kajava. The name is poorly preserved, but a careful

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<sup>826</sup> This also applies to men. The last consuls who did not have a cognomen are attested as late as the time of the emperor Galba. Cf. Salomies 1987, 347f.

<sup>827</sup> For cases of men without a cognomen, see Salomies 1987, 347ff.

<sup>828</sup> The monument along with its inscription, which is now published by Bönisch-Meyer 2018, was dedicated to L. Luscius Ocra (*cos. suff. 77?*) and his family, including his wife Iulia Severina. Severina is known by her full name from AE 1929, 27 = SEG VI 648.

reading of the third line (picture provided by Bönisch-Meyer 2018) allows one to propose the reading *Şeberi[n]aę* instead of *Tıberi vac. f.*<sup>829</sup> This solution, indeed, would be more satisfying from an onomastic point of view.

But there are many other women who seem to be attested without a cognomen in the Imperial period. The prosopography of Raepsaet-Charlier (*PFOS*) records 75 senatorial cases. I will now take a look only at those 14 cases that date from around or after the mid-first century CE. The cases are in a rough chronological order:

1. Laelia (*PFOS* 480), *virgo Vestalis*, who died in 62 CE (*Tac. ann.* 15,22), perhaps the daughter of D. Laelius Balbus (*cos. suff.* 46). Tacitus may have simply omitted her cognomen.
2. Annia (*PFOS* 51), daughter of C. (Annius) and wife of Atratinus. She is only known through the nomenclature of a freedman, recorded in *CIL* VI 11784 as *C. Annius Anniae Atratini l. Philogenes*. There are a couple of matters that ought to be kept in mind here. Firstly, her husband is identified as M. Asinius Atratinus (*cos.* 89), but it is not impossible that he was in fact an earlier Atratinus (e.g. one of the Sempronii Atratini of the early Imperial period). Secondly, it was not uncommon that a *patrona* was recorded by only one name in the nomenclature of her slaves and freedmen, even if she, in reality, had a more complex nomenclature.<sup>830</sup>
3. Anteia (*PFOS* 68): Pliny (*epist.* 9,13) tells us that she was the wife of Helvidius Priscus (*cos. suff.* before 87). Since the name is only recorded by Pliny, it could be that he simply omitted the cognomen or that Anteia was a nomen used as a cognomen.
4. Caesennia (?) (*PFOS* 169), friend of Seneca. The name, which is only attested by Sidonius Apollinaris (*epist.* 2,10,6), may also be incorrect.
5. Calpurnia (*PFOS* 177), second wife of the younger Pliny (*epist.* *passim*; also Sidon. *epist.* 2,10,15). Since she is only known from literary sources, it could be that she had a cognomen as well.
6. Cornelia (*PFOS* 275), *Vestalis maxima*, who was put to death by Domitian in 91 CE (known from several literary sources, always by the name *Cornelia*; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1481). She is perhaps identical with Cornelia (*PFOS* 274), who was elected as Vestal in 62 CE.

<sup>829</sup> The filiation, most likely in the form [*Ti. f.*], was probably placed on the line between the nomen and the cognomen.

<sup>830</sup> In fact, this was quite common. See Nuorluoto 2019.

7. Cottia (PFOS 298), wife of T. Vestricius Spurinna (*cos.* II *suff.* 98), mentioned by Pliny (*epist.* 3,10). She has also been identified as the *domina* of the two slaves recorded in *CIL* VI 37783 = *ILS* 9347, but this is somewhat dubious. She may have belonged to the family of the A. Cottii who are not known to have borne cognomina (at least two early Imperial senators, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1548; 1549) – but one should note that their daughters could have a cognomen already in an early period (cf. Cottia Galla in 3.3.2 above).
8. Eppia (PFOS 343), known from Juvenal (6,82f.), who tells us that she left her husband and children to follow a gladiator in Egypt. The date of this event is unclear.
9. Plautia (PFOS 614), daughter (probably) of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (*cos.* *suff.* 45, II *suff.* 74; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 480). She was honoured by the senate and the people of Ephesus (*AE* 1968, 484 = *IEphesos* 707), but since the inscription has a lacuna after her name (Πλαυτία[ν Τιβερίου Πλαυτίου] / Σιλουανοῦ Αἰλιανοῦ ...), it is possible that she also had a cognomen.
10. Proculeia (PFOS 658), only mentioned by Martial (10,41), who probably used an abbreviated nomenclature (assuming that the name is not fictive to start with).
11. Helvidiae (PFOS 415 & 416), two daughters of Helvidius Priscus (*cos.* under the Flavians; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 60). They are mentioned by Pliny (*epist.* 4,21), who probably omitted their cognomina.
12. Iunia (PFOS 466), Vestal virgin, attested at the beginning of the second century CE by Pliny (*epist.* 7,19). Given the late date, it seems safe to assume that her cognomen was omitted.
13. Asinia (PFOS 112), known from *instrumenta domestica* from the time of Antoninus Pius (*CIL* XV 858). Possibly identical with Asinia Quadrilla (PFOS 115).
14. Cornificia (PFOS 294), one of the children of Marcus Aurelius and the younger Faustina, perhaps born in 160 CE. Her name is attested in both literary and epigraphic sources, always as *Cornificia* (with sometimes the addition *Aug. f.* or *Aug. soror*; for a list of sources, consult PFOS 294; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1505). However, it seems clear that she must have had a more complex nomenclature.

In conclusion, there is reason to suspect that in almost all of the cases above the woman may have, in fact, had a cognomen. There is, however, sporadic evidence of even some rather late cases from outside the senatorial *ordo*, for instance *CIL* V 2829 = *ILS* 6692 (Patavium, 90–100 CE):

*C(aio) Asconio C(ai) f(ilio) / Fab(ia) Sardo / IIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) / praef(ecto) fabr(um) / fratri / Cusinae M(arci) f(iliae) / Sardi matri / et sibi / Asconia C(ai) f(ilia) / Augurini / sacerdos / divae Domitillae.*

C. Ascanius Sardus, a local magistrate, is here equipped with a cognomen, while his wife Cusinia and sister Asconia seem to be without one. Given the fact that the nomenclature of both women includes the filiation and gamonymic, it seems improbable that their cognomina would have been omitted. In any case, such cases are difficult to come by in larger quantities. One possible case comes from Rome (*CECapitolini* 128):

*D(is) M(anibus) / Pontiae Sextian(a)e / vixit annis XVIII / diebus XIII Sextia mater filiae p(ilentissimae) / fecit / et Attiae / matri.*

It seems like the mother Sextia and grandmother Attia do not have a cognomen. This is peculiar given the late date. The monument has been dated in the databases (*EDCS*, *EDR*) to 150–250 CE, although judging by the picture provided in the *EDR*, it could also be from the earlier half of the second century.<sup>831</sup> But even so, it would be odd if at least the mother did not have a cognomen. An explanation could be that offered by N. Petrucci, namely that *Sextia* (and perhaps also *Attia*) was in fact a cognomen – or rather, a nomen used as a cognomen – and that the actual nomen was omitted for one reason or another.<sup>832</sup> In this case, Sextiana’s cognomen was not derived from the mother’s nomen but cognomen. Another option, though less likely, is that the cognomina were simply omitted – possibly to save space, since the scribe seems to have had trouble fitting all the text in already as it is. In any case, it is obvious that not having a cognomen had become practically non-existent by the Flavian period at the latest.

<sup>831</sup> Cf. also N. Petrucci’s comment in *CECapitolini*, 208 (“... la datazione, evidentemente non anteriore al II sec. d.C. ...”). She does not, however, exclude the possibility that the monument could date from the earlier half of the 2nd century.

<sup>832</sup> N. Petrucci in *CECapitolini*, 208–209: “*Pontia Sextiana*, la defunta, deriverebbe così il suo *cognomen* dal *cognomen*, o *simplex nomen*, della madre, come è normale, e non dal suo gentilizio”. It ought to be noted, however, that despite Petrucci’s statement, there was nothing abnormal in deriving a daughter’s cognomen from the mother’s (or someone else’s) nomen.

## 4.2 General overview of the naming strategies

It is now time to take a closer look at how *cognomina* could be chosen during the Empire. Roman children were named on the *dies lustricus*, which for boys was the ninth and for girls the eighth day after birth (e.g. Macr. *Sat.* 1,16,36). We may assume that the individual name, i.e. the *cognomen*, was in most cases chosen by the parents, but we also know that it could be chosen by someone else, e.g. a close relative, a family friend, or a patron. Suetonius, thus, reports to us that Nero's mother Agrippina asked his brother, the emperor Caligula, to give her new-born child whatever name pleased him (Suet. *Nero* 2).<sup>833</sup>

We have already seen, in Chapter 3, some examples of how a name could be chosen in families which did not have a tradition of using a *cognomen*. The same strategies were naturally employed in later times, but as the number of *cognomina* grew, so did the options. It ought to be noted, however, that in most cases we simply cannot discern any specific reasons for why a certain name was chosen. To be sure, we can assume that a Roman girl could be named *Fortunata* or *Felicula* because of the positive connotations that were associated with these names – but beyond that, it is often difficult to say anything else, unless we happen to have additional information at our disposal. Fortunately, we sometimes do.

In the senatorial elite, whose lineages and family connections have been well studied, we often know or can postulate whether the *cognomen* came from the father or the mother, or perhaps from some other relative – or if there was some other reason behind the choice. But even in inscriptions recording people of more modest background we often have valuable clues.

Based on the material collected for this study, some key strategies can be summarized as follows:

### — *Cognomen of one of the parents* (4.3.1; 4.3.2)

This was a natural choice, of which we have plenty of evidence. The *cognomen* could be inherited in various ways and forms: a) in an identical form (*Priscus* > *Prisca*); b) in a suffixed form (*Priscus* > *Priscilla*); or in some cases converted into a suitable feminine noun, e.g. *Felix* > *Felicitas*); c) transforming from one suffixed form to another (*Priscianus* > *Priscilla*); or d) in a de-suffixed form (*Priscianus*

<sup>833</sup> Caligula, in jest, named the child after his uncle Claudius, who at the time was the laughingstock of the Imperial court: *Eiusdem futurae infelicitatis signum evidens die lustrico exstitit; nam C. Caesar, rogante sorore ut infanti quod vellet nomen daret, intuens Claudium patrum suum, a quo mox principe Nero adoptatus est, eius se dixit dare, neque ipse serio sed per iocum et aspernante Agrippina, quod tum Claudius inter ludibria aulae erat.*

> *Prisca*). Sometimes a name may not have been strictly speaking derived from the cognomen of one of the parents but chosen because it resembled it closely enough.

— *Cognomen from some other relative* (4.3.3)

In addition to the parents, the cognomen could naturally be similar to that of, say, a grandparent, aunt, or an uncle.

— *Cognomen from a nomen existing in the family* (4.4)

The cognomen could also be coined from a gentilicium, to which the person was in some way connected. In some cases, it was the person's own (i.e. in most cases the father's) gentilicium, and sometimes it was the mother's, but of course, for instance, a grandmother's gentilicium could also be utilized. And as we have seen above, a nomen could be used as a cognomen as such. In addition to suffixed forms and nomina used as such, the cognomen could also be a 'de-suffixed' form of a gentilicium (e.g. *Quintius* > *Quinta*).

— *Cognomen from a family praenomen* (4.5)

In addition to gentilicia, the cognomen could resemble a praenomen. In most cases this was the father's praenomen (or the grandfather's) and in the case of *libertae*, the patron's praenomen could be the model. As in the categories above, the name could be transmitted as such or in a suffixed form.

— *Cognomina chosen for reasons of prestige* (4.6)

Among the Roman aristocracy, there was furthermore the phenomenon of 'historical cognomina'. These were often cognomina that the early Imperial nobility had revived or created to establish a link to famous ancestors and past glory. Women would also sometimes receive names of this type. On the other hand, the *plebs* could also seek to imitate the onomastic practices of the elite.

— *Cognomina chosen because of the 'meaning' of the name* (4.7)

Given that many Latin cognomina were based on lexical items, cognomina could naturally be chosen with this meaning or etymology in mind. In such cases, the choice could, for instance, have to do with the time or order of birth or with geographical origin or a name could be chosen because it resembled another name in terms of meaning (either two Latin names semantically related to each other or two names meaning the same thing, one in Greek and the other in Latin).

Note that the strategies presented above are only those that are attested for women in our sources. It is clear that, during the Empire, a cognomen could be chosen for almost any reason. O. Salomies has, for example, found some examples in which men seem to have been named after a friend or even a teacher.<sup>834</sup> In the nomenclature of the *liberti* and their descendants there was furthermore the possibility to name one's children after the patron.

One should also keep in mind that, when choosing a name, multiple factors can, and often do, affect the choice at the same time. For instance, an aristocrat of the Imperial elite may have chosen a name not only because it had been used by a relative but also because of dynastic motives or other political ambitions.

### 4.3 The inheritance of *cognomina*

While some Romans were still without a cognomen by the middle of the first century CE (cf. 4.1), the cognomen had nonetheless consolidated its position as a standard item in the Roman onomastic system. An expected result of this development is that during the Empire it would become increasingly common for children to receive a cognomen that had already been used in the family. It is, therefore, no surprise that in many cases the cognomen was identical with or derived from the cognomen of one of the parents (or in some rare cases, both parents, e.g. Cl. Maximilla, daughter of Ti. Cl. Maximus and Cl. Maxim(a) in *CIL* VIII 2843). Examples of this are numerous, as will be seen. In addition to the parents, the name could naturally also come from a grandparent or some other relative, for instance, an uncle or an aunt.

It is clear that family tradition must have played a role in many other cases as well, but it is only in a fraction of all inscriptions that we have enough background information to be able to know for sure. In the case of the Roman aristocracy, we are often better informed about lineages and family relations over several generations, but even in many of these cases, the assumed relation between, say, father and daughter, is primarily based on onomastic evidence. This, in turn, may easily lead into circular argumentation, if one intends to study the transmission of names based on our knowledge of family relations – which, in turn, are based on names. In order to avoid any unnecessary confusion, I have placed most of

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<sup>834</sup> L. Sempronius Senecio, a procurator under Trajan, seems to have named his son L. Sempronius Tiro after his senatorial friend C. Iulius Tiro Gaetulicus (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 369; *CIL* II 3661; *AE* 1975, 849; cf. Salomies 2017, 130, particularly n.s. 53 and 54).

the hypothetical cases separately in Appendix 3 and present here only evidence of more solid nature (i.e. cases in which the transmission of a name can be observed with a fair degree of confidence).

In addition to c. 200 senatorial women, the material below consists of over 500 cases, which I have encountered while conducting this survey and, while the material by no means covers everything, it has a wide geographical and chronological distribution and will suffice to give a general idea of the transmission of cognomina to Roman women.

#### 4.3.1 Cognomen from the father

One of the best attested strategies for choosing a cognomen in all social groups throughout the Imperial period was to use the same or a similar cognomen as the father. In most cases this meant that the cognomen could be transmitted as such (e.g. *Priscus* > *Prisca*) – that is, if morphological, semantic, or phonetic factors did not prevent this – or in a suffixed form (e.g. *Priscus* > *Priscilla*). Naturally, if the father's cognomen was already a suffixed form of an existing name, the daughter's cognomen could be de-suffixed (e.g. *Priscianus* > *Prisca*) or a variant formed with another suffix (e.g. *Priscianus* > *Priscilla*). In addition to the use of suffixes, it was also in some cases possible to use an abstract noun as the female equivalent of an adjectival male cognomen (e.g. *Felix* > *Felicitas*), though suffixed forms could naturally also come into question (*Felix* > *Felicula*).

Furthermore, the cognomen could also be derived from the father's (and in most cases the daughter's own) gentilicium with a suffix (e.g. *Livia Livilla*), or from the father's praenomen (e.g. *Iulia L. f. Lucilla*). However, cognomina coined from nomina/praeenomina (and nomina used as cognomina) are a different kind of a phenomenon, since we are not dealing with the transmission of a paternal, or any kind of, cognomen. Therefore, I have chosen to discuss cognomina derived from gentilicia and praenomina separately.

Roman fathers seem to have been keen to transmit their cognomina even to their illegitimate children. This is not surprising. Children that were born outside a legal marital union did not have a legal father and could therefore not bear his nomen. Instead, they inherited their status and their name after their mother.<sup>835</sup> The cognomen, however, could be freely chosen, and Roman fathers, by making sure their illegitimate children bore their cognomina, could express the bond they shared with their offspring. I am here thinking of cases like Clodia Regina,

<sup>835</sup> Cf. Thylander 1962, 45; Gardner 1986, 138; 142; cf. Nuorluoto 2017, 258.



daughter of Clodia Domitia and Terentius Reginus (*CIL* XIV 848, Portus, 170–230 CE), or Fabia Prisca whose parents were Fabia Cadilla and C. Geminius Priscus (*CIL* II 971, Serpa, 2nd c.). Other examples are numerous.<sup>836</sup>

In the case of the Roman aristocracy a distinction ought to be made between the early cases in which a daughter's cognomen corresponds to the hereditary cognomen of the family and those in which the name is clearly of more personal nature (e.g. cases in which sisters have different cognomina). The early practices have already been discussed in Chapter 3, but they will be occasionally referred to in this chapter as well.

#### 4.3.1.1 Feminine form of the father's cognomen

There is plenty of evidence of women with a cognomen identical to that of their father from all parts of the Empire and from all time periods. The style is particularly well attested for senatorial women. We have already seen in Chapter 3 that in some aristocratic families of the late Republican and Augustan periods, women's use of cognomina was not so different from the elite male practice of using hereditary cognomina. Thus, all daughters of the Caecilii Metelli seem to have borne the cognomen *Metella*, all daughters of the Aemilii Lepidi the cognomen *Lepida* (*PFOS* 28–32; cf. also n. 759/768), and so forth.

There are also instructive examples of two sisters bearing the same cognomen, transmitted from the father, e.g. the two (Claudiae) Marcellae (*PFOS* 242; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1103), daughters of C. Claudius Marcellus (*cos.* 50 BCE). In such cases, however, the cognomen cannot have served as a truly individualizing item but rather as an extension of the gentile name. There is even one later pair of sisters who seem to have borne identical cognomina: two Vestal virgins, condemned to death by Domitian, are called by Suetonius simply by the cognomen *Oculata* (*Suet. Dom.* 8; *cum Oculatis sororibus*). It seems evident that they were either the daughters or sisters of L. Aelius Oculatus (*cos. suff.* 73). The Suetonian account alone, however, cannot be considered the most reliable piece of evidence, since it is possible that one of the sisters (or both of them) had other names as well.

While it was also common for many other women to receive a cognomen that was used by the father, in most cases they either did not have sisters or the sister(s) would receive another name. The following senatorial cases (excluding the ones discussed above) are on record, in a rough chronological order (until the end of the Severan dynasty):

<sup>836</sup> For more such cases, see Nuorluoto 2017, 260 n. 7.

Augustus-Nero (11): CLAUDIA PULCHRA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1116, not in *PFOS*), daughter of M. Valerius Messalla Appianus (who was Ap. Claudius Pulcher prior to his adoption) and the younger Marcella; MUMMIA ACHAICA (*PFOS* 556), daughter of L. Mummius Achaicus;<sup>837</sup> CANINIA GALLA (*PFOS* 187), daughter of L. Caninius Gallus (*cos. suff.* 2 BCE); LUCILIA BENIGNA (*PFOS* 510), daughter of C. Lucilius Benignus Ninnianus (career under Augustus/Tiberius; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 380); POPPAEA SABINA (*maior*; *PFOS* 645; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 849), daughter of C. Poppaeus Sabinus (*cos.* 9 CE; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 847);<sup>838</sup> (CAEPIONIA) CRISPINA (*PFOS* 166), daughter of A. Caepio Crispinus (*quaest.* before 15 CE);<sup>839</sup> IUNIA SILANA (*PFOS* 474), daughter of M. Iunius Silanus (*cos.* 15 CE);<sup>840</sup> POMPONIA GRAECINA (*PFOS* 640 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 775), daughter of C. Pomponius Graecinus (*cos. suff.* 16);<sup>841</sup> ARRUNTIA CAMILLA (*PFOS* 103), daughter of L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (*cos.* 32); CORNELIA GAETULICA (*PFOS* 284), daughter of Cn. (Cornelius) Lentulus Gaetulicus;<sup>842</sup> POMPEIA PAULINA (*PFOS* 630 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 678), daughter of (Pompeius) Paulinus, an equestrian man from Arles (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 634).<sup>843</sup>

Vespasianus-Hadrianus (8): FLAVIA SABINA (*PFOS* 379), daughter of T. Flavius Sabinus (*cos. suff.* 69, II 72); APPIA SEVERA (*PFOS* 84), daughter of Sex. Appius Severus (*quaestor* between 70 and 77; died 79); CLAUDIA TI. F. MARCELLINA (*PFOS* 243), daughter of Ti. Claudius Marcellinus (non-senatorial, procurator under Domitian);<sup>844</sup> IULIA FRONTINA (*PFOS* 440), daughter of

<sup>837</sup> Her father's cognomen is attested through the nomenclature of a freedman in *AE* 1992, 121. Note that the cognomen also recalls the conquest of Corinth in 146 BCE by their ancestor L. Mummius (see 4.6. below).

<sup>838</sup> Note also her homonymous daughter Poppaea Sabina (in 4.3.2.1).

<sup>839</sup> Note that her nomen in *PFOS* is presented as (*Caepia*), but this is obviously an error, since this is the feminine form of *Caepius* rather than *Caepio*; cf. Kajava 1986, 82. Since the names *Caepio* and *Crispinus* are attested as both cognomina and nomina (cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*), the hypothetical possibility remains that the father was in fact called A. Crispinus Caepio, whence the daughter's name *Crispina* would simply be her nomen and not a cognomen. But this seems somewhat unlikely to me. The most plausible solution is that she was called (Caepionia) Crispina.

<sup>840</sup> Her sister was called Iunia Claudilla (or perhaps Claudia, cf. n. 916).

<sup>841</sup> Compare also the nomenclature of her brother C. Pomponius Graecinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 718). The cognomen, however, was not hereditary, since their paternal uncle L. Pomponius Flaccus (*cos.* 17 CE; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 715) had a different one.

<sup>842</sup> Either the consul of 26, or his homonymous son, the consul of 55; cf. also Ch. 4.6. below.

<sup>843</sup> Being the wife of Seneca, she was senatorial through marriage.

<sup>844</sup> She was senatorial through her husband Ti. Claudius Augustanus Alpinus L. Bellicius Sollers, who is attested as *consularis* in *CIL* V 3338 = *ILS* 1031.

Sex. Iulius Frontinus (*cos. suff.* II 98; III 100);<sup>845</sup> IULIA TERTULLA (*PFOS* 462), daughter (?) of C. Iulius [-] Cornutus Tertullus (*cos. suff.* 100); ARRIA SABINA (*PFOS* 102), daughter of L. Arrius Atilius Sabinus;<sup>846</sup> PORCIA RUFIANA (*PFOS* 648 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 873), daughter T. Porcius Rufianus;<sup>847</sup> (NONIA?) TORQUATA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 294 = *PFOS* 575), daughter of L. Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus Asprenas (*cos.* 94, II 128).<sup>848</sup>

Antoninus-Commodus (10): CORNELIA PROCULA (*PFOS* 291), daughter of the polyonymous L. Stertinius (...) Proculus (*cos. suff.* 146);<sup>849</sup> MATUCCIA FUSCINA (*PFOS* 534), daughter of L. Matuccius Fuscinus (*cos. suff.* 159?); CAECILIA MATERNA (*PFOS* 156), daughter of Caecilius Maternus;<sup>850</sup> (CAUNIA) PRISCA (*PFOS* 203), daughter of T. Caunius Priscus (*cos. suff.* 187?);<sup>851</sup> CLAUDIA TITIANA & CLAUDIA PROCULA (*PFOS* 252; 257), daughters of Claudius Titianus (=Ti. Claudius Flavianus Titianus Q. Vilius Proculus L. Marcus Celer M. Calpurnius Longus);<sup>852</sup> CLAUDIA CRATIA VERIANA (*PFOS* 233), daughter of Cl. Metrobius Verianus;<sup>853</sup> FLAVIA AMPHICLEA (*PFOS* 363), daughter of Flavius Amphicles;<sup>854</sup> FLAVIA L. F. POLYMNIA MARCIANA (*PFOS* 375), daughter of L. Flavius Sulpicianus

<sup>845</sup> Note that the cognomen was further transmitted to her daughter Sosia Frontina (*PFOS* 719; see below).

<sup>846</sup> The father's career is unknown. He is only attested in *CIL* XI 6203 (Aesis, Umbria) from the mid-second century.

<sup>847</sup> The father was the legate of the 22nd legion during the first half of the second century (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 865).

<sup>848</sup> Her nomen is not mentioned and technically she may have also borne the name *Calpurnia*. In any case, there seems to be no doubt regarding her parentage. As for her cognomen, *Torquata* was surely a more suitable alternative than a female form of *Asprenas* would have been.

<sup>849</sup> His full nomenclature: L. Stertinius Quintilianus Acilius Strabo Q. Cornelius Rusticus Apronius Senecio Proculus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1423).

<sup>850</sup> He was, among other things, the governor of Thrace in 187 under Commodus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 58).

<sup>851</sup> Note that her brother (Caunius) Firminus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 589) seems to have been named after the gentilicium of their mother Firminia Vera (*PFOS* 359).

<sup>852</sup> A *homo novus* from Lycia, career under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 635).

<sup>853</sup> The father was an Ephesian knight under Commodus, attested in *AE* 1966, 441 = *IEphesos* 980. She herself is styled as συνκλητική in a list of donations of prytaneis (*IEphesos* 47, lines 27–28).

<sup>854</sup> Her father belonged to the equestrian elite of Thespieae (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 201), but she is attested as λαμπροτάτη ὑπάτικη at least in *AE* 1967, 459 (Aidepsos). For her daughter Flavia Philina, see below under 'Severan period'.

Dorio Polymnis (*homo novus* from Hierapytna, c. 150);<sup>855</sup> PACTUMEIA MAGNA (PFOS 594), daughter of T. Pactumeius Magnus (*cos. suff.* 183).<sup>856</sup>

Severan period (7): FLAVIA PHILINA (W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* XIV (1974) *s.v.* 'Flavius' no. 239a), daughter of T. Flavius Philinus (PIR<sup>2</sup> F 331) and Flavia Amphiclea (above); ANNIA ITALICA (PIR<sup>2</sup> A 717), daughter of L. Annius Italicus Honoratus (PIR<sup>2</sup> A 659) and Gavidia Torquata (PIR<sup>2</sup> G 87); LUCIA LORENIA CORNELIA CRISPINA (PIR<sup>2</sup> L 345), daughter of L. (Lorenus) Crispinus (*cos.* before 244; PIR<sup>2</sup> L 344); TIBERIA [CLAUDIA] FRONTONIANA (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1094), daughter of [Ti. Claudius] Frontonianus;<sup>857</sup> also IULIA AVITA MAMAEA AUGUSTA (PIR<sup>2</sup> I 649), daughter of Iulius Avitus Alexianus (PIR<sup>2</sup> I 190) and Iulia Maesa (PFOS 445), though *Mamaea* was her primary cognomen;<sup>858</sup> ULPIA IULIANA (PIR<sup>2</sup> V 876), λαμπροτάτη, daughter of P. Ulpius Iulianus (an equestrian man), attested in Macedonia in the mid-third century (AE 2002, 1283 = SEG LII 622); LUCIA LORENIA CORNELIA CRISPINA (PIR<sup>2</sup> L 345), *c(larissima) p(uella)*, daughter of L. (Lorenus) Crispinus (PIR<sup>2</sup> L 344).

There are, furthermore, several hypothetical or speculative cases in which we may suspect that the cognomen came from the father. For instance, in the case of CLAUDIA AESERNINA (PFOS 215), who is attested as *sacerdos divae Augustae* at Narona in the mid-first century (CIL III 1796), it seems plausible to assume that she was the daughter of M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus (*pr.* 19), even if this is not explicitly mentioned. However, since these hypotheses are mostly based on the very names that are investigated here, it is perhaps not meaningful to go through all these cases here. I have instead compiled them in Appendix 3.

In addition to the senatorial cases, the style is well attested in all layers of the society and in all parts of the Empire (and in all time periods). I have come across the following cases:

<sup>855</sup> The name *Marciana* comes from her mother Iulia L. f. Valeria Marciana Crispinilla (PFOS 463). Compare also the nomenclature of her sister Flavia Crispinilla (PFOS 366). The whole family, including her brother, is known from AE 1986, 155.

<sup>856</sup> According to Paul *Dig.* 28,5,92.

<sup>857</sup> She was honoured at Ephesus as the mother of the senator (συνκλητικός) Fl. Stasicles Metrophanes and the daughter of the φιλοτειμώτατος [ἀσάρχος] [Ti. Claudius] Frontonianus during the first half of the third century (*IEphesos* 1268).

<sup>858</sup> Being the aunt of Elagabalus and mother of Severus Alexander, she is attested in several sources, but usually without the cognomen *Avita*. For a list of sources, consult PIR<sup>2</sup>.

## Rome and Italy:

*CIL* VI 17566 (50–200): Fab(ia) Successa, daughter of A. Fab(ius) Successus and Fab(ia) Cosmia.

*CIL* VI 17993 (70–200): Flavia Amanda, daughter of T. Flavius Amandus.

*CIL* VI 18345 (70–200): Flavia Fortunata *Fortunati filia*.

*CIL* VI 18805 (70–200): Furia Fortunata, daughter of A. Furius Fortunatus and Furia Epictesis.

*CIL* VI 19881 (2nd/3rd c.): (Iulia) Caeliana, daughter of L. Iulius Caelianus.

*CIL* VI 22211 (70–200): Maria L. f. Onesime, daughter of L. Marius Onesimus.

*CIL* VI 22325 (2nd/3rd c.): Iuli(a) Maxima, daughter of (Iulius?) Maximus.

*CIL* VI 13150 = *ILS* 8225 (3rd c.): Valeria Marciana, daughter of M. Aurelius Marcianus and Baleria [*sic*] Felicissima.<sup>859</sup>

*CIL* VI 18424 (2nd/3rd c.): Fl. Saturnina, daughter of Saturninus and Fl. Successa.

*CIL* VI 22013 (50–150): Mansueta, daughter of Mansuetus and Marcia (cf. her sisters Mansuetina in 4.3.1.2 and Sedata in 4.3.3).

*CIL* VI 23179 (70–300): Nymphidia, daughter of Nymphidius.

*CIL* VI 22703 (2nd/3rd c.): Munia Modestina, daughter of Munius Modestinus and Messia Flaccina.

*CIL* VI 23047 (50–200): Nonia P. f. Larga, daughter of P. Nonius Largus.

*CIL* VI 11944 (2nd/3rd c.): Antia M. f. Aemiliana, daughter of (M.) Antius Aemilianus.

*CIL* VI 22376 (2nd/3rd c.): Zosima, daughter of Memmius Zosimus.

*CIL* VI 186 = *ILS* 3714 (218–233): Iusta, daughter of Fabricius Iustus (note also her brother Iustus).

*CIL* VI 20422 (1st c.): Iulia C. f. Crispina, daughter of C. Iulius C. f. Crispinus.

*CIL* VI 16605 (70–200): Critonia Phoebe, daughter of M. Critonius Phoebus and Valeria Compse (note also her brothers Critonius Phoebus and Critonius Valerianus).

*IGUR* II 753 (Imperial): Lupula, daughter of Lupulus (Λουπούλη θυγατρί ... Λούπουλος πατήρ).

*AE* 2001, 568 (Rome, 2nd c.): Sulpicia Placentina, daughter of Placentinus and Sulpicia Aspasia.

*CIL* XIV 1292 (Ostia, 70–200): Malia [---] Profutura, daughter of Licinius Profuturus.

*CIL* X 4308 (Capua, 2nd c.): Pomponia Severa, daughter of Q. Pomponius Severus and Publilia Modesta.

*CIL* X 4139 (Capua, 70–200): Flavia Prisca, daughter of Flavius Priscus and Flavia Primilla.

<sup>859</sup> Note that her brother Aurelius Marcianus bears the paternal nomen, while she has received her nomen from the mother (cf. n. 287).

- CIL* X 3505 (Misenum, 2nd c.): Mamilla Prisca, daughter of Mun(atius) Priscus.  
*AE* 1974, 321 (Rusellae, 2nd/3rd c.): Vibia A. f. Romula, daughter of (A.) Vibius Romulus.
- CIL* IX 1765 (Beneventum, 70–250): Bassea Studiosa, daughter of Titlius Studiosus.  
*AE* 1975, 325 (Pescina, 150–250): Iulia Gaian[a], daughter of Iulius Gaianus (note also her brother Iulius Gaius).
- CIL* IX 2111 (Beneventum, 120–200): Licinia Liciniana, daughter of Licinianus. Note, however, that the cognomen initially goes back to the nomen of the agnatic line.
- AE* 1983, 221 (Luceria, 100–150): Pontia Annia, daughter of Annius [*sic*] and Pontia Agrippina.<sup>860</sup>
- ILS* 9442 = *SIRIS* 586 = *RICIS* II 512/101 (Ravenna, 3rd c.): Sosia Iuliana, daughter of Sosius Iulianus.
- CIL* V 5445 (Transpadana, 1st c.): Viria C. f. Vera, daughter of C. Virius Verus (note also her brother C. Virius Verianus).
- AE* 2003, 719 (Transpadana, 3rd c.): Aurelia Iuliana, daughter of Aurelius Iulianus.
- CIL* V 385 = *InscrIt* X.3 65 (Eraclea Veneta, Augustan-Tiberian): Pomp(eia) Vera, daughter of Sex. Pompeius Verus and Gran(ia) Serena.
- CIL* V 4531 = *InscrIt* X.5 329 (Brixia): (Nonia) Severina, daughter of M. Non(ius) Severinus (cf. her sister Severa in 4.3.1.4 below).

#### Provinces:

- CIL* XII 5066 (Narbo, Imperial): Pompeia Venusta, daughter of T. Pompeius Venustus and Artoria C. f. Procula (note that her brother T. Pompeius Proculus was named after their mother).
- ILGN* 479 (Nemausus, Imperial): *Messina Messini filia*.
- CIL* XII 2335 (prov. Narb., 150–230): Iucunda, daughter of L. Iul. Iucundus.<sup>861</sup>
- CIL* XII 4177 (Arelate, Imperial): *Titia Titulli f. Titulla*.
- CIL* XII 65 (Salinae, 100–150): Quartinia Catullina, daughter of T. Quartinius Catullinus and Lucilia Materna (note also her brother Quartinius Maternus).
- CIL* XII 2280 (Vienna, 150–250): Devillia Lucina, daughter of P. Devillius Lucinus and Lutatia Licini filia Macedonia (note her brother Devillius Lutatius with the maternal nomen as his cognomen).
- CIL* XIII 1977 (Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd c.): Aelia Profutura, *Aeli Profuturi f(ilia)*.

<sup>860</sup> The father's name *Annius* should probably be interpreted as a cognomen (or a personal name, in any case), since no other names are attributed to him.

<sup>861</sup> Her brothers Iulianus and Fronto were named after their paternal grandfather and great-grandfather (cf. *CIL* XII 2333).

- CIL* XIII 1910 (Lugdunum, 150–200): Satria Firmina, daughter of Q. Acceptius Firminus and Satria Venusta (note also her brothers Q. Acceptius Venustus and Q. Acceptius Firminus).<sup>862</sup>
- CIL* XIII 8267a-b (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, 2nd/3rd c.): Liberalinia Probina, daughter of Liberalinius Probinus.
- RIB* I 369 (Britannia, 100–230): Tadia Exuperata, Tadius Exuper(a)tus.  
Fernández Corral 2018, p. 209–211 no. 3 (Hisp. cit., 2nd/3rd c.): Antonia Flavina, daughter of Antonius Flavinus.
- HEp* 2002, 634 = *AE* 2002, 667a (Lusitania, 270–330): Munnia Marciana, daughter of Munnius Marcianus and Iulia Candida.
- AE* 1984, 603 (Hisp. cit., 2nd c.) Otacil(ia) Serena, daughter of Otacil(ius) Seranus.
- CIL* VIII 2953 (Lambaesis, 3rd c.): Nonia Manliana, daughter of C. Nonius Manlianus and Iul. Clementina.
- CIL* VIII 4054 (Lambaesis, 3rd c.): Aurelia Ammiana, daughter of M. Aurelius Ammianus and Septimia Aequitia.
- CIL* VIII 4268 = 18505 (Verecunda, 2nd/3rd c.): Flavia Vera, daughter of Flavius Verus.<sup>863</sup>
- AE* 1982, 984 (Tipasa, 3rd/4th c.): Fidentia, daughter of Fidentius.
- CIL* III 1249 (Apulum, 130–170): Viria Publia, *Viri Publi filia*.
- CIL* III 8252 (Naissus, 200–250): [V]aleria Iulian[a], daughter of [Valer]ius Iulianus (her brother also bears the name *Iulianus*).
- CIL* III 5632 (Noricum, 3rd c.): Fl. Victorina, daughter of T. Fl. Victorinus.
- CIL* III 5671 = 11814 (Noricum, 3rd c.): Seccia Secundina, daughter of Seccius Secundinus and Iulia Severio.
- AE* 1982, 816 = 2001, 1682 (Matrica, 170–230): [Cl(audia)] Ingenua, daughter of Cl. Ingenuus and Fl. Paulina (note also her brother Cl. Paulinus).
- RIUVI* 1548b (Gorsium, 150–300): Lucia Septimia Mamartina, *Luci Septimi Mamartini filia*.<sup>864</sup>
- CIL* III 3485 (Aquincum, 230–270): Aurelia Audentia, daughter of Aurel. Audentius.
- CIL* III 11303 = 13497a = 14098 (Scarbantia, 170–300): Aure(lia) Celeriana, daughter of Aure(lius) Celerianus.
- CIL* III 4071 (Pann. sup., 100–150): Caesia Ingenua, daughter of C. Caesius C. f. Papiria Ingenuus.

<sup>862</sup> For more detailed analysis of the inscription, see Nuorluoto 2017, 275f.

<sup>863</sup> The origin of the cognomen of her sister Flavia Sura is unclear.

<sup>864</sup> For women's *tria nomina*, see Kantola & Nuorluoto 2016.

- CIL* III 14406g (Perinthus, 100–150): Iulia M. f. Maxima, daughter of M. Iulius M. f. Volt. Maximus (cf. her brothers M. Iulius Iustus qui et Domitius, M. Iulius Iustus, and P. Iulius M[a]ximus).
- CIL* III 70 (Aegyptus, date unclear): Ianuaria, daughter of Ianuarius.
- AE* 1920, 76 (Antiochia Pisidiae, 1st/2nd c.): [A]nícia C. f. [C]aesiana, daughter of C. Anicius Q. f. Ser. Caesianus, *Ilvir trib. mil. leg.*, whose cognomen in turn came from his mother [C]aesia [- f.] [P]rocilla.
- Iephesos* 950 (Ephesus, Imperial): Κλαυδία Ὀυαλεριανοῦ θυγάτηρ Βαλεριανή.<sup>865</sup>
- IG* IX.6,1, 373 (Samos, 1–50): Κλαυδία Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου θυγάτηρ Ἀπφ[ά][ρ]-ιον Λολλιανή, daughter (apparently) of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ματρῆου υἱός Κυρεῖνα Ματρῆας Λολλιανός.
- IG* XII.4,2, 841/842 (Kos, 1–50): Κλαυδία Ῥουφεῖνα Ἰουλιανή θυγάτηρ Κλαυδίου Νικαγόρα Ἰουλιανοῦ.
- RICM* 9 (Macedonia, 3rd c.): Στερκορία, daughter of Στερκόριος (cf. her sister Στερκόριλλα in 4.3.1.2 B).

#### 4.3.1.2 Father's cognomen in suffixed form

Cases in which the daughter's cognomen is a suffixed form of the father's cognomen are perhaps even more numerous, particularly outside the senatorial elite. The most popular suffixes, as could be expected, were *-ina* and *-illa* (see Chapter 2). While *-iāna* was also one of the popular cognomen-suffixes, it was not used extensively to coin cognomina from other cognomina, but primarily from gentilicia (2.4.4).

#### A. Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-ina*

The suffix *-ina*, as has been noted above in 2.4.3, appears already early in women's cognomina, which normally came from the father. Take for instance the two daughters of M. Vipsanius Agrippa (by different mothers), who bore the cognomen *Agrippina* (*PFOS* 811; *PFOS* 812 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 682); or (Cornelia) Dolabellina (*PFOS* 283), daughter of P. Cornelius Dolabella (*cos.* 10); Valeria Messalina (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 241 = *PFOS* 774), wife of the emperor Claudius and daughter of L. (Valerius) Messalla Barbatus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 141); and Livia Ocellina (*PFOS* 501), daughter of L. Livius Ocella (*quaest.* c. 40; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 299). What is common to all these cases, however, is the fact that all the female cognomina are coined from male names ending in *a*, which did not have a separate feminine form. The suffixed form was in other words a necessity rather than a choice.

<sup>865</sup> Note the variation in orthography (Ὀυαλεριανοῦ / Βαλεριανή).



There is, to be sure, an early case in which the suffixed form was not the result of any formal necessities, namely the cognomen of Munatia Plancina (*PFOS* 562), sister of L. Munatius Plancus (*cos.* 13), whose father, with all probability, also had the cognomen *Plancus* (see 3.3.2 above). In this case, however, it was probably the pejorative nature of the name that resulted in the suffixed form. In many other cases, furthermore, the parentage is only hypothetical. One could for example assume that Sergia L. f. Paulina (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 542 = *PFOS* 703) was the daughter of L. Sergius Paullus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 529) – or in any case one of the L. Sergii Paulli who are known from the early Imperial period – but definite cases are rare.<sup>866</sup> I have compiled a list of hypothetical cases in Appendix 4b.

From a later period, we have some more solid evidence of cases in which the father has a non-pejorative name in *us* from which the daughter's name has been derived with *-īna*, e.g. Vedia Phaedrina (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 327), daughter of the polyonymous M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus from Ephesus (who entered the senate under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius),<sup>867</sup> and Aelia Gemellina (*PFOS* 13), daughter (probably) of P. Aelius Gemellus, *vir clarissimus* in the Severan period (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 180). There is also [Iulia Pi]sonina (*PFOS* 453), daughter of the polyonymous A. Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius Laevillus [-]atus Berenicianus (*cos. suff.* 178?), but in her case, too, the cognomen was coined from a name which did not have a corresponding feminine form, i.e. *Piso*, so a suffixed form was necessary.<sup>868</sup>

Some of the early examples from outside the senatorial class are of similar nature. In other words, the cognomen is often formed from a name that did not have a separate feminine form, e.g. *AE* 1915, 115 = 1917/18, 55 (Macedonia, 1st c.): Pomponia C. f. Aquilina, daughter of C. Pomponius M. f. Lem. Aquila. There are, however, also cases from around the same period, in which the daughter's cognomen was derived with *-īna*, perhaps simply for the sake of variation (or for some other reason), e.g. *AE* 2005, 644 (Comum, 1st c.): Albucia C. f. Firmina, daughter of C. Albucius Firmus; *IPergamon* 479 (Pergamum): Ὀτακιλία Φαυστίνα Γναίου Ὀ[τακιλίου] Φαύστου θυγάτηρ. Other cases from different regions and social groups are numerous also in later periods, as the following evidence will sufficiently show.

<sup>866</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 527-529.

<sup>867</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 317; cf. Halfmann 1979, 168f. no. 84. He in turn received the cognomen after his mother Ofellia Phaedrina (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> O 81).

<sup>868</sup> She is attested as *c(larissima) p(uella)* together with her father and brother in *AE* 1916, 30. There is no reason to doubt the restoration of her name. Note that a non-suffixed female form of *Piso* was not an option.

## Rome and Italy:

- CIL* VI 18717 (50–150): Fulvia M. f. Victorina, daughter of M. Fulvius Victor.
- CIL* VI 22013 (50–150): Mansuetina, daughter of Mansuetus and Marcia Parthenis (cf. her sisters Mansueta in 4.3.1.1 and Sedata in 4.3.3).
- CIL* VI 20533 (70–250): Iulia Insequentina, father Iulius Insequens.
- CIL* VI 29157 (Trajan's reign): Ulpia M. f. Clementina, daughter of M. Ulpius Aug. I. Clemens.
- CIL* VI 22572 (150–300): Modestina, daughter of Modestos [*sic*] and Casteliana.
- CIL* VI 39750 (70–100): Herennia C. f. Rufina, daughter of C. Herennius Rufus.
- CIL* VI 32878 (Aricia, early 3rd c.): Iul(ia) Valentina, daughter of Iul(ius) Valens and Ael(ia) Severa.<sup>869</sup>
- CIL* XIV 209 (Ostia, 150–250): Antonia Secundina, daughter of M. Antonius M. f. Vol. Secundus and Antonia Euhodia.<sup>870</sup>
- CIL* X 6377 (Tarracina, 2nd c.): *Clementinae Cleme(n)s pater filiae*.
- CIL* X 3530 (Misenum, 70–130): [A]quilia M. f. Valentina, daughter of M. Aquilius Valens and Aquilia Felicula.
- CIL* X 2473 (Misenum, 2nd c.): Vettia Rufina, daughter of T. V[e]ttius Rufus.
- CIL* X 3573 (Misenum, 2nd c.): Dinnia Valentina, daughter of C. Dinnius Valens (her brother Dinnius Calocaerus clearly had his name from elsewhere).
- CIL* IX 698 (Sipontum, 2nd c.): Magia Q. f. Severina, daughter of Q. Magius Severus.
- CIL* X 3001 (Puteoli, 150–230): Terentia Celerina, daughter of Bennius Celer and Terentia Procilla (note the use of the maternal nomen).
- CIL* XI 4450 (Ameria, 1st/2nd c.): Caesia C. f. Clemen[ti]na, daughter of C. Caesius Clemens and Silia Iustina.
- AE* 1982, 264 (Pisaurum, 2nd c.): T[urpilia] Maximina, daughter of L. Turpilius [L. f.] Cam. Maximus.
- CIL* XI 3369 (Tarquinia, 2nd c.): Iulia Valentina, daughter of T. Iulius Valens (cf. her sister Iulia Frontina in 4.3.3).
- CIL* V 7357 (Clastidium, Imperial): Atilia C. f. Secundina, daughter of C. Atilius Secundus and Serr[ia?] M. I. Valeriana.
- CIL* V 7828 (Monoecus, 70–200): Aemilia M. f. Rufina, daughter of M. Aemilius Rufus and Vettia Cupita.
- IAquil* II 1343 (Aquileia, 150–230): Pedienia Rufina, daughter of Sex. Pedienus Rufus and [-]aelia Romana.

<sup>869</sup> Valentina's brother Iul. Valentinus had the same cognomen. The origin of the cognomen of their sister Ael(ia) Valeria, instead, remains unknown.

<sup>870</sup> The cognomen of her brother M. Antonius Vindex did not come from the parents.

## Provinces:

*CIL* XII 3037 (prov. Narb., 70–200): Firmia Blaesi f. Bla[e]sina.

*SEG* LII 998 (Massilia, 2nd c.): Gratina, daughter of C. Virius Gratus and Paramone  
(Γάϊος Ο[ὐ]είριος Γράτος καὶ Παραμόνη Γράτου Γρατίνη τῆ ... θυγατρί).

*HEp* 2003/2004, 925 = *AE* 1967, 172 (Civitas Igaeditanorum, date unclear): *Probina Probi f.*

*CIL* VIII 406 (Ammaedara, 2nd/3rd c.): Modia C. f. Maximina, daughter of C. Modius Maximus (note also her brother C. Modius C. fil. Quirina Maximus).

*CIL* VIII 4011 (Lambaesis, 70–200): Purtsia Firmina, daughter of T. Purtsius Firmus.

*CIL* VIII 18222 (Lambaesis, 3rd c.): Aurelia Iustina, daughter of M. Aurelius Iustus and Cl. Maximilla (cf. also her siblings Maximina (4.3.2.3), Iustus, Iustianus, and Maximinus).

*CIL* VIII 3348 = 18185 (Lambaesis, 2nd c.): *G. Aeli(a) Macrina ... L. Aelius Macer pater fecit filiae.*

*CIL* III 14947 (Aequum, 1–150): Alfia L. f. Valentina, daughter of L. Alfius Valens and Raia Marcella (note also her brother L. Alfius Valentinus).

*CIL* III 2870 (Nedinum, 1st c.): Octavia Sex. f. Celsina, daughter of Sex. Octavius Celsus (in the same inscription also Octavia T. f. Gracilla; see below under *illa*).

*CIL* III 11222 (Carnuntum, 87–200): Iulia Valentina, daughter of C. Iul. Valens.

*CIL* III 3685 = 10249 (Pann. inf., 100–150): Fl(avia) Severina, daughter of T. Fl(avius) T. fil. Quir(i)n(a) Severus Gogaenus.

*CIL* III 4533 = 11294 (Aequinoctium, 50–200): Val(eria) Taurina, daughter of M. Val. M. f. Taurus.

*CIL* III 5974 = 11977 (Raetia, 170–250): (Aur.) Amandina, daughter of M. Aur. Amandinus (compare her brother [A]mandinus; cf. also her mother Val. Macrinilla below under *illa*).

*CIL* III 3399 (Campona, 230–300): Cons(t)a(n)t(i)n(a), daughter of P. Aelius Consta(n)s.

*ILJug* II 682 (Salona, 14–150): Satria Valentina, daughter of M. Satrius M. l. Valens and Satria Eufrosyne.

*ILJug* I 339 (Pann. sup., 170–230): Secundinia Vitalina, daughter of M. Secundini[us] Vitalis and Claudia Priscilla.

*AE* 2007, 1214 (Ratiaria, 170–230): Plotia Valentina, daughter of C. Plotius Valens and Ulpia Dianilla (cf. her sister Plotia Plotina in 4.4.1).

There is also one case from beyond the Danubian *limes*: *CIL* III 4351 (130–200): [F]uficia Marcellina, daughter of M. Fufcius M. f. Vel. Marcellus.

B. Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-illa*

Some of the earliest cognomina of senatorial women were coined from the father's cognomen with the suffix *-illa*, e.g. the two Aureliae Orestillae, daughters of Aurelii who used *Orestes* as their cognomen, and a bit later Livia Drusilla, the future wife of Augustus and daughter of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus (see 3.3.1). The practice is also fairly well-attested for senatorial women during the Empire:

First century: IULIA DRUSILLA (*PFOS* 437), daughter of Germanicus Iulius Caesar (originally Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus);<sup>871</sup> UMMIDIA QUADRATILLA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 913; *PFOS* 829), daughter of Q. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus (*cos. suff.* c. 40; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 903);<sup>872</sup> (ANNAEA) NOVATILLA (*PFOS* 50), niece of Seneca (*dial.* 12,18,7–8) and daughter of L. Iunius Gallio Annaeanus, who was L. Annaeus Novatus by birth (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 757). There is also an unidentified (CORNELIA) CETHEGILLA, whose father seems to have had the cognomen *Cethegus*.<sup>873</sup> She is recorded in a fragmentary honorific inscription from Athens, probably from the first century CE, as Κεθήγιλλα Κε[θήγου] θυγάτηρ (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4232 = *SEG* XL 195).

Second century: CL(AUDIA) VARENILLA (*PFOS* 254), daughter of Claudius Varenus (*cos. suff.* during the second century; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1047).

Third century: CORNELIA SERVIANILLA (*PFOS* 293), daughter of M. Cornelius Bassus Servianus, *e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(ir)* from Africa (in the Severan period); (HEDIA?) TERENTIA RUFILLA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 107), *v(irgo) V(estalis) m(axima)*, daughter of Q. (Hedius Lollianus?) Terentius Rufus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 87) and Caenia Verissima (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 147); ACCIA ASCLEPIANILLA CASTOREA, *c(larissima) p(uella)* (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 29 = *PLRE* I, p. 185), daughter of L. Accius Iulianus Asclepianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 27) and Gallonia Octavia Marcella.

There are also later cases in which *-illa* was attached to another suffix to derive a cognomen from the father's name, e.g. AELIA CELSINILLA (*PFOS* 11), daughter of Aelius Celsus (who was executed by Septimius Severus).

<sup>871</sup> Her cognomen was also transmitted to her homonymous niece (*PFOS* 438), the infant daughter of Caligula. Note also that Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus, had already borne the cognomen within the same family, thus serving as a remarkable precedent.

<sup>872</sup> She was probably not identical with the polyonymous Ummidia Quadratilla Asconia Secunda (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 914) but more likely belonged to an earlier generation.

<sup>873</sup> Her exact identity is not clear, but there should be no doubt that she was a Cornelia, since the cognomen *Cethegus* was solely used by one branch of the Cornelii in this period (see also Kajava 1990, 78f.; Raepsaet-Charlier 1993, 258). She must have been related to Ser. Cornelius Ser. f. Cethegus (*cos.* 24 CE; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1336).

Some hypothetical cases also exist. For example, two homonymous sisters styled as *Sulpiciae C. f. Galbillae* commissioned an early Imperial epitaph to their paedagogues (*CIL* VI 9745). Based on their nomenclature and the approximate date of the inscription, it has been assumed that they were daughters of C. Sulpicius Galba (*cos.* 22; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 1030/1031; *PFOS* 741/742), but this is somewhat uncertain. It is, in any case, clear that their cognomen was derived from *Galba* and that they both, interestingly enough, shared the same cognomen. The female cognomen *Galbilla* and, thus, the existence of a possible third case can, by the way, also be deduced from a dedication to *Bona Dea Galbilla* (*CIL* VI 30855), as recently argued by Kajava, but naturally this case may have to do with the two previously known *Galbillae*.<sup>874</sup> There are several other relevant cases of hypothetical parentage which I have compiled in Appendix 3.

The evidence is also abundant outside the senatorial elite, as the following cases will show:

#### Rome and Italy:

*CIL* VI 20393 (1st c.): Iulia L. f. Bassilla, daughter of L. Iulius Bassus and Noneia Fortunata.

*CIL* VI 21921 (1st c.): Domitia L. f. Silanilla, daughter of L. Manilius L. f. Volt. Silanus Viennensis.<sup>875</sup>

*CIL* VI 12702 (50–200): Atticilla, daughter of Atticus.

*CIL* VI 16578 (2nd c.): Crescentilla, daughter of Crescens.

*CIL* VI 24885 (70–200): Postumia P. f. Priscilla, daughter of P. Postumius Priscus and Postumia Sotira.

*CIL* VI 28952 (70–200): Artoria L. f. Atticilla, daughter of L. Artorius Atticus and Villia T. f. Faustina.

*CIL* VI 16361 (70–150): Cornelia Q. f. Bassilla, daughter of Q. Cornelius Bassus and Cornelia Q. f. Prima.

*CIL* VI 10544a (70–200): Aconia Priscilla, daughter of T. Flavius Priscus and Aconia Tuenda (note also her brother C. Aconius Tuendus with the maternal cognomen and the fact that they both have the maternal nomen).

<sup>874</sup> Kajava 2022, 83f.

<sup>875</sup> *Viennensis* is clearly a geographical indication here. Note also that the daughter has a different nomen than her father, even though she was clearly born in a legal marital union. Perhaps one of them was adopted, or the daughter was simply given the maternal nomen (cf. Nuorluoto 2017 for the use of maternal nomina).

*CIL* VI 10777 (70–200): Cl(audia) Priscilla, daughter of L. Aelius Priscus (note the use of the non-paternal nomen).

*CIL* VI 11133 (2nd c.): Aelia Clementilla, daughter of D. Aemi[l]ius Cleme(n)s and Aemi[l]ia Melissa.<sup>876</sup>

*CIL* VI 16578 (2nd c.): Crescentilla, daughter of Crescens and Soteris.

*CIL* X 2617 (Roma? 70–150): Iunia Atticilla, daughter of M. Iunius Atticus and Iunia Prepusa.<sup>877</sup>

*CIL* XIV 4258 = *ILS* 6233, cf. also *CIL* XIV 4259 = *ILS* 5630 (Tibur, 140–170): Tullia Blaesilla, daughter of M. Tullius M. f. Cam. Blaesus and Tullia Berenice.

*AE* 1994, 554 (Tibur, 70–150): Sollertilla, daughter of [Ti]berius Natronius Sollers and Valeria Apollonia (cf. her sister Valerianilla below in 4.4.1).

*CIL* X 6377 (Tarracina, 2nd c.): *Clementillae Cleme(n)s pater filiae*.

*PompIn* 70 = *ImpPomp* 3ES (Pompeii, early Augustan): Veia N. f. Barchilla, daughter of N. Veius Barca (see 3.2.1.5.).

*CIL* IX 4030 (Alba Fucens, 2nd c.): Strabonilla, daughter of Septimi(us) Strabo and Felicula.

*CIL* V 2982 (Patavium, 1st/2nd c.): Luscia Quadratilla, daughter of C. Luscius Quadratus and Insteia Maxima.<sup>878</sup>

*CIL* V 6093 (Mediolanum, 3rd/4th c.): Simplicia Acutilla, daughter of Acutus.

#### Provinces:

*CIL* XII 2786 (Nemausus, 70–200): Val(eria) Severilla, daughter of M. Val. Severus.

*CIL* XII 3742 (Nemausus, 70–200): Maximilla Maximi f.<sup>879</sup>

*CIL* XII 2789 = *AE* 1963, 70 (Aquitania, 70–200): Varenia Montani f. Montanilla.

*CIL* XII 1882–1888 = *ILNV*.1 84,1–8 (Vienna, 1st c.): Sulpicia D. f. Censilla, daughter of D. Sulpicius D. f. Volt. Censor, *aedilis IIIIvir*.

*CIL* XIII 2899 = *ILS* 4547 = *AE* 1958, 51 (Haedui, 2nd/3rd c.): Avitilla Aviti f.

*CIL* II 771 (Caurium, 70–200): Albinilla Albini f.

*ILAlg* I 1921 (Afr. proc., Imperial): Varilla V[a]ri filia.

*CIL* VIII 2843 (Lambaesis, 2nd c.): Cl(audia) Maximilla, daughter of Tib. Cl(audius)

<sup>876</sup> Her sister Primilla's cognomen did not obviously come from the parents.

<sup>877</sup> The cognomina of her sister Sperata and brother Hilarus did not come from the parents. The provenance of the inscription is dubious, but Rome seems more probable than Puteoli (as already suspected by Mommsen).

<sup>878</sup> The cognomen of her brother L. Luscius Valens was from neither one of the parents.

<sup>879</sup> The cognomen was also transmitted to her son Maximus, while her daughter Servata was not named after either one of her parents (the father was called M. Apicius Vitalis).

Maximus and Cl(audia) Maxim(a). In this case the cognomen can be said to derive from both parents.

*CIL* III 1906 (Scarbantia, 46–69): Iulia Ti. f. Ruf(i)lla, daughter of Ti. Iulius Rufus.

*CIL* III 2083 = *CLE* 1060 (Salona, 30–150): Papiria Cladilla, daughter of P. Papirius Cladus and Papiria Rhome.<sup>880</sup>

*CIL* III 2870 (Nedinum, 1st c.): Octavia T. f. Gracilla, daughter of T. Octavius Sex. f. Gracilis (in the same inscription also Octavia Sex. f. Celsina, daughter of Sex. Octavius Celsus, cf. above under *-ina*).

*ILJug* III 2017 (Clissa, 150–200): Maltilia Pudentilla, daughter of Maltilius Pudens and Aurelia Maxima (for her sister Maltilia Maximina, see 4.3.2.2).

*CIL* III 12438 (Moesia inf., early 3rd c.): Val(eria) Pudentilla, daughter of L. Val(erius) Pude[ns] and Kalpurnia [*sic*] Procla.<sup>881</sup>

*CIL* III 5974 = 11977 (Raetia, 170–250): Val(eria) Macrinilla, daughter of Cl(audius) Macrinus (the inscription also mentions Amandina, daughter of M. Aur. Amandinus; cf. above under *ina*).

*CIL* III 4191 (Savaria, 100–150): Valeria Censorinilla, daughter of L. Val(erius) L. f. Cl(audia) Censorinus (*dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) S(avariae) item vet(eranus) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis)*) and Flavia Insequentina.<sup>882</sup>

*CIL* III 11031 = *RIU* 369 (Brigetio, 150–300): Lucilla, daughter of L. Retonius Lucius.

*CIL* III 279 (Ancyra, 70–200): Ventidia Carpilla, daughter of Ti. Iulius Carpus (note the non-paternal nomen).

*AE* 1938, 56 = 2003, 1607 (Philippi, 3rd c.): Aurelia Lucilla, daughter of M. Aurelius Lucius and Aurelia Calliste.

*AE* 1912, 270 (Iconium, 169): Ἀρρουντία Οὐαλεντίλλα, daughter of Γ. Ἀρρουντίος Οὐάλη(ν)ς.

*RICM* 9 (Macedonia, 3rd c.): Στερκόριλλα, daughter of Στερκόριος (cf. her sister Στερκορία above in 4.3.1.1).

<sup>880</sup> It is unclear where (if anywhere) the cognomen of Cladilla's brother Papirius Proculus came from.

<sup>881</sup> Pudentilla's brother L. Val. Pudentianus was also named after the father, his cognomen being derived with the suffix *-ianus*. The cognomen of their sister Val. Restuta did not, however, come from either one of the parents.

<sup>882</sup> She also had four brothers: Valerii Censorianus, Florentinus, Venerius, and Veteranus. *Censorianus* was also derived from the paternal cognomen (with *-ianus*), while *Veteranus* clearly came from the fact that the father was a veteran. One can only speculate why *Florentinus* and *Venerius* were chosen.

C. Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-iāna*

DOMITIA DECIDIANA (*PFOS* 322), daughter of Domitius Decidius (*homo novus* from Narbonensis; *q.* 44/46). Note, however, that the father's cognomen was in fact a gentilicium used as a cognomen.

EGNATIA CERTIANA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 38), *c(larissima) f(emina)*, daughter of C. Egnatius Certus (*CIL* IX 1578, Beneventum, 3rd c.).

Titia Statilia Valeria Agrippiana Fadilla (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 278), daughter of M. Valerius Iulianus Agrippa, who belonged to the *ordo decurionum* of Prusiae in the early third century (cf. *I Prusias ad Hypium* 22).

*AE* 1968, 49 (early 2nd c.): Castricia M. f. Phoebiana, daughter of M. Castricius Phoebus and Sentia Casta.

*CIL* VI 10957 (117–200): Aelia Prisciana, daughter of P. Aelius Priscus and Manlia Cleopatra.

*ICUR* 9094 (290–325): Probatiana, daughter of Probatius.

*CIL* XII 2252 (Cularo): Attia Marciana, daughter of C. Sollius Marcus and Attia Aurelia (cf. her sister and Attia Marcula below under *-ula*; their brother was called C. Sollius Marculus).

*I Ephesos* 2311 (Ephesus, Imperial): Συ(σ)τυλία Τιτιανή, daughter of Συστύλιος Τίτος (note also her brother Συ(σ)τύλιος Τιτιανός).

D. Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-ulal-ola*

*CIL* VI 15060 (70–150): Claudia Felicula, daughter of Ti. Claudius Felix.

*CIL* IX 6246 (Larinum, 70–200): Irria Capriola, daughter of Irrius Caprius and Irria Ianuaria (note that the father's cognomen *Caprius* is technically a nomen).

*CIL* XII 4002 (Nemausus, 70–200): *Valeria Veri f. Verula*.

*CIL* XII 2252 = *ILNV*.12, 388 (Cularo, 250–300): Attia Marcula, daughter of C. Sollius Marcus and Attia Aurelia (cf. her sister Attia Marciana above).

*CIL* XIII 1650 (Segusiavi, 70–200): *Maria Severiola Sacri Severi et Mariae Mariolae filia*.<sup>883</sup>

There is also one senatorial case that requires a comment: IULIA LUPULA ?ARRIA ?FADILLA (*PFOS* 444). It has been assumed that all the names belong to one woman, who was the daughter of P. Iulius Lupus (*cos. suff.* in the late 90s). This may be the case. It seems, however, somewhat suspicious, as Kajava points out, that one and the same person would be styled, depending on the source, as

<sup>883</sup> The father's cognomen was probably *Severus* (rather than *Severius*), but the daughter's cognomen seems to have been derived from it, as if it was *Severius*; thus *Severiola* (and not *Severula*) – clearly with the same analogy as the mother's cognomen *Mariola*, which was derived from the gentilicium *Marius/a*.



‘Iulia Fadilla’ (*HA, Vita Pii*, 1, 5), ‘Iulia Lupula’ (*CIL XV 338*), and ‘Arria Lupula’ (*AE 1960*, 181 = 1967, 75).<sup>884</sup> This is especially suspicious in light of the two totally different nomenclatures. It has been suggested that we might be dealing with two women, Arria Lupula and Iulia Lupula, who were perhaps the daughters of Arria Fadilla, mother of Antoninus Pius, or somehow descended from P. Iulius Lupus.<sup>885</sup> In any case, it seems clear that there was a Iulia who had the cognomen Lupula and that she was perhaps the daughter of P. Iulius Lupus.

#### E. Cognomen derived from the father’s cognomen with *-ulla*

*CIL IX 652* (Venusia, 14–37 CE): Egnatia Marulla, daughter of C. Egnatius C. f. Hor.

Marus, *flam. Tib. Caesaris Aug. pont. Ilvir quinq. ter praef. fabrum*.

*CIL X 5255* (Casinum, 1st c.): Tertulla, daughter of C. Lanius P. f. Tertius.

There is also a senatorial case, viz. TERENTIA CN. F. HISPULLA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 105 = *PFOS 756*), whose father, in all likelihood, was called Cn. Terentius Hispo (cf. n. 279), as well as two women with the *Frontulla* who were daughters of a Fronto (for the evidence, see 2.4.5.2).

#### F. Other cases

The daughter’s cognomen could naturally be derived from the father’s name with other suffixes as well, for instance, with *-āna*, as in *CIL VIII 3383* (Lambaesis): Amullia C. f. Africana, daughter of C. Amulius Africus; or it could be a superlative form (particularly of *Felix*), e.g. *CIL XII 1918* (Vienna): Iulia Felicissima, daughter of P. Iul(ius) P. f. Gal. Felix and Iul. Novella. Even more often, however, the female counterpart of *Felix* would be the abstract noun *Felicitas*, as in *CIL VI 16044*: Cominia L. f. Felicitas, daughter of L. Cominius Felix and Cominia Kara [*sic*].

While the termination *-ia* does not become common in Latin cognomina before the fourth century, it occurs regularly in Greek cognomina already earlier, e.g. *CIL VI 20754* (3rd c.): Iunia Alexandria, daughter of Iunius Alexander; *CIL VI 23333* (3rd c.): Octabia [*sic*] Alexandria, daughter of Octabius [*sic*] Alexander. However, since these forms correspond to regular Greek feminine endings, we can hardly speak of true suffixed derivations.

There are also a number of cases, in which the daughter’s cognomen is coined with *-ia* from a name that corresponds to men’s praenomina of the type *Marcus*, *Titus* (see 2.4.7.1 above). But since *Marcia* and *Titia* were in fact the ‘standard’

<sup>884</sup> Kajava 1986, 87.

<sup>885</sup> Chausson 2005, 239; cf. Kajava 1993, 189f.

female variants of these names (instead of *Marca* and *Tita*), such cases should not be considered suffixed forms in the same sense as names coined with, say, *-illa* or *-īna*.

While the suffix *ella* was hardly productive in personal names, there are some rare cases in which it seems that a female name was coined independently with it. Most of these cases are found in 2.4.9 above, but, in addition, there is at least one potential case from the senatorial *ordo*, which may belong to this category: Cassius Dio informs us of a wealthy 80-year-old lady, Aelia Catella (*PFOS* 10), who danced for Nero (Dio 61,19,2). It has been reasonably assumed that she was the daughter of Sex. Aelius Catus (*cos.* 4 CE; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 157), though this is not entirely certain (but in this case she would probably be the sister of Aelia Paetina; see 4.6.1 below).<sup>886</sup>

It was also possible to derive the daughter's cognomen from that of the father with a combination of multiple suffixes, e.g. *AE* 1973, 71 (Roma, 130–170): father Cn. Coelius Mascus, daughter Coelia Mascellina (*-ella* + *-īna*).

#### 4.3.1.3 Father's and daughter's cognomina derived from the same root with different suffixes

In many cases the father's and the daughter's cognomina were both suffixed forms coined from the same root. The father's cognomen could for instance be derived with *-iānus* or *-īnus*, while the daughter's cognomen would have the termination *-illa* or *-īna* (in the most typical scenarios). This is particularly characteristic for later periods, when suffixed forms were more common in general. In this category, one could also include pairs such as *Fronto* – *Frontina* or *Pollio* – *Pollitta*, since it can be argued that the names were regularly derived from the stems *front-* and *Poll-*, cf. Caesia Frontina (*PFOS* 170), daughter of Ti. Cadius Caesius Fronto (*cos. suff.* 96) and Fufidia Pollitta (*PFOS* 388), daughter of L. Fufidius Pollio (*cos.* 166). Pairs of the type *Hispo* – *Hispulla* could also be counted in this category, but since the root-word is unknown, it may be better to treat such forms as real derivations through haplology – although, from the Roman point of view, such a distinction was probably largely irrelevant (cf. the discussion in 2.4.14).

In all the following cases the daughter's cognomen is derived with *-illa* whilst the father's cognomen is derived with some other suffix (mostly *-iānus*, but also *-īnus*, *-o*, *-io*):

<sup>886</sup> Syme (1986, 309 n. 79) has certain reservations, assuming that Catus may have been born c. 30 BCE, whence the Neronian lady of eighty years could hardly be his daughter.

FL(AVIA) NERATIA SEPTIM[IA] OCTAVILLA (PFOS 372), *c(larissima) p(uella)*, attested as the daughter of L. Flav(ius) Septimius Aper Octavianus in an urban inscription from the early 3rd century (CIL VI 1415; cf. CIL VI 31648).<sup>887</sup>

CLAUDIA DRYANTILLA PLATONIS (PFOS 234), daughter of Ti. Claudius Dryantianus Antoninus (active during the Antonine period) – though her aunt already bore the cognomen *Dryantilla* (cf. 4.3.3).

CIL VI 25707 (Roma, 325–375): Sabinil(l)a, daughter of Sabinianus.

CIL VI 18247 (late 1st c.): Flávia Vettília (=Vettilla), daughter of T. Flávius Vettó (note also her brother T. Flávius Vettiánus).

BCAR 56 (1928), 292 no. 5 (Roma, 1st c.): *Rufilla L. Avilli Nigri Rufonis f.*

CIL XI 3552 = ILS 3276 (Blera, 50–150): (Decimia) Ammonilla, daughter of C. Decimius Ammonianus Flavianus.

CIL V 4662 = *InscrIt X.5* 463 (Brixia, 1st c.): Nonia Telesilla, daughter of M. Nonius Telesinus.

RIUVI 1307 (Aquincum, 150–200): Aelia Sabinilla, daughter of Ael. Sabinianus (whose father in turn was called Ael. Sabinus).

CIL III 1541 (Dacia, 2nd c.): Pap(iria) Quintilla, daughter of Pap(irius) Quintinus.

CIL XIII 2052 (Lugudunum, 2nd c.): Aelia Germanilla, daughter of Aelius Germaninus.

AE 1967, 165 = *HEp* 2003/04, 926 (Lusitania, date unclear): Quintilla, daughter of M. Curius Quintio.

CIL XII 1207 (prov. Narb., 70–250): Maurilla, daughter of Maurilio.

In some similar cases the daughter's cognomen resembled not only the father's cognomen but also his praenomen, like e.g. in the following cases from Gallia Narbonensis: CIL XII 2739: Iulia Q. f. Quintilla, daughter of Q. Iulius Quintin(us); and CIL XII 2793: F(rontonia) Quintilla, daughter of Q. Frontonius Quintinus.

The following cases are similar, but the daughter's cognomen is coined with *-ina*:

CIL VI 26999 (1st c.): Sulpicia Honorina, daughter of Sulp(icius) Honoratus and Domitilla.

CIL VI 38229 (late 2nd c.): Consia Augustina, daughter of M. Consius Augustalis and Iulia Melitine.

CIL XI 3820 = VI 8728 = ILS 7506 (Veii, 98–150): Ulpia Martina, daughter of M. Ulpus Aug. l. Martialis.

CIL VI 20315 (2nd/3rd c.): Iulia Valentina, daughter of Iulius Valentio.

<sup>887</sup> Her name also suggests a connection to Septimia Octavilla (PFOS 697), sister of the emperor Septimius Severus.

- CIL* III 5684 (Lauriacum, 100–150): Privatia Silvina, daughter of Privatius Silvester.  
*ILJug* II 560 = *AE* 1984, 791 (Moes. sup. 130–250): Maximina, daughter of P. Ael. Maximianus.  
*CIL* III 987 (Apulum, 180–211): Iulia Frontina, daughter of C. Iulius Frontonianus.  
*CIL* III 3560 (Aquincum, 170–230): Pollia Martina, daughter of G. Pollius G. f., *domo col(onia) Ael(ia) Mursa*, Martianus, *vet. leg. II Ad.* (note also her siblings Marcellina and Marinianus, whose names, while derived from different stems, were probably chosen due to their phonetic vicinity to *Martianus*).  
*CIL* III 14367,1 = *ILLPRON* 1972 = *RIS* 350 (Celeia, 2nd/3rd c.): (Valeria) Tertullina, daughter of Valerius Tertul{i}lianus.

Other suffixes:

- AE* 1914, 92 = 1919, 80 (Novae, 50–100): Antonia Aprulla, daughter of M. Antonius M. f. domo Crustumia Arniae Aprio and Tannonia Valentina.  
 Compare: *CIL* VI 21113 (late 1st c.): Larcia Aprylla, daughter of A. Larcus Aprio – though due to the orthography it is not clear if the daughter's cognomen is supposed to be *Aprulla* or *Aprilla*.  
*ILAin* 128 = *AE* 1988, 876 (Ambarri, 2nd c.): *Rufinula Ruffiniani fil(ia), neptis of Ruffius Severus Scotti filius*. In other words, the cognomina of Rufinula and her father go back to the grandfather's nomen *Ruffius*, from which the father's cognomen is derived with *-inus* + *-iānus*; and the daughter's cognomen in turn is a variant of the father's cognomen with *-ula*.  
*CIL* VI 1388 (Rome, 160–170): Aur. M. f. Apollonia, daughter of Aur. Apollinaris.  
*AE* 1988, 41 (Rome, 250–300): *Marciae Marcianus pater filiae* (assuming that the stem is *Marc-*; it could also be that we are dealing with the nomen *Marcia*).

In the following cases there are several daughters with cognomina that resemble each other as well as that of the father:

- AE* 1939, 10 (Ulcisia, 170–250): parents T. Fl(avius) Felicio, *Aug. col. Aq.* and Flavia Secundina, with two daughters, Flavia Felicula and Flavia Felicissima (also three sons; T. Flavius Felicissimus, T. Flavius Felix, and T. Fl(avius) Ingenuus who is also styled as *fil. legitimus*).  
*RIU* III 719 = *AE* 1909, 146 (Brigetio, 211–222): Aeliae Victoriana and Victoria, daughters of P. Aelius Victorinus and [---] Pacata.  
*CIL* XIII 3816 (Augusta Treverorum, 5th c.): Dicnissima [*sic*], daughter of Dignantius.

In the case of freedwomen, the cognomen could also resemble that of the patron, as in *CIL* VI 21806, recording L. Maecius Secundinus and his freedwoman Maecia Secundilla.

## 4.3.1.4 Father's cognomen in de-suffixed form

Sometimes the daughter's cognomen was derived from the father's name not in a suffixed but in a de-suffixed form (e.g. *Rufinus* > *Rufa*, *Vitellianus* > *Vitellia*). This phenomenon was obviously more characteristic to later rather than early periods, since it presupposed that the father's cognomen already was a suffixed form of an existing name. I have come across the following cases:

*CIL* VI 18815 (Rome, late 1st c.): Hygia, daughter of Hyginus and Furia Secunda.

*CIL* VI 28229 (Rome, late 1st c.): Val(eria) Marcel(l)a, daughter of Val. Marcellinus and Aur. Rufina.

*AE* 1983, 177 = 2014, 227 (Rome, 3rd c.): Iulia Secunda, daughter of Iul. Domit. Secundianus.

*CIL* V 4531 = *InscrIt* X.5 329 (Brixia): (Nonia) Severa, daughter of M. Non(ius) Severinus (cf. her sister Severina in 4.3.1.1 above).

*CIL* XI 199 (Ravenna): Olia P. f. Tertulla, daughter of (P.) Olius Tertullianus.

*CIL* XII 1267 (Arausio, Narbonensis, 2nd/3rd c.): Iulia Paulina, daughter of Iul(ia) Paterna and Togius Paulinianus.

*CIL* XIII 1890 (Lugd., 222–235): Septimia Marcella, daughter of L. Septimius L. f. *nat(ione) Pannonius d(omo) Ulp. Papir. Petavione* Marcellinus and Aelia Clementina (note also her brothers T. Sept. Marcellus and T. Sept. Marcellianus).

*ILAlg* II.3, 7634 (Cuicul, 70–200): Fl(avia) Novella, daughter of C. Fl. Novellianus.

*CIL* VIII 4278 (Verecunda, 2nd c.): Iulia Semproniana, daughter of C. Iul. Sempronian(us) and Sallustia Quartilla.

*CIL* III 2241 (Salona, 3rd c.): Aur(el)ia [*sic*] Ursa, daughter of Aurelius Ursinus.<sup>888</sup>

*CIL* III 3534 (Aquincum, 193–200): Aurelia Antonia, daughter of Aur. Antoninus and Septimia Lupa.

*RIU* II 552 (Brigetio, 180–250): Fl(avia) Iulia, daughter of T. Fl. Iulianus (and sister of T. Fl. Iulianus).

*PFCR* 693: Ulpia Valeria, daughter of M. Val. Valerianus, a Roman knight, and Ulpia Paratiane. She is also the sister of M. Val. Ulpianus, who died at the age of eight (*CIL* III 4327 = *IGR* I 532 = *AE* 1958, 149 = *AE* 1960, 56; Brigetio, early 3rd c.). Note that her nomen is from the mother, while her cognomen is 'de-suffixed' from the father's cognomen.

<sup>888</sup> The daughter's nomenclature has been restored in the *EDCS* as *Aur(el)ia Urs(in)a*, but this is unnecessary. I do not see why we could not assume that the cognomen really was *Ursa* and that the scribe simply made an error with the nomen.

There is also a senatorial woman, EGRILIA PLARIA (*PFOS* 341), whose father was M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 48). The name *Plaria*, in fact, came from the paternal grandmother Plaria Vera through the nomenclature of her father (*Plaria* (a nomen) > *Plarianus* > *Plaria* (now a cognomen)).<sup>889</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Cognomen from the mother

Just as the cognomen could be taken from the father, it could equally well come from the mother or the maternal branch of the family. In the case of the early Imperial aristocracy, this sometimes meant that the mother herself may not have had a cognomen, but the daughter's cognomen was identical with or derived from the cognomen used by the men of the maternal line. Relevant cases from Roman Spain have been conveniently compiled in a recent article by L. Curchin.<sup>890</sup>

##### 4.3.2.1 Maternal cognomen in identical form

As noted above, some early Imperial women inherited their cognomen from the maternal line (even if the mother did not necessarily have a cognomen). This is, for example, the case with LOLLIA SATURNINA (*PFOS* 506), whose mother was an otherwise unknown daughter of a Volusius Saturninus (see 3.3.2 above), and with DOMITIA CALVINA (*PFOS* 321), whose mother Domitia was the daughter of Cn. Domitius Calvinus (*cos.* 53, II 40 BCE).<sup>891</sup> In the case of the latter, one should note that not only the cognomen but also the nomen came from the maternal side – a practice that occasionally occurs among women of the Roman elite, mostly for reasons of prestige (the most famous example being Nero's wife Poppaea Sabina, but there are many other examples as well).<sup>892</sup>

Senatorial women who had the maternal cognomen in an identical form are abundantly on record:

First century: IULIA AGRIPPINA (*PFOS* 426), daughter of Germanicus Caesar and (Vipsania) Agrippina (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 682); IUNIA LEPIDA (*PFOS* 472), daughter of M. Iunius Silanus (*cos.* 19 CE) and Aemilia Lepida (*PFOS* 29); DOMITIA LONGINA (*PFOS* 327), daughter of Cn. Domitius Corbulo (*cos. suff.* 39) and

<sup>889</sup> Plaria Vera is attested as *flaminica divae Augustae* at Ostia (CIL XIV 399; 5346; 4446; also *MEFR* 1970, no. 3).

<sup>890</sup> Curchin 2022.

<sup>891</sup> The mother probably did not have a cognomen. She is attested in the nomenclature of her slaves as *Domitia Bibuli (uxor)* (CIL VI 5876; 9523).

<sup>892</sup> I have discussed this practice elsewhere; see Nuorluoto 2017.

(Cassia?) Longina (*PFOS* 196); (LICINIA) PRAETEXTATA (*PFOS* 495), daughter of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (*cos.* 64) and Sulpicia Praetextata (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 1034 = *PFOS* 745; see 4.6.1 below); POPPAEA SABINA (*PFOS* 646 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 850), daughter of T. Ollius and Poppaea Sabina (*PFOS* 645 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 849), bearing full maternal nomenclature, apparently on her own initiative;<sup>893</sup> FLAVIAE DOMITILLAE (*PFOS* 368/369), mother and daughter, the elder Domitilla being the daughter of the emperor Vespasian and Flavia Domitilla (*PFOS* 367), and the younger bearing not only her mother's cognomen but also her nomen (compare Poppaea Sabina above);<sup>894</sup> MARCIA FURNILLA (*PFOS* 525), daughter of Q. Marcius Barea Sura and Antonia Furnilla (*PFOS* 77);<sup>895</sup> CORELLIA HISPULLA (*PFOS* 268), daughter of Q. Corellius Rufus (*cos. suff.* 78) and Hispulla (*PFOS* 418);<sup>896</sup> (AELIA) DOMITIA PAULINA (*PFOS* 12), daughter of P. Aelius Hadrianus Afer and Domitia Paulina (*PFOS* 330), as well as IULIA PAULINA, daughter of the former (*PFOS* 452).

Second century: MINICIA MARCELLA (*PFOS* 552), daughter of C. Minicius Fundanus (*cos. suff.* 107) and Statoria Marcella (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 893 = *PFOS* 773); ANNIAE GALERIAE FAUSTINAE (*maior* and *minor*; *PFOS* 62/63) and ANNIA GALERIA AURELIA FAUSTINA (*PFOS* 61), women in three generations, the eldest Faustina being the daughter of M. Annius Verus (*cos.* 97, II 121, III 126) and Rupilia Faustina, and her daughter, the younger Faustina, in turn bearing not only her mother's cognomen but also her nomen, clearly for dynastic reasons (compare the similar cases above), and her cognomen was also transmitted to her own daughter. Note also their kinswomen ANNIA FAUSTINA (*PFOS* 58), daughter of Ummidia Cornificia Faustina (*PFOS* 827), and her daughter ANNIA AURELIA FAUSTINA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 710). Other women from around the same period: CL(AUDIA) BALBINA

<sup>893</sup> Tacitus explicitly states that she was named after her maternal grandfather C. Poppaeus Sabinus for reasons of prestige (*Tac. ann.* 13,45): *erat in civitate Sabina Poppaea, T. Ollio patre genita, sed nomen avi materni sumpserat, illustri memoria Poppaei Sabini, consulari et triumphali decore praefulgentis; nam Ollium honoribus nondum functum amicitia Seiani pervertit* ('There was in Rome a certain Poppaea Sabina. She was the daughter of Titus Ollius, but she had assumed the name of her maternal grandfather Poppaeus Sabinus, an illustrious man, distinguished by consular and triumphal glory; for Ollius, who had not yet risen to the highest office, was ruined by his friendship with Seianus'). For a more thorough discussion, see Nuorluoto 2017, 265f.

<sup>894</sup> Her father seems to have been a certain Q. Petillius Cerialis Caesius Rufus (*cos. suff.* 70, II 74; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 260; cf. Nuorluoto 2017, 269f.). Note also that a masculine variant of the cognomen *Domitilla*, coined with *-ianus*, appears in the nomenclature of the emperor Domitian.

<sup>895</sup> For her mother's cognomen, see 2.4.2.2 above.

<sup>896</sup> The mother's nomen is not known but she was probably connected to the Terentii Hispones of Mediolanum (see Terentia Cn. f. Hispulla in 2.4.5.1).

(*PFOS* 224), daughter of L. Claudius Arrianus (*cos. suff.* mid-second century) and Cl(audia) Balbina (*PFOS* 225); [ACILIA] FAUSTINA (*PFOS* 3), daughter of M'. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus (*cos.* 152) and Faustina (*PFOS* 358); BRUTTIA CRISPINA (*PFOS* 149), daughter of C. Bruttius Praesens (*cos.* 187; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> B 165) and Laberia Mar[cia] Hostilia Crispina Moecia Cornelia (*PFOS* 478); CASCONIA MARCELLINA (*PFOS* 192), *c(larissima) f(emina)*, who received not only her cognomen but also her nomen after her homonymous mother Casconia Marcellina (*PFOS* 191; compare the similar cases above).

Third century: CERELLIA VERANILLA, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)*, attested together with her father Q. C[erellius Apo]llinaris, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) v(ir)*, and mother Aurelia Veranilla, also *c. m. f.*, at Rome during Caracalla's reign (*CIL* VI, 41180 = *AE* 1969/70, 193 = *AE* 1974, 319a).

There is also AURELIA IUSTA (*PLRE* I, p. 488), daughter of Caecilius Candidianus, *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*, and (Aur(elia) Iusta *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)*); cf. *CIL* VI 31955 = *ICUR* 11221), and while she may not have been senatorial herself, her mother clearly was.<sup>897</sup> Another similar case is IULIA CAS(S)IANA, daughter of Iulia Decimi filia Cas(s)iana, *clarissima femina*, recorded in *CIL* II 4994 at Olisipo during the third century (cf. the mother in Appendix 3a). There are, furthermore, plenty of hypothetical cases, which I have compiled in Appendix 3c.

The practice is also well attested outside the senatorial elite, particularly in the city of Rome:

*CIL* VI 39541 (1–50): Ocia P. f. Prima, daughter of P. Ocius Felix and Gallenia C. l.

Prima (for her sister Ocia Primilla, see 4.3.2.2 below).

*CIL* VI 12134 = *ILS* 8085 (1st c.): Corria Q. f. Paullina, daughter of Q. Corrius Antiquus and Aplasia C. f. Paullina.

*CIL* VI 15542 (1st c.): Claudia Ti. f. Phoebe, daughter of Ti. Claudius Nedyms and Iulia Phoebe.

*CIL* VI 18466 (late 1st c.): Flavia Urbica, daughter of Mani[li]a Urbica and T. Flavius Victor.

*CIL* VI 18305/18306 (Flavian period), Flavia Cara quae et Ianuaria, daughter of T. Flavius Aug. l. Clymenus and Baebia Ianuaria.

*CIL* VI 19585 (50–130): Manlia Propinqua, daughter (?) of Hostia C. f. Propinqua.

<sup>897</sup> Both Aurelia Iusta and her brother Aurelius Asyncrytius bore the maternal nomen instead of the paternal one, perhaps because of the mother's higher rank in comparison to her equestrian husband (cf. Nuorluoto 2017, 271f.).



- CIL* VI 15433 (50–200): Cl(audia) Ti. f. Firmina, daughter of Cl(audia) Firmina.  
*AE* 1987, 132 (70–130 CE): Caetannia Romana, daughter of Caetannius Fileros and Aelia Romana.
- CIL* VI 15893 (98–117): Cocceia Auge, daughter of (M. Ulpius) Aug. lib. Vestalis and Cocceia Auge (brothers M. Ulpius Vestalis and M. Cocceius Crescens).<sup>898</sup>
- CIL* VI 15527 (98–117): Iulia Pallas, daughter of Claudia Pallas and C. Iulius Anicetus.
- CIL* VI 19993 (98–117): Iulia Phoebas, daughter of Iulius Felix & Annia Phoebas.
- CIL* VI 8701 (98–150): Ulpia Iusta, daughter of M. Ulpius Aug. l. Zopyrus and Sulpicia Iusta.
- CIL* VI 10969 (117–138): Aelia P. f. Sabina, daughter of Aelius Trophimus & Longinia Sabina.
- CIL* VI 10934 (117–150): Aebutia P. f. Marcia, daughter of (P. Ael.) Politicus Aug. lib. and Flavia Marcia (perhaps a nomen used as a cognomen).
- CIL* VI 6826 (140–150): Aelia Tyche, daughter of P. Aelius Helix and Aelia Tyche (unclear where her sister Aelia Marciana's cognomen originated).
- CIL* VI 15166 (2nd c.): Cl(audia) Marina, daughter of M. Claudius Nymphotodus and Caninia Marina.
- AE* 1969/70, 58 (2nd c.): Iuventia Beronice, daughter of Rasinia Beronice.
- CIL* VI 35307 (2nd c.): Fl(avia) Priscilla, daughter of Fl(avius) Alfius and Publilia Priscilla.
- CIL* VI 21945 (2nd c.): Iavolena Sosibia, daughter of P. Manlius Fuscus and Iavolena Sosibia (her sister was called Iavolena Marcia; see 4.9. below).
- CIL* VI 10524 (150–200): Siria Iustina, daughter of P. Sirius Serpicianus and Acilia M. f. Iustina.
- CIL* VI 20462 = *ILS* 8486 (2nd/3rd c.): Iulia C. f. Felicitas, daughter of Iulius Verna and Iulia Felicitas.
- CIL* VI 1636 = *ILS* 1361 = *AE* 1978, 344 (220–240): Vibia Maria Maxima, daughter of P. Vib(ius) P. f. Marianus, *e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(ir)*, and Regina Maxima.<sup>899</sup>
- CIL* VI 10861 (190–225): Aeliae Celerinae (mother and daughter).
- CIL* VI 2647 (2nd/3rd c.). Iunia D. f. Flaccilla, daughter of D. Iunius D. f. Verecundus and Aurelia L. f. Flaccilla.

<sup>898</sup> Note the use of the maternal nomen, perhaps due to birth outside a legal marital union; also the fact that her brother M. Ulpius Vestalis bore the father's nomen and cognomen, while her other brother M. Cocceius Crescens also had the maternal nomen (and the origin of his cognomen is unknown). It might also be worth pointing out that the daughter was given a Greek name, while the two sons have Latin names.

<sup>899</sup> Note also that her second nomen *Maria* was 'de-suffixed' from the father's cognomen *Marianus* (which in its turn, one may reasonably suspect, was derived from *Marius/a*).

- CIL* VI 15500 (Imperial): Nigidia Martina, daughter of Q. Nigidius Teuthrans and Cl. Martina (compare her brother Nigidius Martius).
- CIL* VI 21601 (Imperial): Lucilia L. f. Procula, mother Procula.
- CIL* VI 20494 (Imperial): Iulia Helice, daughter Helice.
- CIL* VI 9661 = *ILS* 7517 (3rd c.): Ulpia Secundina, daughter of Ulpus Eutyches and Ulpia Secundina (note also her brother Ulpus Secundinus).

#### Outside Rome:

- CIL* XIV 2062 (Vicus Augustanus Laurentium, 2nd c.): Terentia Faustina, daughter of T. Terentius Secundus and Ulpia Faustina.<sup>900</sup>
- CIL* V 5478 (Mediolanum, 1–150): Albinia Ingenua, daughter of C. Albinus C. f. Ouf. Mascellio and Iulia Ingenua.<sup>901</sup>
- CIL* XI 3855 (Saxa Rubra, 2nd c.): (Ulpia) Procilla, daughter of M. Ulpus Perseus and Furcilia Procilla.
- CIL* XII 3615 (Nemausus, Imperial): Sulpicia Q. f. Honorata, daughter of Hortensia L. f. Honorata.
- CIL* XIII 11001 = *AE* 1996, 1042 (Aquitania, 70–200): Pompeia Primilla, daughter of Q. Pomp(eius) Avitus and Cominia L. f. Primilla.
- CIL* VIII 9094 (Mauret. Caes.): Clodia Luciosa, daughter of Kalpurnia Luciosa.
- CIL* III 3666 (Crumerum, 150–300): Annia Lupa, daughter of Ann(ius) Candidianus and Aurelia Lupa.
- CIL* III 2737 (Aequum, 3rd c.): mother and daughter both called Cornelia Ferocilla.
- SEG* XL 481 (Malloia, 1st c.): Λουκία Ἰνγένονα, daughter of Λούκιος Γέλλιος and Καλπουρνία Ἰνγένονα.
- SEG* IX 237 (Cyrenaica, 1st/2nd c.): Πλωτῆνα Ἀσία (who died at the age of 20), daughter of Κ. Πλωτῆνος Μάκερ (age 60) and Ἀστεία Ἀσία (age 50).

In addition, Curchin documents 17 similar cases from Roman Hispania.<sup>902</sup> It may be assumed that an in-depth study of a region such as Gaul would produce similar numbers.

<sup>900</sup> The cognomen of her sister Terentia Ampliatiana clearly did not come from either one of the parents.

<sup>901</sup> She also had three siblings: Iulianus, Mascellio, and Montana. Mascellio's cognomen is identical to that of the father, while Iulianus's derives from the mother's gentilicium with *-iānus*. The origin of Montana's cognomen is unclear, but *Montanus/a* was a rather popular name in Northern Italy, obviously relating to the mountaneous landscape of the region (a search in the *EDCS* results in 40 cases from Transpadana and Venetia & Histria).

<sup>902</sup> Curchin 2022, 406f.

#### 4.3.2.2 Maternal cognomen in suffixed form

The mother's cognomen was less frequently transmitted in a suffixed form to a daughter than the father's cognomen was. This is understandable, since an identical feminine form of the mother's cognomen was naturally always a possibility, whereas this was not always the case when coining a female version of the father's cognomen. The primary suffixes seem to have been *-illa* and *-ina*.

##### A. Cognomen from the mother's/maternal cognomen with *-illa*

Among upper-class women, the first case seems to be Appuleia Varilla (*PFOS* 85), daughter of Sex. Appuleius (*cos.* 29 BCE) and an unattested Quinctilia, who was the sister of P. Quinctilius Varus (see 3.3.2 above). While the mother may not have had the cognomen, it was in any case derived from the hereditary name of the maternal line. In addition, there is only one other case (of slightly hypothetical nature), i.e. SERGIA LAENATIS F. PLAUTILLA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 543; *PFOS* 704), mother of the emperor Nerva, who was the daughter of Octavius Laenas, a *homo novus* from the Sabine country (who had probably married the daughter of a patrician Sergius Plautus).<sup>903</sup> In this case, too, it is unknown if the mother herself had the same cognomen.

Outside the senatorial class there is more evidence of women with a suffixed cognomen derived from the mother's name – but the number is low in comparison to cognomina derived from the father's cognome

##### Rome and Italy:

*CIL* VI 39541 (1–50): Ocia Primilla, daughter of Gallenia C. I. Prima (cf. her sister Ocia P. f. Prima in 4.3.2.1 above).

*CIL* VI 17886 (late 1st c.): Felsinia Celsilla, daughter of M. Felsinius Severus and Sergia Celsa.

*AE* 2001, 562 (Rome, 1st/2nd c.): Postumia L. f. Augurina Quietilla, daughter of (L.) Postumius Bellicus and Anicia Quita.<sup>904</sup>

*CIL* VI 15875 (50–200): Primilla, daughter of Cluvia Prima.

<sup>903</sup> It has also been suggested that it was not Plautilla's father who had married a Sergia but her grandfather (Raepsaet-Charlier in *PFOS*, 559; Syme 1988, 182). Settiani 2000, 271f. in turn has argued that the name came from a maternal great-grandfather. Neither one of these options seems plausible; cf. Nuorluoto 2017, 271.

<sup>904</sup> It is unclear where the cognomen *Augurina* came from (in any case, clearly not from the parents).

*CIL* VI 33776 (100–130): Cornelia Procilla, daughter of Quintilia Procula and Silvanus (*Procilla* through haplogy from *Proculus*, instead of the form \**Proculilla*; see 2.3.2. above).

*CIL* VI 12772 (100–130): Attia T. f. Quintilla, daughter of Attia Quinta and (T.) Attius Phlegon (compare also the nomenclature of her brother (T.?) Attius T. f. Pal. Quintianus).

*AE* 1975, 72 (Rome, 170–230): Cassia Priscilla, daughter of Vettia Prisca.

*CIL* VI 26677 (3rd c.): daughter Speratilla, mother Sperata.

*AE* 2015, 286 (Albanum, late 1st/2nd c.): Chrestilla, daughter of Cornelia T. f. Chreste.

*CIL* XIV 2630 = *ILS* 7237 (Tusculum, 3rd c.): Flavia T. f. Priscilla, daughter of T. Flavius T. f. Hilario and Claudia Ti. f. Prisca.

*CIL* X 2800 (Puteoli, 2nd c.): Lutatia Quintilla, daughter of Octavia Quinta.

*CIL* V 7954 (Cemenelum, 2nd c.): Honestilla, daughter of Honesta.

#### Provinces:

*CIL* XII 3581 (Nemausus, late 1st/2nd c.): Pompia Cn. f. Servatilla, daughter of Fabia L. fil. Servata.

*AE* 2004, 978 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, 2nd/3rd c.): [V]erilla, daughter of Verinia Vera (her cognomen, in turn, seems to be derived from the nomen, cf. 4.4.1).

*CIL* II 4340 = *RIT* 454 (Tarraco, Imperial): Maridia Quietilla, daughter of Baebia M. f. Quieta.

*ILAlg* I 2610 (Madaurus, 70–200): Maria Plautilla, daughter of Plautia Romana and C. Marius Securus Rogatianus (cf. also the son C. Marius Fortunatus Romanianus, whose second cognomen was derived from that of the mother).

*CIL* VIII 2843 (Lambaesis, 2nd c.): Cl(audia) Maximilla, daughter of Tib. Cl(audius) Maximus and Cl(audia) Maxim(a) – though, in this case, the cognomen can be said to derive from both parents.

*CIL* VIII 11791 (Mactaris, 70–250): Valeria Maximilla, daughter of C. Valerius Felix and Magnia Maxima.

#### B. Cognomen from the mother's cognomen with *-īna*

The only secure case from the senatorial *ordo* is CALPURNIA PAULINA, daughter of C. Caristianus Fronto and Calpurnia Paulla, who was honoured at Rhodiapolis together with her brother C. Caristianus Paulinus sometime between 80 and 84

CE, during their father's governorship of Lycia.<sup>905</sup> It is noteworthy that she also bore her mother's nomen, while her brother had the paternal one.

STATILIA CATULLI F. MESSALINA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 865 = *PFOS* 731), who died an infant (*CIL* VI 26789). The hypothesis is that she was the daughter of [L? Valerius] Catullus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 54) and an unattested Statilia, who descended from the Valerii Messallae (and who may have had the cognomen *Messalina*, but this is a matter of speculation; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 864).<sup>906</sup> If the identity is correct, our Messalina's full nomenclature came from the maternal side, like in the case of Calpurnia Paulina above.

Outside the senatorial elite, I have come across the following cases:

*CIL* VI 16397 (Imperial): Cornelia Gemellina, daughter of Anicetus Aug. lib. Priscianus and Cornelia Gemella (note the use of the maternal nomen).

*CIL* VI 15484/5 (2nd c.): Ulpia Iucundina, daughter of Claudia Iucunda.

*AE* 2010, 168 (Rome, 100–150): Passulena Secundina, daughter of Tullia Secunda.

*ICUR* 2033 (Rome, 390–425): Secundina, daughter of Secunda.

*CIL* XI 3830 (Veii, late 1st/2nd c.): Caerellia Severina, daughter of M. Caerellius Iustus and Caerellia Severa.

*IAquil* I 601 (Aquileia, 1st c.): Fabricia Severina, daughter of Hermes *August. et VVir. ark.* and Sentia Severa.

*CIL* XII 3579 (Nemausus, late 1st/2nd c.): Fabia Q. f. Crispina, daughter of Quintia Crispa.

*CIL* XII 3929 (Nemausus, 2nd/3rd c.): Secundina, daughter of Suavis Catuli lib. and Secunda Actali fil.

*CIL* XIII 145 (Aquitania, date unclear): Iulia Postumina, attested with her mother (?) Geminia Postuma.

*CIL* II 4554 = *IRC* IV 126 (Barcino, 100–150): Cornelia L. f. Secundina, daughter of Cornelia Secunda.

*CIL* V 8852 = III 2190 = *AE* 1981, 698 (Salona? 1st c.): Arruntia T. f. Secundina, daughter of Cl[au]dia Secunda.

*CIL* III 2890 (Corinium, 1–150): Baebia Tertullina, daughter of Calpurnia Ter[tu]llia.

<sup>905</sup> Information regarding the existence of the honorific inscriptions is provided by B. İplikçiöğlü in *ANMED* 11 (2013), 216; cf. also *AE* 2013, 1621 and *SEG* LXIII 1374. As for the mother's nomenclature, her nomen is known from *IKaunos* 126 (in which it is followed by a lacuna) and cognomen from *IGR* III 300 = *JRS* 3 (1913), 262 no. 5 (by G. L. Cheesman) in which her nomen was erroneously restored as [Σεργ]ία (hence *PFOS* 702, 'Sergia Paulla'); cf. Drew-Bear & Christol 2002, 180; Mowery 2006, 223ff; Salomies 2017, 115.

<sup>906</sup> Cf. Nuorluoto 2017, 269.

*ILJug* III 2017 (Clissa, Dalmatia, 150–200): Maltilia Maximina, daughter of Maltilius Pudens and Aurelia Maxima (her sister Maltilia Pudentilla in turn was named after the father).

In the following case the daughter's cognomen was not directly coined with *-ullina* (*-ull-* + *-īna*): *AE* 1993, 751 (Altinum): Terentia M. f. Tertullina, daughter of M. Terentius C. f. Homuncio and Magia Q. f. Tertia. There may have also been euphonic factors at play, since *Tertullina* combines with the nomen *Terentia* better than, say, *Tertulla* would.

C. Cognomen from the mother's cognomen with other suffixes

*-iāna*: *AE* 2013, 1846 (Ammaedara, 3rd c.): [Ti]tia Sallustia Candi[d]iana, daughter of C. Titius Agrius Maximus and Claudia Candida.

*AE* 1988, 407 (Cosilinum, 150–200): Quintiana, daughter of Quinta.

*-ulla*: *CIL* VI 12275 (Rome, date unclear): Aquillia Tertulla, daughter of Tertia.

*IRC* IV 59 = *HEp* 1997, 208 = *AE* 1966, 207 (Barcino, 1–50): Corn(elia) Quartull(a), daughter of Q(uintus) Cornelius Sp. f. Sec[undus] and Gem(i)nia Q[uar]ta.

*-ula*: *CIL* XII 2258 (Cularo, 1st c.): Antonia Gratinula, daughter of M. Antonius Eudaemon and Vireia Gratina (cf. her sister Antonia Grata in 4.3.2.4 below).

*ILGN* 369 = *ILNV*.3, 885 (Genava, 1st c.): Catia Sabinula, daughter of Servilia Sabina.

There is also one case with the suffix cluster *-ellia*: *CIL* III 2191 = 8606 (Salona, 150–300): Marcellia, daughter of Atania Marcia.

#### 4.3.2.3 Mother's and daughter's cognomina derived from the same root with different suffixes

There is not much clear evidence of suffix-variation when a cognomen was transmitted from one woman to another. Some good examples, however, exist:

*CIL* VI 15649 (2nd/3rd c.): Cl(audia) Victorilla, daughter of Flavius Magnus and Claudia Victorina (note also the use of the maternal nomen).

*CIL* VI 13340 (3rd c.): Aurelia Laurentia, daughter of M. Aur. Iulianus & Boudia Laurina.

*CIL* XIV 1096 (Ostia, late 1st/2nd c.): mother Grania Maximilla, daughter Fabia Maximina.

*CIL* III 11037 = *RIU* 599 (Brigetio, 150–300): mother Valeria Valeriana, daughter Val(eria) Valerina (compare also her brother Val. Valerianus).

*CIL* VIII 18222 (Lambaesis, 3rd c.): Aurelia Maximina, one of the children of M. Aurel. Iustus and Cl. Maximilla, all of whom were named after the parents (her siblings were Iustus, Iustina, Iustianus, and Maximinus).

*CIL* XII 5930 (Nemausus, 2nd c.): Maximia Marcellina, daughter of Marcina.

## 4.3.2.4 Mother's cognomen de-suffixed

*CIL* VI 10935 (117–138): Aelia Marcia, daughter of P. Aelius Aug. I. Romanus and Feridia Marciana.

*ICUR* 20722 = *ILCV* 4456 (300–350): Aurelia Marcia, daughter of Aur. Serenianus and Marciana.

*CIL* V 6538 = *AE* 1999, 769 (Novaria, 2nd c.): Domitia Secundina (mother) > Cornelia Secunda (daughter).

*ILGN* 273 = *ILN* V 130 = *AE* 1894, 114 (Vienna, 2nd c.): Aelia Domitilla (mother) > Valeria Domitia (daughter).

*CIL* XIII 2873 (Alesia, date unclear): Virgulina (mother) > Virgula (daughter).

*CIL* XIII 2515 = *ILAin* 67 (Ambarri, 2nd/3rd c.): *Valeriana Valeriae filiae*.

*CIL* XIII 1594 (Ruessium, 2nd c.): Marciola (mother) > Iul. Marcia (daughter).

*CIL* XII 2203 = *ILN* V.2 346 (Vienna, 50–100): Atisia C. f. Macrina, daughter of C. Atisius Paullin(us) and Licinia P. f. Macrinula.

*CIL* II 3305 (Castulo, 2nd c.): Iunia M. f. Severina (mother) > Cornelia [-] f. Severa (daughter).

*CIL* II.14 594 (Saguntum, 2nd/3rd c.): Cornelia Iusta, daughter of Cornel. Restitutus and Annia Iustina.

*AE* 1979, 348 (Baetica, 3rd c.): Rantulana Priscilla (mother) > Fabia M. f. Prisca (daughter).

*CIL* VIII 13070 (Carthago, 2nd c.): Iulia Atticilla (mother) > Iulia Attica (daughter).

*CIL* III 5508 = *RIS* 335 (Noricum, 130–170): (A)eli(a) Iuliana (mother) > (A)el(j)ia Iulia (daughter; note also her brother (A)el(ius) Iulian(us)).

*IMS* III.2 63 = *ILJug* III 1319 (Timacum Minus, 130–200): Flavia Longinilla (mother) > Aelia Longina (daughter).

*CIL* III 13374 = *TitAq* II 750 (Aquincum, 193–200): Aurelia Priscil(l)a (mother) > Prisca (daughter).

*CIL* III 3892 = *AIJ* 215 (Emona, 170–300): Maxima, daughter of Durrius Avitus and Petronia Maximilla.

## 4.3.3 Cognomen from some other relative

The cognomen could naturally be inherited from other relatives as well, for instance from a grandarent or an uncle. In such cases, as in the cases above, the cognomen could naturally be transmitted in an identical form or as a suffixed (or de-suffixed) variant. Examples of this, however, are fewer in number, since inscriptions less often record relatives more distant than parents or siblings, but some instructive cases stand out. Furthermore, there are several cases from the

senatorial elite, whose lineages we can often trace back several generations. As a general caveat, however, it ought to be noted that even if we have information of, say, a grandparent with the same cognomen, we do not always know who the parents were and it is thus possible that one of them also had the same name. This is for instance the case with the following two inscriptions:

*CIL VI 12174 (Rome, Imperial): D(is) M(anibus) / Appaediae / P(ubli) f(iliae) Crescentian(a)e / quae vix(it) ann(os) / VI mens(es) X d(ies) XVII / T(itus) Terentius / Crescens avus / fec(it).*

*CIL IX 2459 (Saepinum, 100–150): Iuliae C(ai) f(iliae) / Rufillae / Augurinae / Neratia L(uci) f(ilia) / Rufina / avia.*

In the former, the grandfather's (*avus*) cognomen *Crescens* has been transmitted to the daughter with the suffix *-iāna* (*Crescentiana*). In the latter case, it is the grandmother's (*avia*) cognomen *Rufina*, in itself a suffixed form in *-ina*, that has been transmitted onwards, but this time with the suffix *-illa* (*Rufilla*). However, since we do not know the parents (or a possible aunt/uncle), it could be that the cognomina also appear in the generation between the grandparent and the granddaughter.

A similar case from the senatorial elite is IALLIA BASSIANA (*PFOS* 420), granddaughter of M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus (*cos. suff.* 159?). We do not know who her father was, but it is of course possible that he bore the cognomen *Bassus*.

Another case is IULIA C. F. RUFILLA AUGURINA (*PFOS* 458), attested together with her *avia* Neratia L. f. Rufina (=Neratia Anteia Rufina Naevia Deciana; *PFOS* 568) in *CIL IX 2459* (Saepinum, 1–50). It is unclear who the parents were, so it is possible that one of them also had a cognomen resembling *Rufilla/Rufina*.<sup>907</sup>

There are also some cases in which it is more apparent that the cognomen skipped one generation, or was in any case not used by the parents. This is clear, for instance, in the following cases from Rome:

*CIL VI 14018/14019 (50–100): Caesonia M. f. Prima, granddaughter of M. Caesonius Primus and daughter of M. Caesonius Albanus and Laelia Restituta (Prima's paternal uncle M. Caesius Fortunatus is also mentioned).*

*CIL VI 21196, cf. VI 21189 (late 1st c.): Lepidia C. f. Florentilla, daughter of C. Lepidius Agrippa. Agrippa's father and brother, in turn (or Florentilla's grandfather and uncle), had the cognomen *Florus*.*

<sup>907</sup> It is unclear where the name *Augurina* came from, but a connection could perhaps be established to the *eques* Iulius Augurinus, who took part in the Pisonian conspiracy (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 187/188).



In *CIL* 3369 from Tarquinia (2nd c.) we also have an example of a woman named after her paternal uncle: Iulia Frontina, niece of T. Iulius Fronto (her sister Iulia Valentina in turn was named after their father T. Iulius Valens; cf. 4.3.1.2).

Another relevant example is provided by two inscriptions from around Cularo (later Gratianopolis), both dating from the second century. The first one records a woman called Attia Attici f. Bellica, wife of Sextius Gallus *IIIIIVir Aug.* (*CIL* XII 2247 = *ILN* V.2 384). She was probably the daughter of (L.) Attius Atticus, known from another monument, which he, together with his brother Iulianus, set up to their parents L. Attius C. f. Iulianus and Ingenuia T. f. Bellica (*CIL* XII 2262 = *ILN* V.2 394). It follows, thus, that the cognomen *Bellica* came from the paternal grandmother.

I will now take a closer look at the evidence from the senatorial elite, among whom the phenomenon is better attested. Iulia Bassiana and Iulia Rufilla Augurina have already been discussed above. We have also seen in 3.3.2 that Cottia Galla (*PFOS* 299), daughter of the Augustan senator A. Cottius, was named after her *avia* Memmia Galla.

Another early, hypothetical case is DOMITIA LEPIDA (*PFOS* 326), who was the daughter of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*cos.* 32 BCE) and Antonia. It seems that her paternal grandmother was an Aemilia Lepida, the maternal one being a Porcia.<sup>908</sup> Note that her sister Domitia (*PFOS* 319) does not seem to have had a cognomen. Other cases (in a rough chronological order) are the following:

IULIA DRUSILLA (*PFOS* 438), Caligula's infant daughter, born in 40 CE (and killed in 41), whose cognomen was identical with that of Caligula's sister – and the cognomen naturally derives from the cognomen of the Livii Drusi, the first known female bearer being Iulia Drusilla's great-great-grandmother Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus.

ASINIA AGRIPPINA (*PFOS* 113), daughter of M. Agrippa's grandson Ser. Asinius Celer (*cos. suff.* 38?), whose mother in turn was Agrippa's daughter Vipsania Agrippina (*PFOS* 811).

STATILIA MESSALINA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 866), wife of Nero. Her father was one of the two T. Statilii Tauri, who were consuls in 44 and 45 CE. Her paternal grandmother was thus (Valeria) Messalina (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 240; for the existence of her cognomen, see 3.3.1 above).<sup>909</sup>

<sup>908</sup> This undocumented mother of Ahenobarbus was with all probability daughter of L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 51) and, thus, sister of Paullus the Censor, as Syme 1986, 158f. convincingly argues.

<sup>909</sup> For another Stabilia Messalina, whose mother may or may not have had the same cognomen, see 4.3.2.1 above.

CALPURNIA PRAETEXTATA (PFOS 180), attested as *v(irgo) V(estalis) m(axima)* at Rome in the late first century (CIL VI 2146 = XV 7127). She was probably the daughter of C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus (*cos.* 87; PIR<sup>2</sup> C 259), which would make her the granddaughter of Sulpicia Praetextata (PIR<sup>2</sup> S 1034 = PFOS 745) and the niece of (Licinia) Praetextata (PFOS 495; cf. 4.3.2.1).

(CALPURNIA) CETHEGILLA (PFOS 178), attested as the granddaughter of Cornelia Cethegilla (PFOS 280) in AE 1967, 57 (Tellenae, 70–130 CE).

ANNIA CORNIFICIA FAUSTINA (PFOS 57), daughter of M. Annius Verus and sister of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. *Faustina*, which was a recurring name among the women of the Antonine dynasty, was used by her paternal grandmother Rupilia Faustina (PFOS 674 = PIR<sup>2</sup> R 218) and aunt, the empress Faustina (the elder; PFOS 62). The same applies to her cousin ANNIA FUNDANIA FAUSTINA (PFOS 60), daughter of M. Annius Libo (*cos.* 128). For her daughter Ummidia Cornificia Faustina, see 4.3.2.1 above.

AURELIA FADILLA (PFOS 137), another woman of the Antonine dynasty, was the daughter of the emperor Antoninus Pius and Faustina the elder. She was named after her paternal grandmother Arria Fadilla (PFOS 99). The cognomen *Fadilla* appears on several women of the imperial family, amongst others Fadilla (PFOS 356), daughter of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and the younger Faustina and thus the niece of Aurelia Fadilla and the great-granddaughter of Arria Fadilla.<sup>910</sup>

Another daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina is ANNIA AURELIA GALERIA LUCILLA (PFOS 54), whose cognomen *Lucilla* came from the emperor's mother Domitia P. f. Lucilla (PFOS 329) – who in turn was named after her own mother Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla (cf. 4.3.2.1).

The nomenclature of yet another daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina is also noteworthy here, namely that of VIBIA AURELIA SABINA (PIR<sup>2</sup> V 592). Her name is reminiscent of the empress Vibia Sabina, wife of Hadrian (who was the adoptive grandfather of Marcus Aurelius).

ANNIA Q. F. RUFINA (PFOS 67), wife of P. Cassius Dexter (*cos. suff.* 151?), attested at Canusium around 137/138 CE together with her grandfather Rufus and mother Albina (CIL IX 330).

POMPEIA SOSIA FALCONILLA (PFOS 632), daughter Q. Pompeius Sossius Priscus (*cos.* 149) and granddaughter of Q. Pompeius Falco (*cos. suff.* 108). The cognomen was transmitted in a suffixed form, which is hardly surprising

<sup>910</sup> She is only known by her cognomen, but she surely had a more complex nomenclature than that, including at least the nomen *Aurelia*.

given the fact that a non-suffixed female form of *Falco* was not an option.<sup>911</sup>

CLAUDIA DRYANTILLA PLATONIS (*PFOS* 234), daughter of the Lycian Ti. Claudius Dryantianus Antoninus (career under the Antonine dynasty). The cognomen *Platonis* came from her paternal grandmother Aelia Platonis (*PFOS* 19). *Dryantilla*, of which her father bears a variant formed with *iānus*, is in turn attested already for her paternal aunt Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla (*PFOS* 216).

CARMINIA APPHIA (*PFOS* 189), daughter of the Carian *homo novus* T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (*cos.* under Commodus), who in turn was the son of Flavia App(h)ia, ἀρχιτέρεια Ἀσίας.<sup>912</sup>

DIDIA CLARA (*PFOS* 312), daughter of the emperor Didius Iulianus, whose mother was Aemilia Clara (*PFOS* 24).

DOMITIA PATRUINI F. VETTILLA (*PFOS* 334), granddaughter, it seems, of Valeria Vettilla (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 247) and niece of Domitia Vettilla (*PFOS* 333) – her father in turn being identical with P. (Domitius) Valerius Patruinus (*cos.* 82).<sup>913</sup>

To this category belongs also the younger daughter of the sophist Herodes Atticus, who is primarily known by the cognomen *Athenais*.<sup>914</sup> The name derived initially from her maternal great-grandmother Claudia Athenais (who was also her paternal great-aunt)<sup>915</sup> – but at the same time it also emphasized her Athenian origin (cf. 4.7.3 below).

There are also several hypothetical cases, which I've placed in Appendix 3. One may note that many of the cases above belong to or are connected to Imperial families. This, however, is understandable, since we know much more about the family connections of Imperial women than of other women. Hence one should not draw hasty conclusions that the transmission of women's cognomina from, say, grandparents or great-grandparents, was particularly characteristic to Imperial households – though in the Imperial context, dynastic motives and family history naturally played a significant role in naming.

<sup>911</sup> She is probably identical with Pom[peia] Qui[nti f.] Falco[nilla] (*PFOS* 628), who is attested in Spain between 149 and 180 CE (*HEp* 2007, 37 = *AE* 2015, 686).

<sup>912</sup> The mother is attested in *MAMA* VIII 517a-b (Aphrodisias). See also Halfmann 1979, 130 for a family tree.

<sup>913</sup> For his nomenclature, see Salomies 1992, 47.

<sup>914</sup> Her full nomenclature may be restored as *Marcia Annia Claudia Alcia Athenais Gavidia Latiaria*. Cf. Ameling 1983; *PFOS* 55. It ought to be noted, however, that she is never attested with all of the names at the same time. The same applies to her sister Elpinice, whose full nomenclature may be restored as *Appia Annia Claudia Atilia Regilla Elpinice Agrippina Atria Polla* (cf. *PFOS* 56). Their nomenclature is discussed in better detail in Kantola & Nuorluoto 2022, 171f.

<sup>915</sup> For a family tree, see Byrne 2002, *Stemma* V; cf. Ameling 1983, II, no.s. 1–16.

#### 4.3.4 Resemblance to another cognomen used in the family

An interesting group is formed by names that were technically speaking not coined from the same name as the cognomen used, for instance, by the father or the mother, but otherwise resembled it phonetically and in terms of appearance. It is not easy to tell when exactly this was the case, but there are some examples that could fall under this category.

From the senatorial elite, for example, we know of Domitia Lucilla (the elder; *PFOS* 328), daughter of Cn. Domitius Lucanus (*cos. suff.* 73?). Her cognomen *Lucilla* was not technically speaking coined from *Lucanus* (whose stem would be *Lucan-*), but rather from *Lucius* (with the stem *Luc-*). It seems, however, clear that the cognomen was chosen because the two names resembled each other (cf. also Lucania Lucilla below in 4.4.7). In general, the cognomen *Lucanus* was clearly associated with other names derived from *Luc-*, which is not surprising, given that *Lucanus* also has its etymological origin in the same stem, even if *Lucanus* and *Lucius* were clearly two different names (see the discussion in 2.4.14).

Some more cases are found outside the senatorial *ordo*. For instance, *AE* 1993, 240 (Rome, 150–200) records a woman called Sallustia Basilia, daughter of M. Aur(elius) Bassus and Sallustia Elpis. While it is true that the daughter's cognomen could in fact be *Bassilla* – the name in this case being misspelled – it could equally well be a genuine Greek name (Βασίλεια), which was chosen because it resembled *Bassus* and its derivatives.<sup>916</sup>

Another, perhaps better, example is provided by a Pannonian inscription (*CIL* III 3531, Brigetio, 170–250) which records Ael(ia) Messorina, daughter of Ael(ius) Messius and Aur(elia) Tacita. *Messorina* and *Messius* clearly resemble each other, yet the former is not technically coined from the latter but from *Messor* or *Messorius*. Even in cases like *AE* 1982, 686 (Nemausus, 70–130), *Aemilia Nigellionis f. Nigrina*, we might assume that the resemblance (*Nigellio* – *Nigrina*) affected the choice of the name.

Similarly, the name could be chosen because it resembled the mother's name closely enough. For example, in *CIL* III 3355 (Brigetio, 2nd/3rd c.) we have a woman called Aur[e(lia)] Deccia, mother of Dignia Decorata and C. Dignius Decoratus (her other daughter Aurel. Secundina was, in turn, named after the father C. Dignius Secundian[us]). Whilst *Decorata* and *Decoratus* were not technically derived from *Deccia*, the resemblance is obvious.

<sup>916</sup> Compare *ICUR* 23168 (late 4th c.): daughter Fl. Bassilla, father Fl. Basilius – although this case is late.

#### 4.4. Cognomen from a nomen used in the family

In addition to cognomina that had already been in use in the family, Roman daughters would sometimes receive names that were derived from a nomen. In many cases, unsurprisingly, the cognomen was derived from the nomen of one of the parents – but other nomina could also be utilized (e.g. a nomen of grandmother's lineage). In addition to cognomina coined from nomina with the use of suffixes (or in some cases by 'de-suffixing' the gentilicium), a nomen could also be used in place of cognomina as such (cf. 2.5).

##### 4.4.1 Cognomen derived from the father's/own nomen

It is no surprise that when a cognomen was coined from a gentilicium, it was often the father's, in other words (in most cases) the person's own, gentilicium that was used for this purpose. The most common suffix seems to have been *-iāna*, but there is also plenty of evidence of names coined with other suffixes, e.g. *-illa*, *-ina*, *-ulla*, *-(i)ola*. The cases under each suffix are in a rough geographical order.

##### A. Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-iāna*:

*CIL* VI 778 (1st c.): Claudia Ti. f. Cl[a]udiana H[o]norata (the origin of the second cognomen is unclear).

*CIL* VI 11119 (2nd c.): Aemilia Aemiliana, daughter of A. Aemilius Tychicus.

*CIL* VI 21598 (70–250): Lucilia Lucilliana T. f.

*CIL* VI 25769 (70–250): Salia Saliana.

*PFGR* 14 (*CIL* VI 31843, 170–230 CE): Aelia Aeliana, mother of M. Aurelius Achilles, *eq(ues) R(omanus)*.

*CIL* VI 36386 (2nd c.): Fabia Fabiana.

*CIL* VI 3424 (2nd c.): Septimia Septimiana.

*CIL* VI 20004 (Imperial): *L. Iulii Felicis (...) Iulian(a)es fil(iae)*.

*CIL* VI 27293 (2nd/3rd c.): Tessia Tessiana.

*NSA* 1953, 320 (Lanuvium, 100–250): Fabia Fabiana.

*CIL* IX 2111 (Beneventum, 120–200): [At]tia Attiane (mother of Licinia Liciniana Liciniani f. above in 4.3.1.1).

*CIL* XI 1017 (Mutina, 4th c.): Vibia Vibiana.

*CIL* XI 132 = *ILS* 7235 (Ravenna, 2nd c.): Cassia Cassiana.

*CIL* V 6528 (Novaria, 1–50): Aemilia C. f. Aemiliana.

*PFGR* 114 (*CIL* V 137 = *InscrIt* X.1 162, Pola, 3rd c.): Aur. Vibia Vibiana, an equestrian *matrona*.

*CIL* V 4428 = *InscrIt* X.5 223 (Brixia, late 2nd c.): Hostilia Hostiliana.

- CIL* XII 4652 (Narbo, 70–250): Sulpicia Sulpiciana.  
*CIL* XII 743 = *CLE* 454 (Arelate, 1st/2nd c.): Aelia Aeliana.  
*AE* 1981, 626(–630) (prov. Narb., date unclear): Aelia Aelian(a).  
*RIB* I 682 (Eboracum, 170–230): Aelia Aeliana.  
*CIL* II 4042 (Saguntum, 1st c.): Aemilia M. f. Aemiliana.  
*CIL* II 1941 = *IRPCad* 77 = *HEp* 2006, 264 (Baetica, 1st/2nd c.): Fabia C. f. Fabiana.  
*IRPCad* 534 = *AE* 1974, 384 (Carteia): Fabia C. f. Fabiana (identical with the former?).  
*CIL* II 1601 (Epora, 2nd c.): Fabia Q. f. Fabiana.  
*CIL* II 1045 = *CILA* II.1 286 (Baetica, 70–250): Fabia L. [f.] Fabiana.  
*CIL* II 2087 (Iliberris, 200–250): Cornelia L. f. Corneliana.  
*CILA* II.1 41 (Hispalis, 70–250): Aelia Aeliana.  
*AE* 2014, 745 = *HEp* 2014/2015, 128 (Hisp. cit., date unclear): Iulia C. f. Iuliana.  
*CIL* VIII 23327 (Afr. proc., 2nd c.): Aufidia Lucilla Aufidiana, daughter of L. Aufidius Restutus (her first cognomen being derived from the father’s praenomen).  
*IL Afr* 342 (Maur. Caes., 2nd/3rd c.): Caelia Caeliana.  
*IAM* II.2 435/438/457/462 (Volubilis, 2nd c.): Caecilia Caeciliana.  
*IAM* II.2 566 (Volubilis, 70–200): C(a)ecilia Pompei{i}ana, daughter of Pompei{i}us Macedo.  
*IL Alg* II.1 3058 (Numidia, 2nd c.): Marcia Marciana P. f.  
*ILTun* 577b (Maracitana, date unclear): Cassia Cassiana.  
*CIL* III 4721 (Noricum, late 1st/2nd c.): G. Iulia Iuliana.  
*CIL* III 12588 (Dacia, 107–250): Cassia Cassiana.  
*CIL* III 11037 = *RIU* 599 (Brigetio, late 2nd/3rd c.): Valeria Valeriana (note also the nomenclature of her children Val. Valerina and Val. Valerianus).

#### B. Cognomen from father’s/own nomen with *-illa*:

- CIL* VI 23431 (Rome, 70–200 CE): Plotia Plotilla.  
*CECapitolini* 134 (Rome, 130–170 CE): Sabinia Sabinilla.  
*AE* 1905, 208 (Praeneste, 2nd c.): Plotia L. f. Plotilla.  
*CIL* XIV 3796 (= *PFOS* 499) (Tibur, 1st c.): Livia C. f. Livilla.<sup>917</sup>  
*CIL* X 2701 (Puteoli, late 2nd/early 3rd c.): Marcia Drusilla, daughter of Drusius Valens and (Marcia) Quadratilla.<sup>918</sup>  
*CIL* XIII 2063 (Lugudunum, date unclear): Ant[onia An]tonilla (mother of Iulius Amator and Antonia Sabinula).

<sup>917</sup> It seems unlikely to me that she belonged to the Roman aristocracy, cf. n. 228 above.

<sup>918</sup> Note that her nomen differs from that of her father. A reasonable assumption therefore is that her mother was a Marcia.

*CIL* II 5378 (Italica, 2nd/3rd c.): Licinia Licinilla.

*CIL* VIII 19215 = *ILAlg* II.3 7262 (Numidia): Cambia C. f. Cambilla.

*BCTH* 1938/40, 334 (Numidia): Spania Spanilla.

*CIL* III 168 (Berytus; 211–222 CE): Vettia Vet(t)illa.

In addition, there is a woman of senatorial status who had a nomenclature of the same type, i.e. *NAEVIA NAEVILLA* (*PFOS* 565), who is attested as *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* at Cirta during the late second or early third century (*CIL* VIII 7054–7056).<sup>919</sup>

C. Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-iānilla*:

*CIL* VI 12404 (3rd c.) Arria Arrianilla.

*ICUR* 16226 (325–375 CE): [Fl]abia Flabianilla [*sic*].

D. Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-īna*:

*AE* 1976, 101 (Rome, 150–300): Maria Marina.

*CIL* V 5646 (Comum, 1st/2nd c.): Secundina, daughter of L. Secundienus Rufinus and Volturnia Domitil[l]a. It seems reasonable to assume that she was identical with (or at least related to) Secundiena Secundina, who is also attested at Comum in the second century (*CIL* V 8906).

*CIL* XIII 8819 (Traiectum, 2nd/3rd c.): Mai[i]oria Maiorena (probably *Maiorina*).

*AE* 2015, 1007 (cf. *AE* 2011, 827) (Germ. sup.): Amandi(a) Amandina.

*RIB* I 377 (Britannia, 2nd c.): Fla(via) Flavina.

*CIL* II 3040 (Complutum, date unclear): F(lavia?) Flavina.

*CIL* II 521 = *ERAE* 194 194 (Emerita, 70–200): Flavia Flavina.

*CIL* VIII 9786 (Caesarea, 70–200): Bassia Bassina (note also her son C. Aemilius Bassinus).

*AE* 2007, 1214 (Ratiaria, 170–230 CE): Plotia Plotina, daughter of C. Plot. Valens (cf. her sister Valentina in 4.3.1.2A).

*CIL* III 1471 (Dacia, 200–270): Septimia [Se]ptimina quae et Revocata.

*CIL* III 13373 (Aquincum, 130–200): Iul(ia) Iulina.

*AE* 1967, 366 (Aquincum, 250–300.): Flavia Flavina.

E. Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-ulla*:

In the following cases the suffix *-ulla* has been added to the person's own gentilicium to coin her cognomen:

*CIL* V 5663 (Lambrugo, 14–41 CE): Statia Statulla.

<sup>919</sup> For her whole family, see 4.9 below.

*CIL* XII 755 (Arelate, date unclear): Antonia D. f. Antulla.

*CIL* XII 3123 (Nemausus, date unclear): Pompeia Pompulla.

*CIL* II 3643/3645 (Saetabis, early 2nd c.): Terentia M. f. Terentulla.

*AE* 2012, 251 (Rome, 1–30): Terentia M. f. Terentulla Albini.

There is also *CIL* XI 3930 (Ad Vicesimum, 1st c.), recording Agernia C. f. Antonia Antulla, wife of C. Agernius C. f. Hor. Flavus, *IIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) IIIvir quinq(ennalis) Faleris*, in whose case the cognomen seems to be derived from her second nomen.

Also: *CIL* VI 3510 (Rome, 1st c.): Neronia C. f. Nerulla, wife of Q. Cascellius Q. f. Vol. Labeo, *praefect(us) fabrum*.

*CIL* VIII 2808 (Numidia, 70–200): Antonia Antulla, daughter of M. Antonius M. fil. Col. Sabinus and Varia Binna.

Formal aspects regarding derivations of the type *Antonia* > *Antulla* (instead of *\*Antonulla*) have been discussed above in 2.4.5 and 2.4.14.

F. Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-ula/(i)ola* (primarily in Gallia/Germania):

*AE* 1946, 97 (Rome, 2nd c.): Hellenia Helleniola.

*CIL* V 3413 = *AE* 2008, 574 (Verona, 1st c.): Naevia L. f. Naeviola

*CIL* XII 2369 (Vienna, 2nd c.): Iustiola, daughter of Iustus Iustinus (although in this case the cognomen can also be understood as derived from the father's cognomen).

*AE* 1938, 170 = 1997, 1092 (Lugdunum Convenarum, 100 CE): Iulia L. f. Iuliola.

*ILTG* 309 = *AE* 1945, 101 (Ambarri): Camaelia Flaviola, *Belli Flavi Aemiliani et Luciliae Leae filia*, and Decmia Decmiola.<sup>920</sup> A woman called Decmia Decmiola is also recorded in two other inscriptions in Gallia Lugdunensis (*CIL* XIII 2577; *ILTG* 310 = *ILAin* 3).

*CIL* XIII 2025a (Lugdunum, 2nd c.): Quintia Quintula (for discussion on the termination *-ula* instead of *-iola*, see 2.4.6.3).

*CIL* XIII 1650 (Segusiavi, 70–200): Maria Mariola.

*CIL* XIII 5233 (Germ. sup., 2nd c.): Alpinia Alpinula.

*CIL* XIII 1396 (Augustoritum, 2nd/3rd c.): Annia Annio[*l*]a.

*CIL* XIII 7083 (Mogontiacum, 150–200): Ursia Ursula.

*CIL* VIII 27980 = *ILAlg* I 3756 (Numidia, 70–200?): Statia Statiola.

G. Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-ella* / *-ellina*

As has been noted in 2.4.9, *-ella* was hardly a productive suffix in name-formation. Its use was primarily restricted to the name *Marcella* (with some exceptions).

<sup>920</sup> For some discussion regarding the Decmii of Ambarri, cf. Mathieu 2011, p140-143.



Sometimes the name *Marcella* was coined from the nomen *Marcus*, as is clear from at least five cases of women with a nomenclature of the type *Marcia Marcella*: *CIL* VI 22144; II 6069 (Jerica, 1st c.); VIII 3890 (Lambaesis, 70–200, note also the nomenclature of her son Aelius Marcianus); VIII 27841 (Tituli, 70–200); *AE* 1932, 51 (Novae, 150–200).

Similarly, all cases with the suffix cluster *ellina* are of the type *Marcia Marcellina*: *CIL* XI 1300 (Placentia, 1st/2nd c.); *IMS* II, 150 (Viminacium, 150–200); *AE* 2013, 1220 (Scarbantia, 50–150); *CIL* III 4207/4208 (Savaria).

H. Cognomina from father's/own nomen with *-ōsa* (all cases from Africa):

*CIL* VIII 3927 (Lambaesis, 2nd c.): M(arcia?) Marciosa.

*CIL* VIII 9151 (Maur. Caes., 2nd/3rd c.): Aelia Aeliosa.

Six women called Iulia Iuliosa: *CIL* VIII 9087; 9119; 5868 = *ILAlg* II.2 6800; *ILAlg* II.3 9836; *ILAlg* II.1 2074; *CIL* VIII 6770 = *ILAlg* II.1 3837.

I. Cognomina from father's/own nomen with *-itta*:

Only case is on record: *AE* 1992, 455 (Amiternum, 50–100): Pollia C. f. Pollitta.

J. De-suffixed (*-ia* > *-a*):

The cognomen was not necessarily derived from the nomen in a suffixed form, but it could also be a 'de-suffixed', simple form, as the following examples show: *CIL* V 4492 (Brixia, 150–200): Quintia P. f. Quinta (her cognomen was transmitted in a suffixed form to her son C. Viracius Quintinus).

*CIL* V 4424 (Brixia, Augustan-Tiberian period): Firminia Firma.

*CIL* V 3787 (Verona, date unclear): Verania Vera.

*CIL* XIII 6251 (Germ. sup., 70–250): Servandia Servanda.

*CIL* XIII 11221 = *ILAin* 20 (Ambarri, Imperial): Afrania Afra.

*CIL* XIII 12027 (Germ. inf., 150–200): Verania Ve[ra].

*AE* 2004, 978 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, 2nd/3rd c.): [--- V]erill(a)e / [fil(iae)] *dulcissimae* / *Verinia Vera mater fecit*. The mother's cognomen *Vera* seems to go back to her gentilicium *Verinia*. Furthermore, if the restoration of the text is correct, the cognomen was also transmitted to her daughter in a suffixed form.

*CIL* III 5586 (Bedauim, Noricum; 2nd/3rd c.): Maximia P. f. Maxima.

#### 4.4.2 Own/father's nomen used as cognomen

Women (and men) in the Roman world had, as a rule, their father's gentile name. It is therefore understandable that there are not many cases of women bearing a

cognomen identical to their father's nomen. In some cases, however, the daughter would not bear the father's but instead the mother's nomen (for instance, due to illegitimacy). In such cases the father's nomen could naturally be used as the daughter's cognomen. This seems to be the case, for instance, in an inscription from Misenum, recording Valeria Velonia, daughter of C. Velonius Macer (*CIL* X 3376 = 3611 = *ILS* 2849; 2nd/3rd c.).

Another example is provided by the following equestrian family, attested at Brigetio in Pannonia in 213 CE (*CIL* III 4327, Brigetio, 213 CE; cf. *PFCR* 691/693):

M. Val(erius) Valerianus & Ulpia Paratiane  
|  
Ulpia Valeria — M. Val(erius) Ulpius

We can see that the daughter Ulpia Valeria, who has received her nomen after her mother Ulpia Paratiane, bears the father's nomen as her cognomen, whilst her brother M. Val(erius) Ulpius, who bears the paternal nomen, uses the mother's nomen as his cognomen.

While it cannot have been common – for obvious reasons – to bear one's own gentilicium also as a cognomen, there is a possible case of this as well: an inscription from Celeia seems to record a woman called Aurelia Aurelia (*CIL* III 5183, 150–250 CE). It could naturally be that the person responsible for the inscription made an error or that the second name should be read *Aurelia(na)*.<sup>921</sup> In the world of onomastics, however, many things are possible, even if some things are more likely than others.

There are also examples in which the father's second nomen is used as the daughter's cognomen, as in the case of Trajan's niece Salonia Matidia (*PFOS* 681), whose father was C. Salonijs Matidius Patruinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 365).

#### 4.4.3 Cognomen derived from the mother's nomen

The cognomen could also obviously be derived from the maternal nomen. It ought to be noted, however, that examples of this seem to be more numerous among the senatorial elite than among the lower classes. This may be a pure coincidence, but it could also reflect the onomastic habits of the upper classes,

<sup>921</sup> At least one Aurelia Aureliana is known from the same region and period: *CIL* III 5045 = 11622 = *RIS* 265 (170–250 CE, Noreia).

for whom it was perhaps more important to manifest their family connections and alliances through naming. The most common suffix was *-iāna*, but also other suffixes are employed. In men's nomenclature, on the contrary, cognomina derived from maternal nomina were almost exclusively derived with the suffix *-iānus* (see 4.9 below).

A. Cognomen derived from maternal nomen with *-iāna*

*AE* 1991, 190 (Rome, 2nd/3rd c.): Aelia Flaviana, daughter of Aelius Eutychas and Flavia Saturnina (unclear where the cognomen of her sister Aelia Augustiana came from).

*BCAR* 90 (1985), 428 = *CECapitolini* 128 (Roma, 2nd c.): Pontia Sextiana, daughter of Sextia (cf. 4.1).

*CIL* XI 5939/5940 (Tifernum Tiberinum, 2nd c.): Arruntia Ampiana, granddaughter of Ampius Dexter (who will have been the maternal grandfather).

*CIL* V 3512 = *SIRIS* 629 = *RICIS* 515/807 (Verona, 70–250): Vettia Aureliana, daughter of Aurelia Calpurniana.

*CIL* V 3524 (Verona, date unclear): Caecilia Maeciana, daughter of Q. Caecilius Nymphius and Maecia Gemella.

*CIL* XII 804 (Arelate, 70–200): Domitia L. f. Fabiana, daughter of Fabia Tertulla.

*CIL* XII 3904 (Nemausus, 70–200): Acilia Sergiana, daughter of Sergia Montania.

*AE* 1982, 685 (Nemausus, 130–200): Aemilia Corneliana, daughter of L. Aemilius Asyncritus and Cornelia Philaenis.<sup>922</sup>

*CIL* II 2590 = *AE* 1953, 18 (Lucus Augusti, date unclear): Iulia Pompeiana, daughter of Pompei(a) Valentina.

*CIL* II 4387 = *RIT* 615 (Tarraco, 70–200): Lucretia Atiliana, daughter of Atilia Auctilla.

*CIL* VIII 2941 (Lambaesis, 70–200): Mattia Cocceiana, daughter of Q. Mattius Quartus and Cocceia Marcia.

*CIL* VIII 26590/26591 (Thugga, c. 200): Vibia Asciana, daughter of Ascia Victoria.

There is at least one potential case from the senatorial *ordo*. It has been hypothesized that the mother of (Ulpia) Marciana (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 877), sister of the emperor Trajan, was an otherwise unknown Marcia. This assumption, however, seems to be based on the cognomen *Marciana* and we should not refute the possibility that the name was, in fact, derived from the praenomen of her father M. Ulpus Traianus (see 4.5).

<sup>922</sup> One of the two brothers also bears the cognomen *Cornelianus*. It is unclear where the cognomen of the other brother (*Honoratus*) came from.

B. Cognomen derived from maternal nomen with *-illa*

*CIL* VI 18460 (Rome, 2nd c.): Flavia T. f. Vettilla, daughter of Flavius Palma and Vettia Antigona.

*CIL* IX 2614 (Terventum, 2nd c.): [Nu]misilla, daughter (?) of Numisia N. f. Marcella.

*PFCR* 8 (*CIL* XII 3175 = 3368, Nemausus, 50–100): Adgennia Licinilla, daughter of Sex. Adgennius Macrinus, *trib. leg. VI Vict., IIIIvir iur. dic., pont. praef. fabr.*, and Licinia L. f. Flavilla.

*CIL* XII 1804 (Vienna, 1st c.): Apronia Clodil(l)a, daughter of M. Apronius Eutropus and Clodia.

*CIL* II 5771 (Pallantia, Imperial): Vettia Sempronilla, daughter of Sempronia Acca (note also her brother [Vet]tius Sempronius).

*ILAlg* I 2610 (Madaurus, 2nd c.): Maria Plautilla, daughter of C. Marius Securus Rogatianus and Plautia Romana (note also her brother C. Marius Fortunatus Romanianus).

*CIL* III 9187 (Salona, 150–300): Iunilla, daughter of Iunia Epagathinaris (?).

*SEG* XXXIII 1195 (Cappadocia, late 1st/early 2nd c.): Κοισία Γρανίλλα, daughter of Κοίστιος Φλωρός and Γρανία Νίγελλα.

At least the following senatorial cases are on record:

FLAVIA DOMITILLA (*PFOS* 367), daughter of Flavius Liberalis and a Domitia. Being the wife of the emperor Vespasian, her name was transmitted onwards to her female descendants in two generations (see 4.3.2.1). The emperor Domitian's cognomen was derived from the same root).

MARCIA FAVONILLA (*PFOS* 524), daughter of Q. Marcus Victor Faustianus & Favonia (*PFOS* 357).

VALERIA VETTILLA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 247), daughter of P. Valerius Patruinus (*cos. suff.* 82) and an otherwise unknown daughter of M. Vettius Marcellus (for a reconstruction of the stemma, see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V p. 124).

Based on the cognomen it has also been assumed that the mother of PLAUTIA URGULANILLA (*PFOS* 619), daughter of M. Plautius Silvanus (*cos.* 2 BCE), was an unattested Urgulania (compare the nomenclature of his brother M. Plautius Urgulianus, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 481).

C. Cognomen derived from maternal nomen with *-ina*:

*AE* 1913, 194 (Rome, 30–70): Iulia Statorina, daughter of Statoria Nephela.

*CIL* III 261 (Ancyra, Imperial): Aquilia Severina, daughter of Q. Aquilius Lucius, centurion of *leg. II Aug.*, and Severia Martinula.

There are no clear cases of senatorial women. In the case of POMPEIA PLOTINA (*PFOS* 631 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 679), wife of the emperor Trajan, it has been hypothesized that her mother was a Plotia – but this hypothesis seems to be based purely on the cognomen.

#### D. Other suffixes

For this study I have been able to find only case in which the daughter's cognomen is derived from the mother's name with the termination *-iola*, viz. *AE* 1976, 431 (Lugudunum, 2nd/3rd c.?), recording Feridia Orbiola, daughter of Orbia Ianuaria.

It is, however, clear that any suffix that could be used to derive cognomina from gentilicia in general could also be used to derive cognomina from gentilicia that came from the mother (e.g. *Pollia* > *Pollitta*), even if we lack evidence of any specific cases.

#### 4.4.4 Mother's nomen used as cognomen

It seems reasonable to assume that in many of those cases in which a Roman woman had a nomen as her cognomen the name came from the mother. Several prosopographical entries have been written and genealogies reconstructed based on such an assumption. It is, for example, assumed that the mother of Aedia Servilia (*PFOS* 6), daughter of M. Aedius, was a Servilia, and that the mother of Plautia Quinctilia (*PFOS* 617), daughter of A. Plautius, was a Quinctilia (see 3.3 for more discussion). One needs to be cautious, however, since there is also evidence of cases in which the name clearly did not come from the mother. Take, for instance, Milonia Caesonia (*PFOS* 550), wife of the emperor Caligula, whose mother was called Vistilia, or Pacideia Marcia (*PFOS* 591), daughter of L. Pacideius Carpius and Domitia Galatia.

A relevant case here is the younger Iulia, the eldest daughter of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Augustus's daughter Iulia. Given the fact that her father was a Vipsanius, it is reasonable to assume that her full name was (VIPSANIA) IULIA (cf. *PFOS* 813). In our sources, however, she is – like her mother – always simply called by the name *Iulia*.<sup>923</sup> There is, in fact, an inscription from Rhodiapolis, which records 'Iulia Agrippina, wife of Germanicus' (*SEG* LVI 1773), and it has been understandably assumed that she was the younger sister of Iulia, who was married to Germanicus

<sup>923</sup> At least Tac. *ann.* 3,24,2; 4,71,4; Suet. *Aug.* 64–65; *Claud.* 26,1; Plin. *nat.* 7,16; 7,45. On epigraphic record, she is attested only once, in an honorific inscription from Thasos, in which she is simply *Ἰουλία Μάρκου Ἀγρίππου θυγάτηρ* (*IG* XII,8 381; the inscription also mentions her mother Iulia and Livia Drusilla; cf. Ch. 3.3.2. above). The reason for the omission of the gentilicium in public may have to do with the fact that the patrician (and now imperial) *gens Iulia* was much more prestigious than the name of the municipal Vipsanii, who had not produced any remarkable office-holders before Agrippa.

Caesar.<sup>924</sup> This, in turn, might lead one to suspect that the daughters of Agrippa never had the nomen *Vipsania*. It seems, however, more likely that the Rhodiapolites made an error, as argued convincingly by K. Sanger-Bohm.<sup>925</sup>

Another case from a not much later period is (MARCIA) SERVILIA (PFOS 526), daughter of Q. Marcus Barea Soranus (*cos. suff.* 52) and (Servilia) Considia (also N+N; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 607 = PFOS 710), who in turn was the daughter of M. Servilius Nonianus (*cos.* 35 CE) and perhaps a Considia. She is only attested by Tacitus, who calls her *Servilia*, “for this was the girl’s name”, *id enim nomen puellae fuit* (Tac. *ann.* 16,30–33).<sup>926</sup>

From around the same period, we know AVIDIA PLAUTIA (PFOS 130), daughter of C. Avidius Nigrinus (*cos. suff.* 110) and an unattested Plautia who seems to have been the daughter of L. Aelius Lamia Plautius Aelianus.<sup>927</sup>

Note also the case of METILIA MARCIA (PFOS 547), daughter of (Cremutia) Marcia (PFOS 301) and an unknown Metilius. While her cognomen was technically a nomen, it was already used as a cognomen by her mother and, thus, is not entirely comparable with the other cases presented in this chapter (instead see 4.3.2.1 above).

As for women of non-senatorial background, at least the following evidence is available:

*AE* 1989, 337 (Messana, 1st/2nd c.): Cerrinia L. f. Cottia, daughter of Cottia Euphros(yne).

*Bivona*, 152 = *EEVIII* 707 (Thermae Himeraeae, 2nd c.): Trebonia C. f. Modia, daughter of C. Trebonius Zmaragdus and Modia Hesione.

*AE* 2006, 1330 (Philippi, 138–161): mother Sulpicia Vatria, children Vellei(i) Velleianus, Lucianus, Lucilla, Sulpicia. The daughter Sulpicia clearly had the maternal nomen as her cognomen.<sup>928</sup>

<sup>924</sup> The text reads: [Ι]ουλίαν Ἀγριππεῖναν / γυναῖκα Γερμανικοῦ / Ῥοδιαπολεῖται.

<sup>925</sup> The Rhodiapolites perhaps were not completely familiar with the family background and, since Agrippina’s nomen was never publicly used, they erroneously opted for the name *Iulia*. It is also possible that they meant her daughter Iulia Agrippina, who was married to Claudius (who also bore the name *Germanicus*, even if he is not normally referred to by that name). Whether it was the elder or the younger Agrippina that the Rhodiapolites wished to honour, they seem to have done it an erroneous manner. Cf. Sanger-Bohm in *Tyche* 26 (2011), 303f.; cf. also *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 682.

<sup>926</sup> It seems clear that Tacitus used the word *nomen* here in a general sense, referring to the girl’s personal (rather than family) name.

<sup>927</sup> Her mother: PFOS 615. L. Aelius Lamia Plautius Aelianus: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 205.

<sup>928</sup> Her brother Velleianus’s cognomen, in turn, was derived from his own nomen. The origin of the

*Iaph* 2007, 12,105 (Aphrodisias, 1st c.): Ἰουλία Ἀντωνία, daughter of Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀδράστου υἱὸς Ποτειτιανός and Ἀντωνία Λ. Ἀντωνίου Φλαωιανοῦ θυγάτηρ Φλαβιανή.

#### 4.4.5 Cognomen derived from the nomen of another relative

Cognomina were sometimes also coined from other nomina than those of the parents. In many cases, for example, the cognomen resembled the nomen of a grandparent, in most cases a grandmother, since the gentilicia of the grandfathers would normally be identical to those of the parents – but also the names of great-grandparents, aunts, or other relatives could come into the picture.

An early example is (AELIA) IUNILLA (*PFOS* 14), daughter of L. Aelius Seianus (the praetorian prefect under Tiberius), whose *avunculus* in turn was Iunius Blaesus (Tac. *ann.* 3,72; 4,26). We can, thus, conclude that Iunilla's paternal grandmother was a Iunia, from whose nomen the cognomen was derived.

We also know that Germanicus Caesar and (Vipsania) Agrippina had three daughters, one of whom was called IULIA LIVILLA (*PFOS* 443).<sup>929</sup> The name ultimately recalls the nomenclature of the Livii Drusi and, particularly, Livilla's great-grandmother, the empress Livia – but *Livia/Livilla* also appears in the nomenclature of her paternal aunt (Claudia) Livia.

Another woman from the same period is IUNIA CLAUDILLA (*PFOS* 470), daughter of M. Iunius Silanus (*cos.* 15; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 832) and wife of the emperor Caligula – though the form *Claudia* (instead of *Claudilla*) is also attested for her.<sup>930</sup> The cognomen, in any case, comes her paternal grandmother, who was a Claudia (see n. 230 above).

Interestingly enough, all the evidence that I have found seems to date from a rather early period. There is, however, no reason to believe that cognomina could not be coined from the gentilicia of grandparents or aunts in later times as well (and they surely were). As has been seen above, cognomina certainly were derived from the nomina of the parents even in the later Imperial period (cf. 4.4.1; 4.4.3).

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cognomina of Lucianus and Lucilla is not explicitly stated, but one could assume that their father was perhaps a Lucius Velleius.

<sup>929</sup> The other two bore the cognomina *Drusilla* and *Agrippina*, see 4.3.2.1 and 4.3.3 above.

<sup>930</sup> Tacitus calls her *Claudia* (Tac. *ann.* 6,20; 6,45); whilst in Suetonius's account she is *Iunia Claudilla* (Suet. *Claud.* 12,1; and in Suet. *Claud.* 12,2, she is simply *Iunia*).

## 4.4.6 Grandmother's (or some other relative's) nomen used as cognomen

Much of the evidence concerns women of imperial houses. For instance, the two daughters of the emperor Claudius (one by Aelia Paetina and one by Valeria Messalina) were called (CLAUDIA) ANTONIA (*PFOS* 217) and CLAUDIA OCTAVIA (*PFOS* 246). The cognomina came from the paternal grandmother Antonia (*PFOS* 73) and her mother Octavia (the sister of Augustus). Another woman of the Julio-Claudian dynasty is (Claudia) Livia (also sometimes called Livilla; *PFOS* 239), the sister of Claudius, whose cognomen recalls the nomenclature of her paternal grandmother, the empress Livia.<sup>931</sup>

There is also (FLAVIA) IULIA (*PFOS* 371), daughter of the emperor Titus, known from multiple sources, always as *Iulia*. The name can be explained as coming from the maternal branch of the family, assuming that her mother was not Marcia Furnilla, but Titus's first wife Arrecina Tertulla, whose mother in turn was a *Iulia*.<sup>932</sup> G. L. Gregori, however, has more recently suggested that the cognomen was given to her on the occasion of the *dies natalis* of the temple of Venus Genetrix, the protector and mother of the *gens Iulia*.<sup>933</sup> This is an intriguing idea but also difficult to prove. In an even more recent article, T. D. Kohn argues that she never even had the name *Flavia* and that *Iulia* was, in fact, her real nomen. This argument, however, is not credible and seems to be based on the misunderstanding of some Roman onomastic practices (e.g. the difference in the use of women's praenomina and cognomina).<sup>934</sup> Her name, most likely, was (Flavia) *Iulia* and, whatever the origin of the cognomen was, the allusion to the house of Augustus must have been deliberate. This is further emphasised by *Iulia*'s assumption of the title *Augusta*, which, together with her cognomen, can be seen as a reference to the wife of Augustus.

From the Antonine period we know the two daughters of L. Aelius Caesar (born L. Ceionius Commodus; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 605) and sisters of the emperor Lucius

<sup>931</sup> For the latest discussion regarding her nomenclature, see Nuorluoto 2020.

<sup>932</sup> Castritius 1969, 492–494. cf. *PFOS* 93; 362, 371; 525. The hypothesis is also accepted by Syme (1980, 21). The assumption that Arrecina Tertulla's mother was a sister of Ti. Iulius Lupus is based on the genealogy proposed by Townend 1961.

<sup>933</sup> Gregori & Rosso 2010, 195f.; cf. also *AE* 2010, 45.

<sup>934</sup> Kohn, among other things, refers to Kajava (1994), who wrote that women could be called by various personal names “if necessary”, but he clearly did not understand that Kajava refers to female *praenomina*, not *cognomina*, the use of which had largely become a universal practice by the Flavian period (see Kohn 2022, esp. 473). Furthermore, the fact that the name *Flavia* is not attributed to *Iulia* in our sources is certainly not a reason to suspect that she never had the nomen.



Verus, who were called CEIONIA FABIA (PFOS 204) and CEIONIA PLAUTIA (PFOS 205). Their mother, in turn, was an otherwise unknown Avidia (PFOS 128), daughter of C. Avidius Nigrinus (PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1408; cf. the stemma on p. 287). There are some open questions regarding the exact genealogy, but, according to the hypotheses proposed by F. Chausson, Nigrinus had married a woman from the family of the Plautii Silvani Aelii Lamiae; and L. Ceionius Commodus (cos. 106), the father of L. Aelius Caesar (and thus grandfather of the two Ceioniae), had married a woman belonging to the family of the Fabii Barbari.<sup>935</sup> It is to these connections that the two Ceioniae would owe their cognomina *Plautia* and *Fabia* (that is, if the genealogy is secure). The name *Plautia* was also used as a cognomen by their father's half-sister Avidia Plautia (PFOS 130; see 4.4.4).

A case from the third century is POMPONIA UMMIDIA (PIR<sup>2</sup> P 781), who is attested in Pisidia, Asia Minor, as the wife of Flavius Antiochianus (cos. II 270; IGR IV 893). Her cognomen seems to derive from her great-grandmother Ummidia Cornificia Faustina (PFOS 827).<sup>936</sup>

The nomenclature of EGRILIA PLARIA (PFOS 341), granddaughter of Plaria Vera and daughter of M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus, has already been mentioned above in 4.3.1.4.

#### 4.4.7 Resemblance to a nomen used in the family

In addition to the strategies mentioned above, it seems that a cognomen could sometimes be chosen simply because it resembled a nomen closely enough. In other words, the cognomen was not strictly speaking derived from the nomen even if there may have been a common root. Examples are not many but some exist. For instance, in *CIL* XIII 11862 (Mogontiacum, 150–200) we have a woman called Lucania Lucilla. The cognomen *Lucilla* is not technically speaking derived from the nomen, the stem of which would be *Lucan*, but from *Luc-* (from which *Lucania*, of course – as well as *Lucius Lucanus Lucullus* etc. – eventually derives from). The case is, thus, similar to Domitia Lucilla, daughter of Cn. Domitius Lucanus, above in 4.3.4.

<sup>935</sup> Chausson 2007, 137.

<sup>936</sup> Pomponia Ummidia's parents were Pomponius Bassus (PIR<sup>2</sup> P 700) and Annia Aurelia Faustina (PIR<sup>2</sup> A 710). The mother of Annia Aurelia Faustina in turn was Annia Faustina (PFOS 58), daughter of Ummidia Cornificia Faustina (PFOS 827). The maternal line (in four generations) thus goes as follows: Ummidia Cornificia Faustina > Annia Faustina > Annia Aurelia Faustina > Pomponia Ummidia.

Other cases include *CIL* V 3668 (Verona), recording a woman called Matronia Maternina, and *BCAR* 1941, p. 187 (Rome), recording Stasia Statorina and her brother Staius Statorinus (the cognomina in this case derived from the stem *Stator-* and not *Stat-*).

#### 4.5 Cognomen from a praenomen used in the family

Female cognomina could also derive from men's praenomina, as has been seen above in 2.3.3 and 2.4. In the majority of such cases, the name was obviously derived from the father's praenomen – though in most cases of the Imperial period, all men in the family would share the same praenomen, so one might as well talk about the family praenomen. Examples of this practice are numerous. Most of the relevant cases have already been discussed in various parts of Chapter 2. It will suffice to refer to them more generally here.

A. Feminine form of the father's praenomen (for more details, see the cases in 2.3.3 above):

*Q(uintus)* > *Quinta*: *AE* 1984, 749 (Scupi); *CIL* VIII 1280; VIII 1805 (Afr. proc.); VIII 6522 (Numidia); VIII 16118 (Afr. proc.); *CIL* XIV 116 (Ostia); *CIL* V 7698 (Augusta Bagiennorum); *CIL* III 9052 (Salona, 150–200).

*L(ucius)* > *Lucia*: *AE* 1977, 735 (Scupi); *CIL* II.14 644 = 3896 = *AE* 2016, 854 (Saguntum, 1st c.); *CIL* VIII 7719 (Cirta, 1st c.); *ILAlg* II.1 3111 (Numidia, 2nd c.); *ILAlg* II.2 5061 (Thibilis).

*Sex(tus)* > *Sexta* (?): *IRC* IV 75 = *HEp* 1997, 210.

B. Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with the termination *-ia* (cf. 2.4.7.2):

*M(arcus)* > *Marcia*: *CIL* VI 33904/5; *CIL* XIV 1234 (Ostia, 2nd c.); *CIL* X 8316 (Panormus); *CIL* II 789 (Caurium); *AE* 2010, 12828 (Aquincum); *IScM* II 187 (Tomis); *CIPh* II.1 173 (Philippi); *AE* 2001, 2128 (Maur. Caes.); *CIL* VIII 7500 = *ILAlg* II.1 1356 (Cirta).

*T(itus)* > *Titia*: *AE* 1982, 256 (Ancona); *CIL* XII 679 (Arelate); *CIL* V 8862 (Verona); *AE* 1990, 680 (Nemausus); *CIL* III 1879 (Narona).

*Q(uintus)* > *Quintia*: *CIL* XII 2858 (Narbonensis).

C. Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with *-illa* (cf. 2.4.2.4):

*L(ucius)* > *Lucilla*: *CIL* VI 9664 = *ILS* 7536; *CIL* VI 9747; *CIL* X 1686 (Puteoli); *CIL* VIII 23327 (Afr. proc.); VIII 26965 (Thugga); *ILAlg* II.2 6022 = *AE* 1906, 96 (Thibilis); *ILAlg* II.1 3758 (Castellum Tidditanorum); *CIL* II 1081 (Naeva); II 1342 (Lacilbula); II 1375 (Basilippo); *HEp* 1997, 863 (Nebrissa Veneris); *HEp* 1990, 373 (Segobriga); *CIL* III 1988 (= 1989) = *ILJug* 2077 (Salona); *AE* 1982, 212 = 1988, 357 = 1989, 190 (Herdonia); *AE* 1988, 1035 (Asia Minor); *CIL* XII 885 (Arelate); *CIL* XII 901 (Arelate).

*Q(uintus)* > *Quintilla*: *CIL* VI 19148 = *AE* 1982, 77 (Roma); *CIL* IX 1421 (Aequum Tuticum); *CIL* II 5068 = 5550 = *HEp* 2009, 52 (Lacimurga); *CIL* II 5187 (Pax Iulia); II 267; II 347 (Olisipo); II 5187 (Pax Iulia); *ILAlg* II.1 3045 (Numidia); *CIL* III 5032 (Noreaia); *AE* 1962, 143 = 1979, 402 (Vasio); *MAMA* VIII 32 (Lystra).

D. Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with *-iāna* (cf. 2.4.4.4):

*M(arcus)* > *Marciana*: *CIL* X 358 = *InscrIt* III.1 149 (Atina, Luc.); *CIL* II 329 (Scallabis); *CIL* VIII 23093 (Afr. proc.); VIII 7188 = *ILAlg* III.1 882 (Cirta); *CIL* VIII 2418 (Thamugadi); *ILAlg* II.3 7673 = *AE* 1955, 156 (Cuicul).

*Q(uintus)* > *Quintiana*: *CIL* XIII 2149 (Lugudunum).

*M(arcus)* > *Marciana*: *CIL* XI 5746 (Sentinum); *IPrusias ad Hypium* 53 (Asia Minor).

*T(itus)* > *Titiana*: *CIL* III 10884 = *ILJug* 397 (Pann. sup.).

There is also one possible case in *-illiana*: *CIL* II 1090 = *AE* 2014, 608 (Baetica): Fabia Quintilliana, daughter (?) of Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Gal. Rusticus.

E. Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with *-ina* (cf. 2.4.3.4):

*A(ulus)* > *Aulina* (?): *CIL* IX 4881 (Trebula Mutuesca).

*M(arcus)* > *Marcina*: *CIL* XII 4203 (Sextantio).

*Q(uintus)* > *Quintina*: *AE* 2011, 910 (Risinium); *CIL* XI 1773 (Volaterrae); XII 290 (Forum Iulii); XII 3820 (Nemausus).

*Sex(tus)* > *Sextina*: *NSA* 2008/2009, 349,8 (Beneventum).

*Ti(berius)* > *Tiberina*: *CIL* III 14386b (Heliopolis); *IGX*.2.1 484 (Thessalonica, 165 CE).

F. Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with *-ulla* (cf. 2.4.5.4):

*L(ucius)* > *Luculla*: *CIL* X 5546 (Aquinum); García Iglesias 1973 no. 202 (Emerita); *CIL* VI 16543a (Rome).

*S(extus)* > *Sextulla*: *CIL* VIII 18997 = *ILAlg* II.2 5328 (Thibilis); VIII 17930 (Thamugadi).

*T(itus)* > *Titulla*: *CIL* V 6591; XII 3938 (Nemausus); XII 3942 (Nemausus); XII 3957 (Narbonensis); XII 4001 (Nemausus); *ILGN* 460 (Nemausus); *CIL* VIII 8131 (Numidia).

G. Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with *-ula/(i)ola* (cf. 2.4.6.4):

*Q(uintus)* > *Quintula*: *CIL* VIII 14636 (Afr. proc.).

*T(itus)* > *Titula*: *CIL* XII 3553 (Nemausus).

*T(itus)* > *Titiola*: *CIL* XII 2900 (prov. Narb.).

H. Father's praenomen *M(arcus)*, daughter's cognomen *Marcella* (cf. 2.4.9).

*CIL* VI 20894: Iunia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* VI 16632 (92–106): Statoria M. fil. Marcella.

*CIL* VI 32649 (29–50): Masuria M. f. Marcella.

*NSA* 1920, p. 288 no. 5 (Rome, 50–100): Arrecina M. f. Marcella, daughter of M. Arrecinus Augustinus and Flavia Beronice.

*CIL* XI 6110 (Forum Sempronii): Pomponia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* V 7509 (Liguria): Pollia M. f. Marcella, daughter of M. Pollius M. l. Certus.

*CIL* V 7963 = *ILGN* 4 (Cemenelum, 50–100): Aemilia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* V 7510 (Aquae Statiellae, 1st c.): Valeria M. f. Marcella, daughter of M. Valerius M. f. Tromentina Crescens.

*IAquil* II 1339 (Aquileia, 70–130): Papia M. f. Marcella.

*Pais* 1184 (Aquileia, Imperial): Curia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* V 2876 (Patavium, 1st c.): Petronia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* V 4011 (Verona, 1st/2nd c.): Cusonia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* V 3399 (Verona, Imperial): Cipia M. f. Marcella (note also her son Marcellinus).

*CIL* V 3587 (Verona, Imperial): Cornelia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* V 3625 (Verona, 50–100): Gavia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* XII 81 = *AE* 1999, 997 (Ebrodunum, 150–200): Ulattia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* XII 2924 (Briginno): Vittia M. f. Marcella.

*ILGN* 429 (Nemausus): Terentia M. f. Marcella (eadem *CIL* XII 3477?)

*CIL* XII 3704 (Nemausus, Imperial): [Li]cinia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* XII 2959 (Ucetia, 70–200): Valeria M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* II 1004 (Ugultunia, date unclear): Maria M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* II 3623 (Saetabis, 1st c.): Fulvia M. f. Marcella (note also her son Marcianus).

*CIL* II 3653 (Saetabis, 1–50): [L]icinia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* II 4019 (Jerica, 2nd c.): Corn[elia] M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* II 33 (Salacia, date unclear): Octavia M. f. Marcella Moderatilla.

*CIL* II 261 (Olisipo, 1st c.): Iulia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* II 5014 (Olisipo, Imperial): Clatia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* II 5251 (Lusitania, Imperial): Iulia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* II 968 (Lusitania, Imperial): Ulpia M. f. Marcella.

*AE* 1981, 576 (Saguntum, 50–100): [---]a M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* VIII 16311 (Afr. proc., Imperial): Iulia M. f. Marcella, *vix. ann. XI*.

*CIL* VIII 16386 (Sibus, Imperial): Iulia M. f. Marcella, *vix. ann. XLI*.

*CIL* VIII 19115 (Sigus, Imperial): Caecilia M. f. Marcella.

*ILAlg* II.2 6602 (Sigus): Fabia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* VIII 7181 = *ILAlg* II.1 872 (Cirta, Imperial): Aemilia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* VIII 7499 = *ILAlg* II.1 1354 (Cirta, Imperial): Iulia M. f. Marcella, *v. a. XLV*.

*CIL* VIII 6494 (Castellum Elefantum, Imperial): Iulia M. f. Marcella, *v. a. XI*.

*ILAlg* II.2 4862 (Thibilis, Imperial): Antonia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* VIII 26800 (Thugga, Imperial): Coelia M. f. Marcella.

*CIL* VIII 6902 (Histonium, 1–68): Varia M. f. Marcella.

*AE* 2011, 893 (Dalmatia, 70–130): Aelia M. f. Marcella.

*AE* 1993, 1266 (Dalmatia, 1st c.): Valeria M. f. Marcella.

There is also one case, in which the daughter's cognomen has been derived from *M(arcus)* with the termination *ellina*: *CIL* V 7032 (Augusta Taurinorum): Petronia M. f. Marcellina.

Whilst most of the cases focus on the praenomen used by the father, the woman's cognomen could also be identical to the praenomen used by other relatives. This may be the case in the following inscription from Philippi:

*BCH* 47 (1923) 73 no. 30: *C(aius) Galges[tius ---]t[us] V[ir] [---] / Aconiae Q[uinti] f[iliae] [---] / uxori et Galg[estiae] / Quintae [filiae] / [v]ivos [sic]*.

If Quinta was the daughter of Aconia Q. f. [---], as has been thought, her cognomen was identical with the praenomen of her maternal grandfather – whilst her father C. Galges[tius ---]t[us] bore another praenomen. The possibility, however, exists that one of the parents also bore the cognomen *Quintus/a*.

Freedwomen were also sometimes named after their patron's praenomen, as the following evidence illustrates:

*AE* 1991, 1290 (Salona): Valeria Quinta, freedwoman of Q. Valerius Q. f. Corn. Edessa.

*CIL* VI 29558: Volusia Lucilla L. l., freedwoman of L. Volusius Logismus.

*AE* 1978, 53 (Roma): Ulpia Marcia, attested together with her *conlibertus* M. U(l)pius Telesphorus, both being clients of the emperor Trajan.

## 4.6 Cognomina chosen for prestige and/or social elevation

### 4.6.1 Cognomina e virtute

In the early Empire, many families of the old nobility sought to underline their rank and status by adopting ancient praenomina and cognomina that had in many cases not been used for centuries. This had much to do with the Augustan ‘renaissance’ of the old nobility. Not only did Augustus create new patrician houses but he also sought to revive families that had been on the brink of extinction and whose traditional primacy had been challenged by new men, not least by Antonian and Caesarian partisans. The old families, with their status restored within the boundaries of the new monarchical system, now proudly manifested their noble pedigree in various ways. Naming proved to be a powerful tool in this context.<sup>937</sup>

Names that recalled great ancestors, historical alliances, and past victories were now taken into use and bestowed not only on men but on women as well. It has already been noted above in 3.3.1 that the nomenclature of (Fabia) Paullina and her two brothers Paullus Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 11 BCE) and Africanus Fabius Maximus (10 BCE) were chosen to recall the family’s historical ties with the Republican Aemilii Paulli and Cornelii Scipiones. This requires some elaboration. The connection is established through their ancestor Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus (*cos.* 145 BCE), who was the natural son of L. Aemilius Paullus, victor of Pydna, but who was later adopted by the Fabii. L. Aemilius Paullus also had another son who was adopted by the younger Scipio Africanus and who is known by the name P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus.<sup>938</sup> Due to this connection, the early Imperial Fabii could claim names such as *Africanus* and *Paullus*. But this is not all. The consul of 11 BCE had a son and a daughter, both of whose nomenclature recall the same historical connection to the Paulli and

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<sup>937</sup> As Syme (1939, 377) eloquently put it: “Pride of birth, prejudicial or at least unprofitable while the Triumvirs ruled in Rome, now asserts its rights. Men revived decayed *cognomina*, invented *praenomina* to recall historic glories, remembered old ties of kinship and furbished up the *imagines* of their ancestors, genuine or supposed”. Or as Kajava (1986, 62) later expressed it: “The Emperor [Augustus] was prompt and willing to favour the ancient houses of aristocracy which had for various reasons fallen into obscurity, and by allowing them a share in power and station he also encouraged them to manifest their birth and pedigree. It was in this context that nomenclature became remarkably significant. Names that were old, expired and unheard of for centuries were now adopted in memory of the great ancestors.”

<sup>938</sup> Cf. Salomies 1987, 323f.

the Scipiones. The daughter was called Fabia Numantina (*PFOS* 535).<sup>939</sup> She is known by her full name from the funerary inscription that she commissioned for her son Sex. Appuleius, who died *ultimus gentis suae* (*CIL* XI 1362), and her cognomen is also mentioned by Tacitus (*ann.* 4,22). The cognomen successfully established a connection to both the Aemilii Paulli and the Cornelii Scipiones by recalling the conquest of Numantia by Scipio Aemilianus in 133 BCE. Numantina's cognomen can therefore be considered a *cognomen e virtute/le victa gente*, modelled after the triumphal cognomina of the victorious generals of the Republic.<sup>940</sup> It is also noteworthy that our Numantina seems to have been the first bearer of the cognomen in the family; one Fabius Numantinus is known but from a later period.<sup>941</sup> Numantina's brother Paullus Fabius Persicus (*cos.* 34) also had a remarkable nomenclature in this respect, not only because of his praenomen but because his cognomen clearly recalled the victory of Aemilius Paullus over the Macedonian king Perseus at Pydna in 168 BCE.

Another early Imperial woman who must be identified as a Fabia is known from two early Imperial epitaphs of her slaves, in which she is simply styled as *Eburna* (*CIL* VI 7701: *Eutychia Eburnaes ancilla*; *CIL* VI 33842: *Alexae Eburnaes ser. supra cubicularios*). Her nomen is not mentioned, but, in my view, there is little doubt that she belonged to the Fabii Maximi.<sup>942</sup> This is mainly due to the exceptional nature of the cognomen. Apart from this case, it is only known from Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus, consul of 116 BCE.<sup>943</sup> The re-use of an old cognomen would be in good accordance with the onomastic habits of the early Imperial Fabii – and, besides, it would be peculiar to find a cognomen such as *Eburna* among the 'common people'.

<sup>939</sup> The identification is not entirely certain. Chausson 2017 has even argued for the existence of two Fabiae Numantinae instead of one. According to him the Fabia Numantina who is attested as the mother of Sex. Appuleius (*CIL* XI 1362 = *ILS* 935), was not the same Numantina whom Tacitus (*ann.* 4,22) mentions as the second wife of M. Plautius Silvanus (*pr.* 24 CE). In Chausson's view they belonged to two different generations and were perhaps aunt and niece.

<sup>940</sup> Though from an official point of view the name obviously differed from the triumphal cognomina, officially granted to the bearer by the senate. Cf. Linderski 1990.

<sup>941</sup> He was a member of the Arval brethren during Nero's reign (attested in *CIL* VI 2002 3235; cf. also Syme 1986, 418).

<sup>942</sup> As is already assumed by A. Stein in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 75. Raepsaet-Charlier (cf. *PFOS* 350) also acknowledges the possible connection but is somewhat more sceptical "L'appartenance à l'ordre sénatorial et à l'époque envisagée est très aléatoire".

<sup>943</sup> Cf. *RE s.v.* 'Fabius' no. 111.

Examples are also found in other families of the same period. A particularly intriguing one is the nomenclature of Livia Medullina (*PFOS* 500), fiancée of the emperor Claudius and daughter of M. Furius Camillus (*cos.* 8 CE). An inscription commissioned by her *paedagogus* records her as *Medullina Camilli filia* *Ti(beri) Claudii Neronis Germanici sponsa* (*CIL* X 6561 = *ILS* 199), and Suetonius (*Claud.* 26,1) furthermore styles her as *Livia Medullina cui et cognomen Camillae erat*. Some explanation is required. *Medullina* was the ancient cognomen used by some Republican Furius during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. After that, there are no attestations of the name before our Livia Medullina. We are, thus, dealing with the revival of an ancient cognomen. The patrician Furius had not shown great prominence in the last decades of the Republic. In fact, the once glorious house had not produced any consuls after 136 BCE, but in the Augustan period they regained some of their former station. Medullina's father was clearly keen to promote this newly restored status by giving his daughter an ancient cognomen that had been in oblivion for almost four hundred years.

As for the existence of the cognomen *Camilla*, which appears in the Suetonian passage above, Kajava is probably right when concluding that Suetonius made an error – an understandable one, since the Furius also used the cognomen *Camillus* – or alternatively that Livia originally had the cognomen *Camilla* but later changed it to *Medullina*.<sup>944</sup> In my view, the former option seems more credible, since there is only little evidence of name-changes of this kind.<sup>945</sup> Medullina's nomenclature poses also other obvious problems (e.g. why *Livia* and not *Furia*?), but these matters are beyond the scope of the present discussion and have been adequately discussed elsewhere by Kajava.<sup>946</sup>

A cognomen comparable to *Medullina* is perhaps that of Sulpicia Q. f. Praetextata (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 1034 = *PFOS* 745). The identity of her father is not entirely clear, but he may have been Q. Sulpicius Camerinus (*cos. suff.* 46), the last consul

<sup>944</sup> Cf. Kajava 1986, 64f. Raepsaet-Charlier is also sceptical about the second cognomen but does not completely refute the possibility, hence *Livia Medullina (Camilla?)* in *PFOS* 500.

<sup>945</sup> It is true that Nero's wife Poppaea Sabina seems to have assumed the name of her maternal grandfather, as told by Tacitus (*ann.* 13,45), but this name-change, as far as I see it, mostly refers to the nomen, not the cognomen (although both names were used by the maternal side of the family; cf. Nuorluoto 2017, 265f.). Kajava only presents one case of an upper-class woman changing her personal name later on in life, but this example is from a much later period, i.e. the future wife of the emperor Theodosius II, who had to abandon her original name *Athenais* before the marriage took place, after which she was called *Eudocia*. Cf. Kajava 1986, 64 n. 20.

<sup>946</sup> According to Kajava's hypothesis, Medullina was probably born a Furia but later took over the name *Livia* for dynastic purposes (Kajava 1986, 65ff.).



of his line. Sulpicia's cognomen *Praetextata* is not attested in the family before her, but it is noteworthy that it was used by some patrician Sulpicii of the early Republic.<sup>947</sup> It would not be surprising if the early Imperial Sulpicii Camerini wanted to underline their prestigious ancestry by reviving an ancient cognomen – just as they had done with *Camerinus*, a name originally used by some Sulpicii of the early Republic.<sup>948</sup> Particularly notable in this respect is the nomenclature of his distant ancestor Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Praetextatus (*trib. mil. consulari potestate* 434 BCE). Note also that the cognomen *Praetextata* was transmitted to Sulpicia's daughter Licinia Praetextata (PFOS 495), and further to Licinia Praetextata's niece Calpurnia Praetextata (PFOS 180).

Another early Imperial example of a female cognomen recalling past glory is that of Mummia Achaica (PFOS 552), mother of the emperor Galba. The cognomen, as it seems, had already been used by her father and was inherited to her as such (see 4.3.1 above). What is important here, however, is that it recalled the 'victory name' of her famous ancestor L. Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth in 146 BCE. It might be worth noting that while the name is occasionally attested for Mummius in literary sources, it is never found on epigraphic record.<sup>949</sup> The absence of the triumphal name in inscriptions would suggest that it was never officially granted to him by a senatorial decree (unlike for example the triumphal names of some other victorious generals of the Republic, such as Metellus Delmaticus or Scipio Africanus).<sup>950</sup> Whether or not the name was part of his official nomenclature is, however, irrelevant here. What matters is that by using the cognomen *Achaicus/Achaica*, the Mummii of the early Empire made a statement to their contemporaries.

One should also note that Fabia Numantina and Mummia Achaica were not the only women to bear *cognomina e virtute*. There is also Cornelia Gaetulica (PFOS 284), who descended from the patrician Cornelii Lentuli. In comparison to *Achaica* and *Numantina*, however, the name recalled a more recent military achievement, namely the victory over the Gaetuli by Cossus Cornelius

<sup>947</sup> *RE s.v.* 'Sulpicius' nos. 37–38.

<sup>948</sup> The cognomen seems to have been derived from the Latin town of Cameria, from which the Sulpicii probably originated – unless we assume that the name was a *cognomen e virtute*.

<sup>949</sup> For the literary accounts, consult *RE* XVI 1203 (Münzer). For a study of the epigraphic sources, see Pietilä-Castrén 1978, 115ff.

<sup>950</sup> This may have had to do with the less distinguished background of L. Mummius. While Scipio Africanus and Metellus Delmaticus were born to old and distinguished families, Mummius instead was a *homo novus*, on whom the senate may have been more reluctant to bestow such honours.

Lentulus (*cos.* 1 BCE). His son Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (*cos.* 26) had subsequently assumed the *cognomen e virtute* as part of his nomenclature, and it was also transmitted to his son.<sup>951</sup> Gaetulia's funerary inscription, which records her as *Cornelia Gaetulici filia Gaetulica* (*CIL* VI 1392 = *ILS* 958), shows that she had inherited the name from her father (perhaps the consul of 26 or his homonymous son, the consul of 55; see 4.3.1 above). Since the hereditary cognomen *Lentulus* had a pejorative meaning (cf. 2.6.2), it is only to be expected that another name, in this case *Gaetulica*, was preferred.<sup>952</sup>

The Iunii Silani, the last surviving branch of the noble Iunii during the early Empire, also resorted to the use of old cognomina. This is evident in the nomenclature of Iunia C. Silani f. Torquata (*PFOS* 475), who is attested as a Vestal virgin during the reign of Tiberius.<sup>953</sup> *Torquatus* was originally the cognomen of the patrician Manlii, who had died out in the late Republic.<sup>954</sup> The Silani had become connected to them in the second century BCE through the adoption of D. Iunius Silanus Manlianus (who was the natural son of T. Manlius Torquatus, *cos.* 165 BCE).<sup>955</sup> By reviving the cognomen of the patrician Manlii, the early Imperial Silani obviously wanted to underline this historical tie. It is noteworthy that Iunia Torquata seems to have been the first bearer of the cognomen in the *gens*.<sup>956</sup> Note that some other daughters of the Silani also bore cognomina that underlined family alliances, though more recent ones (cf. Iunia Lepida and Iunia Claudilla in 4.8 below).

There is also the case of Aelia Paetina (*PFOS* 18), wife of the emperor Claudius and daughter of either Sex. Aelius Catus (*cos.* 4) or (perhaps less likely) Q. Aelius Tubero (*cos.* 11).<sup>957</sup> Which of the two men her father was is less important, from our point of view, than the fact that her cognomen *Paetina* was derived from

<sup>951</sup> For a family tree of the Lentuli, see Syme 1986, *stemma* XXI.

<sup>952</sup> Note also that the cognomen *Gaetulica* is attested for some women of the lower classes as well, but in these cases the name did not obviously have similar connotations. Especially when found in Africa, the name may have been considered an ethnic (cf. *AE* 2008, 1618-1619).

<sup>953</sup> *CIL* VI 2127 = 32403; *CIL* VI 2128 = *ILS* 4923; *CIL* VI 20788; through the nomenclature of her *liberti*: *CIL* VI 20788; VI 20852. *Tac. ann.* 3,69 calls her simply *Torquata*. She is furthermore attested with her full nomenclature in a Greek inscription from Tenos (*IG* XII,5, 920).

<sup>954</sup> The last Manlius Torquatus was the friend of Horace (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 162).

<sup>955</sup> Cf. *RE* s.v. 'Iunius' no. 161.

<sup>956</sup> The cognomen is later attested for D. Silanus Torquatus (*cos.* 53) and L. Silanus Torquatus (who was killed in 65). The cognomen is also attested in some other *gentes*, notably the Nonii Asprenates and Volusii Saturnini.

<sup>957</sup> In any case she was *e familia Tuberorum* (*Tac. ann.* 12,1; *Suet. Claud.* 26).

*Paetus*. This was the cognomen of the senatorial Aelii in the Middle Republic, the most notable name-bearer being the jurist Sex. Aelius Paetus Catus (*cos.* 198 BCE), from whom the later Aelii Tuberones claimed descent. It also follows that if our Paetina was the sister of Aelia Catella, as has been assumed (for her name, see 4.3.1 above), both sisters had cognomina that reflected the nomenclature of the famous jurist.

Relevant for the present discussion is also the nomenclature of Licinia Magna (*PFOS* 494), daughter of M. Licinius Crassus (*cos.* 27), named after her ancestor Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great). As a matter of fact, her nomenclature was not the only remarkable one in the family: her brother, for example, was called Cn. Pompeius Magnus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 630), his nomenclature being, thus, an even more direct – in fact, as direct as it gets – reference to Pompey.<sup>958</sup> It ought to be pointed out *Crassa*, being a pejorative name, was out of question and already for that reason another name had to be chosen (cf. 2.6.2).

One needs to remember, however, that the practices discussed in this chapter were restricted to a small circle of Roman aristocrats and do not obviously reflect any popular practices.

#### 4.6.2 Imitation of the aristocracy by the *plebs*

As has been noted above, people of less elevated and municipal status sometimes sought to imitate the Roman upper classes in their naming practices.<sup>959</sup> There is nothing strange about this, since this tends to be a typical feature of many human societies.<sup>960</sup> In the Roman context, however, it must have been more common for men to be named after famous people than it was for women for the simple reason that there were by far more famous men than women on record, especially ones who bore cognomina. For example, there are several Tullii with the cognomen *Cicero* from Paestum, who probably did not have anything to do with the famous orator of the late Republic; or Licinii with the cognomen *Crassus* from Aquinum – again, with no connection to the senatorial Licinii Crassi.<sup>961</sup>

<sup>958</sup> His three other brothers were called M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, (Licinius?) Crassus Scribonianus, and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus.

<sup>959</sup> Salomies 1987, 201f.; cf. Taylor 1960, 288.

<sup>960</sup> Bourdieu 1979 famously asserts that the legitimate taste of any society is primarily the taste of the ruling class.

<sup>961</sup> The Tullii Cicerones of Paestum, attested during the third century: *IPaestum* 98; 99; 100; 101; 103–105. Licinii Crassi of Aquinum: *AE* 1991, 414.

There are plenty of other examples as well, conveniently collected by H. Solin.<sup>962</sup>

There is also evidence of some women who may have been named after famous people. A Pompeian graffito (*CIL* IV 6812), for instance, records a woman called Cornelia P. f. Orestina. While the background and identity of the woman in question is unclear, it could be, as M. Kajava has suggested, that she was named after a far more famous Cornelia Orestina, i.e. the bride of Caligula, whom the emperor abducted from her own wedding when she was to be married to C. Calpurnius Piso.<sup>963</sup> Furthermore, an inscription from Rome from the latter half of the first century records another Cornelia Orestina, clearly of humble background (*CECapitolini* 77). She is attested together with Cornelia Lemn[ias] (perhaps her sister), who was the mother of P. Cornelius Synegdemus and wife of P. Licinius Prepo(n) – all bearing Greek cognomina, which suggests that they were former slaves (or descendants of *liberti*).

There is also an early Imperial woman called Livia C. f. [Pu]lchra on record at Formiae (*AE* 1969/70, 118). Based on her nomenclature, it has been suggested that she was connected to the senatorial Livii and Claudii Pulchri (hence the entry in *PFOS* 502), but other than the names, there seems to be nothing in particular to support this. I would be inclined to consider this case an example of imitation of the *nobiles* rather than anything else, or the name may have been simply chosen because of its positive meaning.

Other than that, it is difficult to come by any exact cases. There is *CIL* X 339\* = *ILMNI* 651, recording Livia Medullina, *quae vix(it) a(nnos) XXV* (compare Livia Medullina, the bride of Claudius, in the previous chapter), but this inscription is a forgery and cannot be taken as evidence. In any case, it seems clear that many women who bore cognomina of the type *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, *Messal(l)ina* were named so in imitation of Imperial women,<sup>964</sup> or that women of the Antonine dynasty contributed to the popularity of the cognomen *Faustina*.<sup>965</sup> Furthermore, some cognomina such as *Galla* and *Sabina*, which were also frequently used by the upper classes, clearly had an upper-class ring to them and were often chosen for this reason (see n. 103).

<sup>962</sup> Solin 2015, particularly 25ff. Cf. also Solin 1990, 37ff. for examples of names of historical Greek persons.

<sup>963</sup> Kajava 1984, 25f. The abduction of Cornelia is described by Dio 59,8,7 and Suet. *Cal.* 25,1.

<sup>964</sup> Kajanto documents 43 non-senatorial cases of *Agrippina* and 7 cases of *Messal(l)ina*. Kajanto 1965, 175; 194. *Drusilla* (or *Drusus*, for that matter) is, strangely enough, not included in Kajanto's book, but a search in *EDCS* yields at least six non-senatorial cases.

<sup>965</sup> *Faustina*: 232 non-senatorial women documented by Kajanto 1965, 272.

#### 4.7 ‘Speaking names’: name choice and semantics

##### 4.7.1 How much did the ‘meaning’ of the name matter?

Given that many of the Latin cognomina (and Greek, for that matter) were based on appellative lemmas and, thus, had a transparent lexical meaning, one could ask, how much this mattered when the Romans chose names for their children. An exact answer is, of course, impossible to give. As we have seen above, it was common for children to receive names that had been in use in the family and in such cases the meaning of the name, if any, may have been a rather insignificant factor. At the same time, it is clear that meaning could, and in many cases did, matter. We have, for instance, several cases of numeral cognomina clearly referring to birth order, geographical names correlating with the name-bearer’s place of origin, cognomina chosen through calque and semantic association, and so forth. In short, while meaning does not define name or determine its object of reference, it is a factor that cannot be disregarded.

##### 4.7.2 Time, order or circumstances of birth

We have already seen in Chapter 3 that one of the initial functions of cognomina in women’s nomenclature – reflecting the use of female praenomina – was to indicate the daughter’s order of birth or age relation to her other siblings (cf. the two sisters *Maria C. f. Prima* and *Maria C. f. Secunda* in 3.2.2 above). Names such as *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Maxima*, *Primigenia* were certainly used in this function during the Empire as well, even though in many cases they had simply transformed into personal names like any other name. Some cases will now be presented in which a female cognomen in the Imperial period truly seems to reflect the birth order. For instance, in the following family the two daughters seem to be the second and third child and were named accordingly:<sup>966</sup>

*CIL* V 5579 (Transpadana, 50–200 CE):

M. Atilius Primus & Offilena Marcellina

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M. [Atil]ius Primulus – Atilia Secunda – Atilia Tertia

<sup>966</sup> Compare *CIL* IX 786, recording three brothers bearing the cognomina *Primus*, *Secundus*, *Tertius*. For more examples, see Salomies 2009, 525.

Also, in *CIL* XII 3381 = 4569 (Narbo) we have two sisters called *Maxima* and *Secunda*, the former obviously being the elder of the two.<sup>967</sup>

*Secunda* also seems to be the name of a second daughter in *CIL* VIII 20889 (Africa proc., 2nd c.?): *Stati(a)e Dat(a)e Statia Secunda sorori*. Her sister *Data*'s name may also have to do with the circumstances of birth (perhaps a long-awaited and finally 'given' first child). There are several comparable cases:

*CIL* III 14851 (Salona, 2nd/3rd c.): *Sep[timio Pri]/mitivo S[e]/cunda sor[or]*. *Primitivus*, as the name suggests, was the first-born child and *Secunda* the second.

*AE* 1995, 1070 (Nemausus): *Accepto T(iti) f(ilio) / Secunda soror*. In terms of meaning, the name *Acceptus* is comparable to *Datus* above, while *Secunda* was a natural choice to the second child.

*CIL* V 7778 = *AE* 1984, 418 (Liguria, 1st c.), recording brother and sister Q. Iunius Q. f. *Optatus* and Iunia Q. f. *Secunda*. *Optatus* perhaps implies that the brother was the first son and was 'hoped for'; and *Secunda* in turn was the second child and was named accordingly.

A possible case is also *IAquil* II 1339 (Aquileia, 70–130 CE): *Papia M. f. Secunda ... Papiae M. f. Marcellae sorori*. *Secunda* was perhaps the second daughter, while *Marcella*'s cognomen seems to have been derived from their father's praenomen. *Marcella*'s cognomen was further transmitted to her son C. *Arellius* L. f. *Marcellinus* (in a suffixed form).

One needs to be cautious, however. For instance, in *CIL* VI 34993 (2nd c.) we also have two sisters, *Cominia Venusta* and *Cominia Secunda*, but it is evident in this case that the cognomen *Secunda* simply came from the father L. *Cominius Secundus*, who is also mentioned (though this does not naturally mean that *Secunda* could not have also been the second daughter).<sup>968</sup>

We have also seen above a couple of examples of families, in which the cognomen *Tertia* was given to a third child/daughter. This is perhaps also the case in the following family, who are attested in Dalmatia during the first century:

*ILJug* II 846 = *AE* 1992, 1379:

<sup>967</sup> In *IAquil* II 1460 we also have two sisters called *Secunda* and *Tertia* – though in this case the names seem to be used as praenomina rather than cognomina.

<sup>968</sup> A similar case is *CIL* V 6091 (Mediolanum, 70–100): parents L. *Sextius* C. f. and *Novellia Secunda*; children L. *Sextius* L. f. *Nigellio*, *Sextia* L. f. *Maxonis* (?) and *Sextia* L. f. *Secunda*. While *Secunda* in this case was perhaps the second daughter, it is clear that her cognomen came from her mother.

T. Queresius Aet. f. & Volusia M. f. Aet.(?)

|

C. Volusius Maxi(mus) – Queresia T. f. Max(ima) – Queresia T. f. Tertia

The fact that the son bears the maternal nomen seems to suggest that he was born before the parents had formed a legal marital union, whilst the two daughters were born after that. Tertia is also mentioned in the inscription after her sister, which would indicate that she was the younger sister (and *Maxima* was obviously an appropriate name for an elder sister).

The cognomen could also be chosen from the time or moment of birth. This is also explained by Quintilian, according to whom names were often chosen *ex habitu corporis ... et ex casu nascentium* (Quint. 1,25). A couple of clear examples of this practice exist:

For example, cognomina of the type *Ianuarina* and *Saturnina* could sometimes be chosen because of their calendrical meaning. There is, in fact, a clear testimony of this:

CIL X 2933 = ILS 8526 (Cumae):

*D(is) M(anibus) / Saturninae / die Saturni / nata diem Satur/ni diem functam /  
vix(it) annis III / m(ensibus) V d(iebus) XX*

The inscription explicitly states that the deceased, a little girl called Saturnina, was born and also died on the *dies Saturni*. No general rule, however, can be conducted from this case alone. Many women who were called *Saturnina* (or men called *Saturninus*) most likely did not have anything to do with the *dies Saturni*. This is something that H. Gottanka, in his article on birthday-cognomina, fails to take into account.<sup>969</sup> Instead, in his interpretation names of this type seem to have always had a calendric connection to the time of birth (*Saturninus/a* with *dies Saturni*, *Ianuarinus/a* with January, and so on). Obviously, this was not always the case. Names could, for instance, be transmitted as such, in which case the original meaning was lost, as is duly noted by O. Salomies.<sup>970</sup> It is good to keep in mind that in general, any name could be chosen for almost any imaginable reason. Furthermore, the popularity of some calendric names, on the one hand (e.g. *Ianuarina*), and the total absence of others, on the other hand (e.g. *\*Februaria*), seem to suggest that there were also other than purely calendrical factors at work (cf. n. 724 above).

<sup>969</sup> Cf. Gottanka 1911.

<sup>970</sup> Salomies 2008, 84 n. 63.

## 4.7.3 Place of origin/birth

Cognomina were sometimes chosen to reflect the daughter's (or father's) geographical origin. The most conspicuous example of this are cognomina derived from the daughter's town or country of origin. There are multiple examples of women with a cognomen that can be labelled as 'geographical' (e.g. *Florentina*), but in the majority of these cases we cannot establish a clear connection between the name-bearer and the geographical location. However, some illustrating examples exist. In the following cases, the woman's cognomen seems to be related to her town or city of origin:

Octavia Capitolina, attested at Mogontiacum. She was, however, originally from Colonia Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), as the inscription explicitly reveals (*AE* 1976, 494, *dom(o) Ael(ia) Capitolin(a)*).

Iul(ia) Carnuntilla, *ex pr(ovincia) P(annonia) super(iore)* (*CIL* VI 37271, Rome). The cognomen derived from Carnuntum, the capital of Pannonia superior – most probably Carnuntilla's town of origin.

The cognomina *Scarbantilla* and *Scarbantina* are attested for two women in or near the Pannonian town of Scarbantia (*Scarbantilla, serva: CIL* III 10946 = *RIU* I 181; *Firmia L. f. Scarbantina: CIL* III 4201 = *RIU* I 131).

Calcidia Telesina attested at Telesia (*CIL* IX 6447, late 1st c.).

Caecilia Anconitana from Ancona (*CIL* IX 5910).

Cornelia Tibullesia (= *Tibulensis?*), recorded in Tibula, Sardinia (*CIL* X 7973, 2nd c.).

Appuleia Spoletina, attested at Hispellum, near Spoletum (*CIL* XI 5294, 2nd c.).

Valeria Saguntina, attested in Saguntum (*CIL* II 3970, 70–130 CE).

Valeria Praetuttiana from Interamnia Praetuttiorum (*EE* VIII.1 209).

Memmia L. f. Italicilla, attested at Italica in Spain (*CILA* II.2 471)

*Nucerina* is attested for two women near Nuceria, one at Pompeii (*CIL* IV 10241) and one at Volcei (*CIL* X 8105).

We also have to cases of *Grumentina*, not far away from Grumentum in Southern Italy (*CIL* X 449 = *InscrIt* III.1 11 (2nd c.); *InscrIt* III.1 174a (3rd c.).

The cognomen *T(h)evestina* is attested for several women in or around Theveste in North Africa: *CIL* VIII 27872 (2nd/3rd c.); VIII 4617; VIII 4281; *AE* 1995, 1781 (Sitifis, 3rd c.); Gsell 1893, 154 (Numidia).

*Misena* in Puteoli, near Misenum: *CIL* X 2104.

Petronia Aquileiensis in Aquileia (*CIL* V 1337).

Varia Flavia Salonia from Salona (*CIL* III 2584 = *ILJug* III 2040b10).



Several women with the cognomen *Gaditana* at Gades (*IRPCad* 392; 414; 457) and one in Corduba (*CIL* II 2277).

*Teanens(is)* (if a cognomen) at Teanum Sidicinum (*CIL* X 4804; there is also a man designated as *Teanensis* in the same town: *CIL* X 4789).

It is also probable that Furia Ostiensis, commemorated at Tarracina (*AE* 2001, 759), originally came from the nearby Ostia.

A possible case is also *CIL* V 4755 = *InscrIt* X,5, 572 from Brixia, recording a woman called Valeria L. f. Fabia. Since Fabia was the *tribus* of Brixia, it could be thought that the cognomen was perhaps chosen for this reason (though naturally there could be other reasons as well).<sup>971</sup>

The cognomen could also refer to a specific district within the city of Rome, as in the case of Publilia Transtiberina who is attested in Rome (*CIL* VI 25198). Similar cases may be those in which a woman, in the city of Rome, is called, e.g., *Capitolina* (several cases), *Aventina* (*CIL* VI 20384; 23784; *GLIS* Stone 29) or *Esquilina* (*NSA* 1919, p. 41).

There are also examples of cognomina that seem to have been chosen after the country, province, or region from which the name-bearer (or her family) originated. For instance, *Histria* is attested as a female name in Pola, in the region of Histria (*CIL* V 243 = *InscrIt*. X,1 166, 3rd c.). We also have a case of *Padana* at Verona in Northern Italy, perhaps originally from the Po (Padus) valley (*CIL* V 3732). In a similar fashion, we have several women with the cognomen *Celtibera* in the Iberian Peninsula (*HEp* 1994, 156, 2nd c.; *CIL* II 6168, Barcino; II 3132, Segobriga; *CILCTurgaliium* 901) and at least one case of *Africana* from Africa (*ILAFr* 162,6: Antonia Africana).

It is also probable that a name such as *Etrusca* was in many cases chosen to celebrate the name-bearer's cultural/geographical origins. Indeed, three out of five cases are known from Etruria: *CIL* XI 1551 (Faesulae); 7071 (Volaterrae); *AE* 1976, 198 (Luna).<sup>972</sup> Similarly, we have women with the cognomen *Celta* attested in Celtic regions (*CIL* XIII 800; VII 1336,285).

In addition to the cases listed above, we have possible examples of senatorial women named after a province that their father had ruled when they were born. One example of this may be Iulia Quintilia Isaurica (*PFOS* 457), daughter of Ti. Claudius Celsus Polemaeanus (*cos. suff.* 92). While the name might suggest a connection to the Servilii Isaurici, it could also be that it was chosen because

<sup>971</sup> Taylor 1960, 129; 272.

<sup>972</sup> The other two cases are *CIL* VI 5417 from Rome (1st c.) and *CIL* V 82 = *InscrIt* X.1 156. (recording a freedwoman at Pola).

Isaurica was born during her father's governorship of Galatia, i.e. the ancient region of Isauria.<sup>973</sup> A similar case might be Caerellia Germanilla (*PFOS* 168), who is attested at Mogontiacum during her father's governorship of the upper Germania (*CIL* XIII 6806 = *AE* 1989, 563, 170–200 CE). Geographical and cultural origin is also reflected in the cognomen of Athenais, the younger daughter of Herodes Atticus of Marathon – though in this case the name had also been used in the family in previous generations (and the name, in any case, is more Greek than Latin).<sup>974</sup>

#### 4.7.4 Calque and semantic association

There are plenty of examples of cognomina chosen through semantic association.<sup>975</sup> In other words, a name could be chosen because it resembled another name in terms of its meaning. These cases, in turn, can be roughly divided into two categories:

- 1) Calques, i.e. cognomina translated from one language to another (in the usual case, from Greek to Latin).
- 2) Latin cognomina belonging to the same semantic subgroup.

I will start from the cases belonging to the first group, i.e. names translated from Greek to Latin or vice versa. Clear cases are not abundantly on record, but some instructive examples exist. For instance, the name pair *Nice - Victoria* is attested in several epitaphs from Rome and Ostia. *CIL* VI 25801 (2nd c.) records a mother, Sallustia Nice, commemorating her daughter Sallustia Victoria who died at early age. *ICUR* 22417 (3rd c.) records a family of five, including the parents Victoria and Faustinus and their three children Dionysodorus, Nice, and Victor. The daughter's name was obviously the Greek version of the mother's name, while one of the sons had a Latin male version of it. A similar case is *CIL* XIV 1202 (Ostia, 2nd c.) recording Iulia Victoria, daughter of Iulius Nicetes ('Victor'). We also have examples in which the name is calqued from Latin to Greek. For instance, in

<sup>973</sup> This is suggested by Raepsaet-Charlier under *PFOS* 457.

<sup>974</sup> For discussion regarding the nomenclature of the family of Herodes Atticus, see Kantola & Nuorluoto 2022, 171ff.

<sup>975</sup> I discuss cognomina of this type in better detail in a forthcoming article (see Nuorluoto, *forthcoming* in the bibliography), but some of the relevant evidence is also presented here. Furthermore, Heikki Solin (1990) has discussed some relevant aspects, particularly from the point of view of name-pairs and names of twins.

*ICUR* 21051 (3rd c.) we have a woman called Victoria Nice, in whose case the cognomen was chosen after her peculiar gentilicium through calque. In *CIL* VI 16890 (= *ILCV* 4096 = *ICUR* 22417, 4th c.), we have a family of five, the mother of which is called *Victoria* and one of the two daughters bears the name *Nice*.

One of the earliest examples of calque is found at Ostia, in the late Julio-Claudian period, in an epitaph recording two twin-sisters called Claudia Chreste and Claudia Amabilis (*CIL* XIV 838). While it could be debated whether χρῆστῆ was the exact equivalent of the Latin *amabilis*, it is clear that the names were chosen for their semantic resemblance.<sup>976</sup> Unfortunately the parents of the twin-girls are not known and it is, thus, difficult to tell whether one of them had used a similar name or if the names were freely chosen.

Some other cases are less obvious but could perhaps belong to this category. There are, for instance, several cases of name-pairs relating to good fortune of the type *Tyche/Eutych-* - *Fortunata*: *AE* 1988, 68 (Rome, 50–100, father Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Eutyches, daughter Claudia Fortunata), *CIL* X 622 = *InscrIt.* I.1 236 (Salernum, 2nd c., father M. Perperna Eutychus, daughter Perperni(a) Fortunata), *CIL* VI 25803 (2nd/early 3rd c., father C. Salsonius Eutychus, daughter Salsonia Fortunata), *AE* 1994, 372b (Ficulea, 70–200, commissioned by a woman called Serena to her daughter Eutychia and mother Fortunata), also *CIL* VI 17245 = *ICUR* 3720 and *CIL* VI 19957 (father Epitynchanus, daughter Fortunata). One has to remember, though, that *Fortunata* was a frequently attested name – in fact, the most frequently attested female cognomen in general – and, in many cases, the name may have been simply chosen for this reason.

We also have a case in which two twin-sisters were called Clodia Gemella and Clodia Didyma (*CIL* VI 28119, 2nd c.). *Didyma* was obviously the Greek equivalent of the Latin *Gemella*, both meaning ‘twin(-sister)’.<sup>977</sup> There are also pairs of the type *Aphrod-* - *Vener-*. For instance, in *Isola Sacra* 43 (Ostia, 1st c.) we have a mother called *Aphrodisia* and her daughter called *Veneria*. Similarly, we have a case from Ariminum in which the daughter bears the name *Aphrodite* and the mother *Veneria* – although this time the name has been calqued from Latin to Greek.

<sup>976</sup> Cf. also Solin 1990, 65f.

<sup>977</sup> There is also one case, in which the two brothers were called *Gemellus* and *Geminus* (*CIL* VI 19012; cf. Solin 1990, 65 n. 197). Their relationship is explicitly stated (*duorum geminorum Gemelli Aug. l. et Gemini*). One needs to be careful, however, since in many cases names such as *Geminus/a* were used without any connection to their lexical meaning, as e.g. in *CIL* VI 15085 = 34093 (*Dis Manibus / Ti(berio) Claudio Ti(beri) filio / Quir(ina) Gemino / Iulia Gemella / mater fecit*) in which case the cognomen seems to have simply been inherited from the mother to the son (though with a different suffix).

A related case – although not calque – is found at Ostia, where we find Vedia Voluptas, daughter of Vedia Venus and P. Ostiensis Epaphroditus (*CIL* XIV 1737, 1st c.).<sup>978</sup> The onomastic combination is intriguing. *Venus* represented erotic love and, in this respect, the daughter's cognomen *Voluptas*, 'Lust', certainly seems to connote to that. The father, perhaps coincidentally, was called Epaphroditus – a name that had become known as Sulla's epithet in the Greek East and which literally meant 'favoured by Aphrodite' (which the man, in this case, clearly was). We have to remember, though, that we are, with all likelihood, dealing with ex-slaves, in whose case the names were not chosen by parents but by their former master or slave-trader.

The example, nonetheless, brings us to the second category, i.e. Latin cognomina that were chosen because they belonged to the same semantical subcategory with another Latin name. Animal pairs seem to have been a relatively common theme. For instance, in *ILGN* 49 = *AE* 1994, 1159 (prov. Narb., perhaps from the 2nd c.) we have a mother with the name *Ursa* and her daughter called *Lupa*; in *CIL* III 2001 (Salona, 150–250) we have Ael(ia) Ursilla and her father P. Aelius Lupus; and in Kurilić 2006, 109 = *AE* 1998, 1205 (Narona, late 2nd/early 3rd c.) the mother bears the cognomen *Ursina* and the daughter *Lupula*. Furthermore, it is likely that in *CIL* III 9283 (Salona, *Pomponia / Lupa / Urae fil(iae)*) the daughter's cognomen should in fact be read *Ur(s)a*.<sup>979</sup>

There are also some closely related cases in which one or more sons bear a cognomen semantically resembling that of the mother. For example, an inscription from Liguria, dating from the second century, records a woman called Manilia Ursa and her two sons *Manilii Ursus et Lupus* (*CIL* V 7737).<sup>980</sup> In another case, this time from Umbria and perhaps from around the same period, a woman called Petronia Lupa set up a funerary inscription for her son Cn. Petronius Leo (*ZPE* 62 (1986), 182). It is clear from these cases that certain animals, which were

<sup>978</sup> The cognomina and the fact that the daughter seems to have been an illegitimate child would suggest that they were former slaves. For illegitimacy and its implications to onomastics, cf. Nuorluoto 2017, 258f.; Thylander 1952, 89.

<sup>979</sup> There is also a related example of calque from men's nomenclature, in which father and son were called Aelius Aug. I. Lycus and Aelius Lupus (*CIL* VI 10730) – both men thus having a cognomen that signified 'wolf', one in Greek, the other in Latin. I have not been able to find an exact female equivalent, but it is likely that such cases existed.

<sup>980</sup> There is also a similar case of male twins with the names *Didymus* and *Gemellus* (*CIL* VI 37391). The third son's name is not preserved, but the father was called Manilius Eutyches, obviously a freedman.

generally associated with strength and power, such as wolf, bear, and lion, were also associated with each other in personal names.

We also have pairs of the type *Prima - Primitiva - Primigenia* (e.g. *CIL VI 12000*, mother Flavia Primitiva, daughter Antonia Primigenia; *CIL VI 5493*, *Veienia L. f. Primigenia Veieni Primi filia*), but in such cases not only is the meaning practically identical ('First-born') but there is also an obvious phonetic resemblance (*Prim-*) and, thus, these cases are not entirely comparable with cases of the type *Lupula - Ursilla*. Furthermore, the fact that the daughter may actually have been a first-born child should not be disregarded.

There are also some examples of geographical names that seem to be related to each other. Take for instance *CIL VI 5283* (1st c.): *Romana ann(or)um XVI, Latina filia) bima*. The mother, who only died at the age of 16, and her daughter, who died at the age of two, bore cognomina that were clearly related to each other geographically: *Romana* and *Latina*.

Comparable may also be the cases in which at least two family members bear names relating to family relationships, e.g. *CIL II 2792 = HEp 1990*, 181 (Clunia, 2nd c.), recording Memmia Materna and her daughter Iulia Paterna. An even better example is provided by a prominent family from Aeso in Hispania Tarraconensis in the early 2nd century. L. Aemilius Maternus, a local *Iivir*, had two daughters and two sons: Aemilia L. f. Materna (*CIL II 4458*), Aemilia L. f. Paterna (*CIL II 4190*), M. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Fraternus, and L. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Paternus.<sup>981</sup>

Finally, there is a case relating to calendaric names that fits into the present discussion. A Christian epitaph from the 4th c. records a mother called Saturnina and her son Sabbatius (*ICUR 2031*). Both names had to do with 'Saturday', the one referring to the pagan name of the day and the other to the Judeo-Christian (Hebrew) one.

As a general observation, one may add that cognomina chosen through calque and semantic association seem to be strategies primarily employed by the lower rather than the upper classes (who often had other, political or dynastic, motives for their choices). Calques from Greek to Latin (and vice versa) are primarily attested for former slaves and, later, in Christian nomenclature. In addition to the evidence presented above, one may suspect that calque played a role in several other cases as well, even if the origin of the name is not explicit. For instance, the

<sup>981</sup> For Aemiliae Materna and Paterna, see *PFCR 43/44* (cf. *CIL II 4458; 4190; AE 1972, 314*). The two brothers are known from *CIL II 4460*. The nomenclature of the mother Fabia Fusca (*PFCR 290*) does not seem to have had an onomastic impact on the family (cf. also Álvarez Melero 2018, 104).

popularity of *Spes* as a female name (139 women) may have been influenced by the common Greek female name Ἐλπής (see the discussion in 2.6.3 above).

#### 4.8 Remarks on the name choice in families with more than one daughter

We have now looked at several strategies for choosing a female cognomen. It is now time to take a closer look at some families with two or more daughters, whose cognomina are on record. There is, for example, ample evidence of cases, in which the cognomina of two (or more) siblings were clearly derived from the same root but with different suffixes. In most cases the cognomina were derived from the name of one of the parents or from both of them, as the following examples will show:

*CIL* VI 39541 (Rome, 1–50), the cognomen of both daughters after the mother:

P. Ocius Felix & Gallenia C. I. Prima  
|  
Ocia P. f. Prima – Ocia Primilla

*AE* 1994, 554 (Tibur, 70–150), two daughters, cognomina from the father's cognomen and from the mother's nomen (both coined with *-illa*):

[Ti]berius Natronius Sollers & Valeria Apollonia  
|  
Sollertilla – Valerianilla

*CIL* VI 22013 (Rome, 2nd c.), three daughters, two of whom were named after the father, while the origin of the remaining daughter's cognomen is unclear:

Mansuetus & Marcia Parthenis  
|  
Mansueta – Sedata – Mansuetina

*CIL* V 6596 (Transpadana, 225 CE); the two daughters named after the father (cognomen transmitted in identical and de-suffixed form), son after the mother (cognomen in identical form):

C. Gemellius C. f. Ouf. Valerianus & Cilonia Secunda

|  
Gemellii Valeriana – Secundus – Valeria

*AE* 2007, 1214 (Ratiaria, Moes. sup., 170–230), two daughters, one named after the father's nomen and the other after his cognomen (both coined with *ina*):

C. Plot(ius) Valens & Ulpia Dianilla

|  
Plotia Plotina – Plotia Valentina

*ILJug* III 2017 (Clissa, 150–200), two daughters, named after the father and the mother respectively (both cognomina in a suffixed form):

Maltilius Pudens & Aurelia Maxima

|  
Maltilia Pudentilla – Maltilia Maximina

*AE* 1939, 10 (Ulcisia, Pann. inf., late 2nd c.), five children, four of whom (two daughters and two sons) were named after the father (while the remaining son's cognomen was chosen for some other reason):

T. Fl. Felicio & Flavia Secundina

|  
Flavia Felicula – Flavia Felicissima – T. Flavius Felix – T. Flavius Felicissimus –  
T. Flavius Ingenuus

*RIU* III 719 = *AE* 1909, 146 (Brigetio, 211–222 CE), two daughters, both of whose cognomina came from the father, and two sons, one of whom had his cognomen from the mother, while the origin of his brother's cognomen is unclear:

P. Aelius Victorinus & [---] Pacata

|  
Aelii Pacatus – Domitianus – Victoriana – Victoria

*CIL* VI 32878 (Aricia, 200–250), the cognomina of the son and one daughter clearly derive from the father's cognomen with *-ina*; and while the other

daughter's cognomen *Valeria* seems to suggest a connection to the Valerian *gens*, it could also be that it was chosen for its resemblance of *Valens/Valentina*:

Iul. Valens & Ael. Severa  
|  
Iul. Valentina – Ael. Valeria – Iul. Valentinus

*CIL* VIII 18222 (Lambaesis, 3rd c.?), five children, all cognomina derived from those of the parents:

M. Aurel. Iustus & Cl. Maximilla  
|  
Aurelii Maximina – Iustus – Iustina – Iustianus – Maximinus

*CIL* XII 2252 (Cularo; 250–300), all children named after the father (but the daughters bear the maternal nomen):

C. Sollius Marcus & (Attia)  
|  
C. Sollius Marculus – Attia Marciana – Attia Marcula

*CIL* XII 2258 (Cularo, 1st/2nd c.), both daughters named after the mother:

M. Antonius Eudaemon & Vireia Gratina  
|  
Antonia Gratinula – Antonia Grata

*CIL* III 7431 (Oescus; 250–300 CE); the cognomina of the daughter and two sons derived from the same root as the father's cognomen; one son is named after the mother:

Aurel(ius) Aprio & Valentilla  
|  
Apronianus – Aprilla – Valentinus – Aper

There is also the following case from Rome, from the first half of the first century (*CIL* VI 39843 = *AE* 2001, 221):



*D(ecimus) Alleius D(ecimi) l(ibertus) Cosmus / Augustalis / D(iana?) v(otum) s(olvit) // [D(ecimus)] Alleius D(ecimi) l(ibertus) C[os]mus / Augustalis / D(iana?) v(otum) s(olvit) // [--- O]ctavius C(ai) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Gallus / [D(ecimus?)] Alleius D(ecimi) f(ilius) Col(lina) Cosminus / [D(ecimus) A]lleius DD(ecimorum) l(ibertus) Vestalis // Alleia D(ecimi) f(ilia) Cosmina / Alleia D(ecimi) f(ilia) Octavilla / Alleia DD(ecimorum) l(iberta) Servata.*

It is plausible to assume that the *Augustalis* D. Alleius D. l. Cosmus was the father of [D?] Alleius D. f. Col. Cosminus and the two women, Alleia Cosmina and Alleia Octavilla.<sup>982</sup> In this case Cosmina's cognomen (as well as that of Cosminus) came from the father in a suffixed form. As for Octavilla, it is clear that her cognomen goes back to the gentilicium of [O]ctavius C. f. Gal. Gallus – but what exactly their relationship is can be debated. One could assume that Octavilla's mother was an Octavia, of whom Octavius Gallus was the brother or father. Assuming that this is the case, the cognomina of all the children came from their parents.

There is also *AE* 2006, 1330 (Philippi, 138–161), recording the mother Sulpicia Vatria and her four children: Velleii Vellainus, Lucianus, Lucilla, and Sulpicia. We can see that one of the two daughters had her mother's nomen as her cognomen, while the cognomen of one of her two brothers was derived from their own nomen. The origin of Lucianus's and Lucilla's cognomina is less explicit, but it seems plausible to assume that their father was a Lucius (or had a similar cognomen).

Similarly, in *CIL* V 6591 (Transpadana, 2nd c.) we have the following family:

T. Valentius Haruspex & Cominia [---] Pusilla  
|  
Valentii Secundus – Titus – Titulla – Valentia

In this case the cognomina of the two daughters derived from the father's praenomen and nomen respectively. It is unclear if the name of their brother Titus ought to be taken as a cognomen or praenomen, but it was, in any case, clearly his primarily individual name (perhaps his nomenclature was identical with that of his father; compare the emperors Vespasian and Titus, both of whom were called T. Flavius Vespasianus). The cognomen *Secundus* clearly did not come

<sup>982</sup> Panciera in *AE* 2001, 221 was of the opinion that Octavilla would be the daughter of Cosminus, not Cosmus.

from the parents, and it could simply be that he was the second son (though he is mentioned first in the inscription).

While the number of different cognomina in general was large, the examples above make it difficult to disagree with Kajanto's statement that the Romans seem to have lacked a certain imagination in name-giving – though the use of different suffixes to create multiple forms of one and the same name can be considered creative in itself.<sup>983</sup>

There are, however, also many cases in which one daughter may have received her cognomen after one of the parents, while another one will have received her name from elsewhere, for example from another relative. This is for example the case in the family of T. Iulius Valens, a veteran of *legio V Macedonica*, who was commemorated in Tarquinia in the 2nd century by his brother T. Iulius Fronto and two daughters Iulia Frontina and Iulia Valentina (*CIL* 3369). It is obvious that the two sisters were named after their father and uncle respectively.

A similar scenario is probable in many other cases as well. However, sometimes we only have clues regarding the name of one sister, as for example in the following family:

*CIL* VI 21945 (2nd c.; note the use of the maternal nomen):

P. Manilius Fuscus & Iavolena Sosibia  
|  
Iavolena Sosibia – Iavolena Marcia

In some cases, the cognomina of two sisters derive from the same root, but the origin of the names remains unknown, as for example in the following case from Timacum Minus in the upper Moesia:

*IMS* II,2 62 = *ILJug* III 1320 (130–200 CE):

T. Ael. Mucianus & Tullia Augusta  
|  
Ael. Crispinilla – Ael. Crispina

It is obvious that the cognomina with the stem *Crisp-* did not come from either one of the parents. Naturally the two daughters may have been named after a grandparent or some other relative, but we cannot know this for sure. There are also other comparable cases, e.g. *CIL* VI 22338, recording two sisters [---]idia

<sup>983</sup> Kajanto 1965, 30; cf. also the discussion in Chapter 2.1.

Maxima and [---]idia Maximilla and their mother [---]iminia Attica, and *CIL* VI 29396, recording Ulpiae Atticilla and Attica (with no information of their parents). However, given the general tendency in the Roman society of naming children after their parents or close relatives, it could be suggested that in these two cases the cognomina came from the family (perhaps from the father in the case of Maxima and Maximilla, since their mother Attica is known).

When the name did not come from the family, the name-giver usually resorted to one of the other strategies discussed in this chapter. For instance, in some families two sisters could be given cognomina that resembled each other and/or the cognomen of one of the parents in terms of meaning (for some examples see 4.7.4), or the name may have been chosen after the time of birth, town of origin, or some other reason. There are even some cases in which two daughters are given the same cognomen and their identity is further clarified through a diacritic of the type *Iunior/Senior*, e.g. *CIL* VI 37101 (3rd c.), mentioning (Manliae) Aminiane Sen(ior) and Aminiane Iun(ior). Such cases, however, are rare, which is not surprising, given the impractical nature of such a naming strategy.

In the senatorial elite we are often better informed about the family history and different family relations over several generations. The early Imperial Iunii Silani are instructive in this respect. The two daughters of M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (*cos.* 19) were called Iunia Lepida and Iunia Calvina (*PFOS* 472; 469). We know that their mother was Aemilia Lepida, *Augusti proneptis* (*PFOS* 29), which explains the cognomen *Lepida*. The cognomen *Calvina*, in turn, comes from their paternal grandmother Domitia Calvina (*PFOS* 321).

Another M. Iunius Silanus (*cos. suff.* 15) of the same period also had two daughters. They were called Iunia Claudilla (or perhaps Claudia; see n. 930 above) and Iunia Silana (*PFOS* 470; 474), *Claudilla* after the Claudian *gens*, to which they were connected through their paternal grandmother (see n. above), and *Silana* being a feminine form of the family's hereditary cognomen (notably the only known woman of the *gens* who ever bore the name). The use of the name *Silana* is also interesting from a semantic point of view, since the name can also be considered pejorative in a certain sense. After all, it alluded to Silenus, the big-nosed, drunken companion of Dionysus, who was also pictured in some of the coins minted by the Iunii Silani.<sup>984</sup>

Another early imperial family is that of Germanicus Caesar and Agrippina. As we know, they had three daughters (also three sons, but they are of less interest from our point of view): Iuliae Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla (*PFOS* 426; 438;

<sup>984</sup> At least *RRC* 337/1a, *RRC* 337/1b. Cf. Kajanto 1965, 237.

443). Agrippina's cognomen was obviously identical to that of their mother (see 4.3.2.1 above). Drusilla's cognomen in turn derived from their father (see 4.3.1.2 above) and it was also the hereditary cognomen of the Livii (and the name *Drusilla* had already been used by the wife of Augustus, see 3.3.1). Livilla's cognomen likewise was derived from the Livii, and her aunt (Claudia) Livia was also sometimes called Livilla.

We also have examples from later periods. It seems that M. Claudius P. Veditus Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, an Ephesian *homo novus* under the Antonine dynasty, and his wife Flavia Papiana (PFOS 373) had two daughters: Vedia Papiana and Vedia Phaedrina – Papiana's cognomen being identical to that of their mother (4.3.2.1) and Phaedrina's cognomen in turn deriving from one of their father's cognomina in a suffixed form (4.3.1.2).

There is also an upper-class family from Africa from around the Severan period, recorded in *CIL* VIII 7054–7056 (Cirta):

(M.) Naevius Censitus & Seia M. f. Gaetula

|

Naevia Marciana – Naevia Naevilla, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* (PFOS 565) – M. Naevius M. f. Seianus

Naevilla's cognomen was obviously derived from her own nomen with the suffix *-illa*, whilst Marciana's cognomen was possibly derived from the praenomen used by their father (and maternal grandfather). The cognomen of their brother Seianus in turn was derived from the maternal nomen with *-iānus* – a strategy common in men's nomenclature (see 4.9.2 below).

Then again, even in the case of the aristocracy we cannot always trace the origin of the cognomen back to a certain person or family line. We have already discussed the nomenclature of the sisters Lollia Saturnina and Lollia Paullina, daughters of M. Lollius, in Chapter 3 above. Whilst Saturnina's cognomen can be traced to the maternal branch of the family, the origin of Paulina's cognomen remains unknown (see 3.3.2 above).

#### 4.9 Mother's name transmitted to son(s)

We have now discussed the different strategies for naming daughters in the Roman world. Some words should also be said now about men's cognomina that were derived from the mother's name. As soon as individualizing cognomina

started to gain in popularity in men's nomenclature (as opposed to hereditary cognomina), it became increasingly possible to express not only one's paternal but also maternal lineage through naming. An interesting case in this respect is a lengthy verse inscription from Venafrum, dating from the second or the early third century (*CIL* X 4915 = *ILS* 5150). The monument was set up for Iustus, a musician who died at the age of twenty-one. It is explicitly stated that he was named not after his poor father but after his mother (*Iustus ego non paterno sed materno nomine dictus / paupere patre quidem sed fame divite vixi*). The parents are not named, but, judging by the name of Iustus, one would assume that the mother was perhaps called *Iusta* or *Iustina*.

#### 4.9.1 Mother's cognomen

There is plenty of evidence of men who bore the maternal cognomen in one form or another.<sup>985</sup> Just as in the case of female cognomina, the cognomen could be in an identical as well as in suffixed or de-suffixed form. In some cases, two or more sons bear different forms derived from the mother's cognomen, e.g. *CIL* XI 1524b (Portus Pisanus): parents Ca[esi]lius [M]ercurialis and Gabinia L. f. Proc[ula], sons Ca[esi]lius Proculus and Ca[es]ilius Proculeianus. The most common style was to use the mother's cognomen in an identical form (that is, if the name by default had separate masculine and feminine forms in *-us* and *-a*). The following evidence consists of cases that I have come across while conducting my survey on female names and it is, by no means, meant to cover everything. It is, however, large enough to give us an understanding of the general tendencies.

##### A. Mother's cognomen in identical form (69):

Rome and Italy:

*CIL* VI 18126 (70–200): mother Cornelia L. f. Magna, son T. Flavius Magnus.

*CIL* VI 3440 (150–300): mother Ulpia Emerita, son Valerius Emeritus.

*CIL* VI 2911 (50–150): mother Iunia Procula, son Q. Flavius Proculus (father Q. Flavius Crito).

*CIL* VI 6182 (50–130): mother Plotia Capitolina, son C. Vettius Capitolinus.

*CIL* VI 13211 (50–150): mother Fabia Sabina, son L. Aurelius Sabinus.

*CIL* VI 13230 (150–300): mother Aurelia Severa, son L. Aurelius Severus (father L. Aurelius Primitivos).

<sup>985</sup> For a recent study of this practice in Hispania, see Curchin 2022.

- CIL* VI 14402 (100–150): mother Carienia Venusta, son M. Carienius M. f. Venustus (father M. Carienius Felix).
- CIL* VI 15775 (2nd c.): mother Sempronia C. f. Rufina, son L. Clodius L. f. Rufinus (father (L.) Clodius Pompeius).
- CIL* VI 16217 (Imperial): mother Flavia Festa, son Sex. Cornelius Festus.
- CIL* VI 16441/2 (70–200): mother Cornelia T. f. Repentina, son Q. Lorenius Q. f. Romanus Repentinus (her sister Lorenia Pacata set up the two inscriptions).
- CIL* VI 18126 (70–200): mother Cornelia L. f. Magna, son T. Flavius Magnus.
- CIL* VI 18189 (69–100): mother Flavia Romula, son T. Flavius Romulus (father T. Flavius Primigenius).
- CIL* VI 21502 (50–200): mother Anilia Urbica, son P. Longinius Urbicus (father P. Longenius Thalamus).
- CIL* VI 23342 (70–250): mother Octavia Faustina, son Pomponius Faustinus.
- CIL* VI 20247 (50–150): mother Iulia Rufina, son C. Iulius C. f. Rufinus (father C. Iulius Hermes; the Latin cognomen was perhaps preferred over the father's Greek one).
- CIL* VI 27506 (1st c.): mother Titia M. l. Secunda, son M. Titius M. f. Pal. Secundus (father M. Titius Restitutus).
- CIL* VI 28036 (50–150): mother Sempronia Modesta, son C. Valerius C. f. Modestus (father C. Valerius Hilario).
- CIL* VI 28092 (70–200): mother Arnatia Procula, son A. Valerius A. f. Proculus (father A. Valerius C. f.; the father does not have a cognomen, so the mother's cognomen was a natural choice).
- CIL* VI 28837 (Imperial): mother Paccia Sabina, son L. Vibius L. fil. Sabinus (father L. Vibius Severus).
- CIL* VI 35221 (70–200): mother Sallustia Faustina, son C. Fannius Faustinus (father C. Fannius Caricus).
- CIL* VI 37860 (2nd c.): mother Velleia Tertulla, son L. Albisius Tertullus (father L. Albisius Aurelianus).
- CIL* VI 26314 (1st/2nd c.): C. Sergius Honoratus, son of C. Sergius Varro & Annia Honorata.
- CIL* X 2622 (Rome, 70–120): mother Iunia Amilla, son M. Iunius Hamillus.
- AE* 1983, 192 (Puteoli; 70–130): mother Nonia P. f. Optata, son C. Iulius Optatus (father C. Iulius Artemo).
- CIL* XI 52 (Ravenna, 70–200): mother Iulia Maxima, son Q. Crispius Maximus (father Q. Crispius Heraclid.).
- CIL* XI 1638 (Florentia, 50–150): mother Terentia Sabina, son N. Mettius Sabinus.
- CIL* XI 3844 (Veii, 190–200): mother Virgilia M. f. Romula, son Caesellius Romulus (cf. his father and brother who both were called Caesellius Latinus).

- CIL* XI 6336 (Pisaurum, 230–270): mother Claudia Quieta, son Aurelius Quietus.
- CIL* XI 6419 (Pisaurum, 70–200): mother Visinia Augurina, son Gavilius Augurinus (father and brother were both called Gavilius Iustus).
- CIL* XI 7094 (Perusia, 100–150): mother Aufidia Faustina, son A. Munatius Faustinus (father A. Munatius Hypnus).
- CIL* IX 1506 (Pagus Veranus, 70–200): mother Tuccia Prima, son M. Cosinius Primus (father M. Cosinius Priscus; brothers M. Cosinius Priscus & M. Cosinius Priscianus).
- CIL* IX 2617 (Terventum, 100–230): mother Staia Procula, son Raius Proculus.
- CIL* X 3042 (Misenum, 150–250): mother Antonia Prisca, son M. Antonius Priscus (father M. Antonius Gemellus).
- CIL* X 3380 (Misenum, 180–250): Cattius Sabinus Sossius, son of Cassius Sossius Felix & Fannia Sabina.
- AE* 1903, 340 (Liguria, 2nd c.): mother Grattia T. f. Restitut[a], son M. Aponius Restitutus (father M. Aponius Priscus).
- AE* 1990, 223e (Allifae; Augustan): mother Gavia M. f. Rufa, son Q. Fufius Q. f. Ter. Rufus (cf. n. 499 above).
- CIL* XIV 1116 (Ostia, 2nd c.): mother Iulia Restituta, son Q. Hortensius Restitut(us).
- Pais 986 (Liguria, 2nd c.): mother Iulia Severa, son L. Afranius Severus (father L. Afranius Maritimus).
- CIL* V 4854 (Brixia, 1st/2nd c.): mother Clodia Cornelianiana, son L. Valerius Cornelianus.
- CIL* V 120 = *InscrIt.* X.1 209 (Pola, 2nd c.): mother [Au]fidia Marcel[li]na, son [Po]mpeius Marcel[linu]s (father Pompeius Ma[rini]anus).
- CIL* V 7903 = *ILS* 6760 (Cemenelum, 200–230): mother Aebutia Laurea (*PFCR* 10), son [--] Q[ui]r. Laurus, *decurio, equo publico*.
- AE* 1979, 260 (Opitergium, 1st c.): mother Calventia Q. f. Marcella, son M. Laevius Marcellus.
- CIL* V 2236 (Altinum, 138–161): mother Titia Quieta, son C. Iulius C. f. Trom. Quietus
- CIL* V 4031 (Sirmio, 175–230): mother Atilia P. f. Urbica, sons Abidii ff. Tilicius, Atilianus, Urbicus; in this case *Urbicus* is identical to the mother's cognomen, whilst *Atilianus* is derived from her nomen (see below).
- CIL* V 3615 (Verona, 2nd c.): mother Fl. Sabina, son Sabinus.
- CIL* V 6015 (Mediolanum, 3rd c.): mother Gellia Verina, son Magius Verinus and Terentius Gellianus (the latter's cognomen derived from the mother's nomen; see below).
- CIL* V 7462 = *ILS* 6748 (Hasta, 2nd c.): mother Pulfennia T. f. Sabina, son C. Fulvius C. f. Pol. Sabinus (father C. Fulvius C. I. Philologus).
- CIL* V 4554 (Brixia, 70–200): mother Laetilia Tib. f. Rufina, son Caecilii Rufinus (father Q. Caecilius Gemellus, other son Memor).

*CIL* V 6596 (Novaria, 225 CE): father C. Gemellius C. f. Ouf. Valerianus, mother Cilonia Secunda, children Gemellii Valeriana, Secundus, Valeria (in other words, the daughters' cognomina came from the father, while the son's cognomen came from the mother).

Provinces:

*CIL* XII 66 (Salinae, 100–150): mother Lucilia Materna, son Quartinius Maternus (his sister Quartinia Catullina was named after the father T. Quartinius Catullinus; see 4.3.1.1 above).

*CIL* XII 447 (Massilia, 70–200): mother Iul(ia) Grata, son L. Luc(ilius) Gratus (father L. Lucilius Crispus).

*CIL* XII 3292 (Nemausus, 70–200): mother Virillia Titia, son Vernonius Titus (father M. Vernonius Virillio).

*CIL* XII 1390 (Vasio, 70–200): mother Artia Lucinula, son Albius Lucinulus, *adulescens mirissimus qui vixit annos XV mens(es) III dies V* (father Albius Gratus).

*CIL* XIII 1824 (Lugdunum, 70–250): mother Satria Lucilla, son Sex. Terentius Lucillus (father Felicianus Aug. n. verna).

*CIL* XIII 2188 (Lugdunum, 70–250): M. Iustinius Marcellus, son of M. Iustinius Secundus & Primania Marcella.

*AE* 1978, 437 (Valentia, 2nd c.): mother Iunia L. f. Antiqua, son P. Valerius Antiquos [*sic*].

*CIL* VIII 12191 (Afr. proc., 2nd/3rd c.): mother Verria Quieta, son M. Struganius Quietus Liberalianus (the origin of the second cognomen is unknown).

*CIL* VIII 10580 = 14472 (Bulla Regia, date unclear): mother Valeria L. f. Concessa, son C. Domitius C. f. Quirina Concessus.

*ILAlg* I 2241 (Madaurus, 70–200): mother Iulia Setina, son M. Aemilius M. fil. Quirin. Setinus.

*AE* 1914, 45 (Cuicul, 1st/2nd c.): mother Gargilia C. f. Marciana, son Aemilius Marcianus (father C. Aemilius C. f. Pap. Martialis, other son Aemilius Martialis).

*CIL* VIII 3296 (Lambaesis, 2nd/3rd c.): mother Lorenia Processa, son P. Aelius Processus (father P. Aelius Maximus, *equus Romanus*).

*CIL* III 2443 (Salona; 130–200 CE): mother Novia Lepida, son A. Persius Lepidus (father A. Persius Etruscus).

*CIL* III 2476 (Salona, 1–150): mother Caecilia Q. f. Paula, son P. Pomponius Paulus.

*CIL* III 5143 (Celeia; 50–170): mother Terentia Finita, son P. Albinus Finitus, *q(uaestor) Cl(audiae) Cel(eiae)* (father P. Albinus Antonius *aed. Cl(audiae) Cel(eiae)*, other son P. Albinus Marcellinus).

*CIL* III 5568 (Noricum, 2nd c.): mother Seppia C. f. Praesentina, son C. Terentius Praesentinus (father L. Terentius Verus and other son L. Teren. Verinus).



*CIL* III 8121 (Viminacium, 150–300): mother Pontia Optata, son Q. Helvius Optatus (father Q. Helvius Probus).

*CIL* III 8970 (Salona, 2nd/3rd c.): mother Papinia Italice, son Cassius Italicus (father (L. Cassius Theodoru[s]).

*AE* 1978, 757 (Dyrrachium, 50–100): mother Valer(ia) Rufina, son Anton(ius) Rufinus.

*BCH* 11 (1887) 395 (Aegae, Imperial): mother Πακούια Ῥούφα, son Μάρκος Πακούιος Ῥούφος.

#### B. Mother's cognomen in suffixed form (21):

##### Rome and Italy:

*CIL* VI 37097 (170–230): mother Faminia Novatilla, sons Laecanius Novatillianus (other son Laecanius Vitalianus; father perhaps a Vitalis?).

*CIL* VI 1817 (1st c.): C. Iulius C. f. Quir. Priscus, son of Iulius Secundus & Cassia L. f. Priscilla.

*CIL* VI 18692 (50–200): mother Flavia Veneria, son P. Fulvius Venerianus (father P. Fulvius Athenio).

*CIL* VI 28443 (50–200): mother Lutatia Veneria, son Venerianus.

*CIL* X 3001 (Puteoli, 150–230): C. Val. C. f. Dionysian(us) Iulianus, son of Valerius Iulianus and Varia Dionysias (in this case the son had two cognomina, one from each parent).

*CIL* X 2771 (Neapolis, 330–400): mother Nepotilla, son Nepotillianus.

*AE* 1986, 204 (Canusium; 100–200): mother Arruntia Asia, son Arruntius Asiaticus (father M. Arruntius Iussus; brother Matinus is known from *CIL* IX 3113).

*CIL* V 3399 (Verona, date unclear): mother Cipia M. f. Marcella, son M. Coelius Marcellinus (father [Coelius] Firmus *VIvir*).

*IAquil* II 1339 (Aquileia, 70–130): mother Papia M. f. Marcella, son C. Arellius L. f. Marcellinus.

##### Provinces:

*CIL* III 2074 (Salona, 150–200): mother Liguria Procilla, son C. Albuc(ius) C. f. Tr. Procil(l)ianus (cf. his father C. Albucius C. f. Trom. Menippus and brother C. Alb. C. f. Ser. Menippus).

*CIL* III 6384 (Salona; 150–200): mother Caetrania Firma, son Q. Aeronius Firminus (father Q. Aeronius Crescens).

*CIL* III 6271 (Sarmizegetusa, 107–200): mother Valeria Blandina, son P. Pont(ius) Blandus (father P. Pont. Pontian(us) and other son P. Pont. Secundinus).

*CIL* III 7410 (Philippopolis, Thracia, 50–100): mother Silvia Primigenia, son Ti. Claudius Primigenianus.

- CIL* III 7431 (Oescus; 250–300): father Aurel. Aprio, mother Valentilla; children Apronianus, Aprilla, Valentinus, Aper.
- CIL* III 11305 (Pann. sup., 193–300): mother Sept(imia) Flora, son Iulius Florus (father C. Iul. Valerius).
- ILJug* III 2184 (Salona, 150–300): mother Longinia Tertulla, son Octavius Tertullinus (father Octavius Vale(n)s).
- CIL* XIII 6811 (Mogontiacum, 170–250): mother Ulpia Lucilla, son Adiutorius Lucilianus, *eq(ues) R(omanus)*.
- CIL* XII 2708 (Alba Helviorum, 2nd/3rd c.): Tib. Iulius Valerianus, son of Iulius Crantor and Terentia Valeria (here one should, however, note that the mother's cognomen *Valeria* was in fact a nomen used as a cognomen).
- CIL* XII 3409 (Nemausus, 70–200): mother Pompeia Quintilla, son C. Antistius Quintillus (father C. Antistius Epictet(us)).
- AE* 1991, 1388 (Halmyris, 170–250): mother Fl. Titia, son Ael. Titianus.

C. Different suffixed forms of the same root or cognomen chosen because it resembled the mother's cognomen (17):

Rome and Italy:

- CIL* VI 18161 (1st/2nd c.): mother Flavia Veneria, son T. Flavius Venustus (father Philetus, other son T. Flavius Philetus).
- CIL* VI 15085 (50–150): mother Iulia Gemella, son Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Quir. Geminus (a good example that a name such as *Gemellus/Geminus* was not always given because of its meaning but simply like any other name).
- CIL* VI 25038 (2nd/3rd c.): mother Priscilla, son Priscianus (the other son was called Augustianus).
- CIL* VI 25038 (3rd/4th c.): mother Priscilla, sons Priscianus.
- CIL* XIV 2981 (Praeneste, 50–200 CE): mother Anneia Procilla, son Claudius Proculus (cf. his brother Claudius Anneianus).
- CIL* X 5662 (Frusino, 70–200): mother Vargunteia M. f. Procilla, son N. Clodius N. f. Pal. Proculus (other son N. Cl[o]dius Numerianus).
- CIL* X 5665 (Frusino, 2nd c.): C. Longinius Proculus, son of C. Longinius Priscus & Licinia Procilla.
- InscrIt.* III.1, 390 = *CIL* X 390 (Atina, Luc., 130–230): mother Ceudia Firmilla, son M. Insteius Firminus (father M. Insteius Callistus).
- InscrIt.* X.1, 691 (Pola, 2nd c.): mother Plautia Maximilla, son A. Septimius Maximian(us).
- CIL* V 5286 (Comum, 2nd c.): mother Romati[a] Maximina, son P. Cobrunius Maximianus.
- CIL* IX 3101 (Sulmo, 70–100): mother Octavia Atticilla, son P. Octavius Atticianus.

*InscrIt.* X.1, 691 (Nesactium, 2nd/3rd c.): Plautia Maximilla, son A. Septimius Maximian(us).

Provinces:

*CIL* III 1485 (Dacia, 107–270): mother Ulpia Procilla, son Valerius Proculeianus (cf. his brother Valerius Rufinus and father L. Val. Rufus).

*CIL* III 5777 (Raetia, 111–130): mother Cl. Indut[i fil.] Clementina, son Cl. Paternus Clementian[us].

*CIL* III 10289 (Sopiana; 100–150): father Mar(cius) Lucid[i]anus, mother C(a)esern(ia) Firmill[a]; sons Marc(ius) Lucidus and Marc(ius) Firminia[nus].

*AE* 1952, 225 (Thessalonica, 1st/2nd c.): mother Graecinia Veneria, son C. Graecinius Romulus Venustus (father C. Graecinius C. f. Vol. Firminus).

*CIL* VIII 18416 (Lambaesis, 70–200): mother Iulia Frontilla, son Iulius Fronto.

*CIL* XII 4174 (Nemausus, 70–200): mother Quintula, son Q. Lollius Quintinus.

D. Mother's cognomen de-suffixed (16):

Rome and Italy:

*CIL* VI 25589 (50–200): mother Rufilla, son Rufus.

*CIL* VI 12623 (69–140), mother Salvia M. f. Pisonina, son T. Aelius Piso.

*CIL* VI 3522 (1st c.): mother Iulia Atticilla, son M. Iulius M. f. Vol. Atticus, *praef. fabr.*

*CIL* VI 18067: (2nd c.) mother Turrana Felic(u)la, son T. Flavius Felix (though in this case not really a de-suffixed form, but rather the standard equivalent in men's nomenclature).

*CIL* XI 3940/1 (Capena, 2nd c.): mother Munia Q. f. Celerina, son Vennonius Celer (father T. Vennonius T. f. Stell. Aebutianus, other son Vennonius Pius).

*CIL* IX 3101 (Sulmo, 70–100): mother Octavia Atticilla, son P. Octavius Atticus (father P. Octavius P. l. Pardus).

*CIL* X 2810 (Puteoli, 50–150): mother Octavia T. fil. Bassilla, son Bassus.

*BCAR* 56 (1928), 298 (Roma, 3rd c.): mother Festiba, son Festus.

Provinces:

*IMS* II 133 (Viminacium, 150–300): mother Licinia Celsina, son L. Valerius Celsus (father L. Valerius Quin[t]inus).

*CIL* XII 2678 (Alba Helviorum, 70–200): mother Secundilla, son M. Campanius Secundus.

*RIU* IV 993 = *AE* 1969/70, 468 (Sopiana, 100–300): mother [---]nia Sabinilla, son Sabinus (father L. S(e)pt. Serotinus, brother Serotinus iun.)

*AE* 1912, 189 (Oescus, Moes. inf.; 130–150): mother Arellia Celerina, son Scribonius Celer (father P. Scribonius P. f. Col. Epheso Varus).

## 4.9.2 Mother's nomen

In many cases the son's cognomen was derived from the mother's nomen – almost exclusively with the suffix *-iānus* – or, less often, the maternal nomen could be used as a cognomen as such. I have collected below evidence of 64 cases in which the son's cognomen was either derived from or identical to the mother's nomen. In 50 of these, the cognomen was derived with *-iānus* and in 13 the nomen was used as such. It is, thus, clear that there was significantly less variation in terms of suffixes when deriving men's cognomina from nomina than there was in the case of women's cognomina.

A. Cognomen derived from the mother's nomen with *-iānus*:

There are some notable examples of a son's cognomen being derived from the mother's nomen with *-iānus*, e.g. the emperor Vespasianus, whose mother was Vespasia Polla (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 438). Another example is C. Salvius Vitellianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 154), son of C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 138) and Vitellia Rufilla (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 758; all of them known from *CIL* IX 5534). The style is also abundantly on record outside the senatorial elite, as is evident from the following cases:

## Rome and Italy:

- CIL* VI 19120 (1st c.): mother Grattia Prepusa, son M. Vergilius Grattianus.  
*CIL* VI 1840 (1st c.): mother Terentia Thallusa, son L. Cornelius L. f. Pal. Terentianus.  
*CIL* VI 18337 (50–150 CE): mother Flavia Felicitas, son C. Egnatuleius Flavianus.  
*CIL* VI 22095 (2nd c.): Q. Marcus Q. f. Publilianus, mother Publilia N. f. Tyche.  
*CIL* VI 10984 (late 1st/2nd c.): mother Aelia Spes, C. Valerius Aelianus.  
*CIL* VI 18528 (date unclear): mother Fonteia Pelagia, son M. Antonius Fonteianus.  
*CIL* VI 16750 (50–150): mother Octavia Alethia, son L. Dasumius Octavianus.  
*CIL* VI 17225 (70–250): mother Epidia M. f. Tertulla, son L. Antistius Epidianus.  
*CIL* VI 23039 (70–250): mother Valeria Ampliata, son L. Nonius Valerianus.  
*CIL* VI 23298 (70–250): mother Iulia Hermione, son Octavius Cn. f. Iulianus.  
*CIL* VI 27986 (2nd/3rd c.): mother Valeria Charite, son M. Antistius Valerianus.  
*CIL* VI 25514 (100–130): mother Faenia Crispinilla, son Sex. Rubrius Sex. f. Faenianus.  
*CIL* VI 26808 (50–150 CE): mother Manlia C. l. Lasciva, son M. Statius M. f. Gal. Manlianus.  
*AE* 1971, 51 (Rome; 2nd c.): mother Marcia Calliste, son M. Numisius M. f. Quir. Marcianus (note that if we did not know who the mother was, we would probably think that the cognomen was derived from the praenomen).

- CIL* XIV 2981 (Praeneste, 50–200 CE): mother Anneia Procilla, son Claudius Anneianus (cf. his brother Claudius Proculus).
- CIL* XIV 906 (Ostia, 2nd c.): mother Fannia Stratonice, son M. Detelius M. f. Fannianus.
- CIL* V 1209 (Aquileia, 3rd c.): mother Aelia Trophime, son Flaminius Aelianus.
- CIL* V 5258 (Comum, 2nd/3rd c.): mother Minicia L. f. Secunda, son P. Valerius Minicianus.
- CIL* V 6389 (Laus Pompeia, 2nd c.): mother Pontia Chreste, son Vericocius Pontianus.
- CIL* V 6372 (Laus Pompeia, 70–100 CE): mother Varia Myrsine, son C. Salius Varianus.
- CIL* V 7032 (Augusta Taurinorum, 1st c.): mother Petronia M. f. Marcellina, son T. Luceius T. fil. Stellat. Petronianus, *eq. Rom. equo p.*
- CIL* V 3318, cf. 3243 (Verona, date unclear): mother Iulia Magia; sons Iulianus and Magianus.
- CIL* IX 2349 (Allifae, 2nd c.): mother Caedia Festa, son L. Fadius L. f. Caedianus.
- CIL* IX 3091 (Sulmo, 2nd c.): mother Hort[e]n[s]ia [--- T?]ertulla, son C. Satrius C. f. Ser. Hortensianus.
- CIL* X 2109 (Puteoli, 70–130): L. Asellius L. f. Mamilianus, son of L. Asellius L. lib. Hermes and Mamilia Lyris.
- CIL* X 4209 (Capua, date unclear): mother Luceia Afrodisia, son M. Vettius M. f. Luceianus.
- CIL* XI 673 (Forum Corneli) : mother Baebia Paulina, son P. Appaeus P. f. Baebianus.
- InscrIt* X.5, 1072 (Brixia, 1st/2nd c.): mother Viria Ursa, son L. Pontius Virianus.

#### Provinces:

- CIL* III 8532 (Dalmatia, 150–300): mother Cornelia Satria, son P. Flor. Cornelianus.
- CIL* III 8966 (Salona, 150–300): mother Caeionia Sex(ta?), son Quintus Cassius Caeionius (father Q. Cassius Silvester).
- CIL* III 10522 (Aquincum, 150–200): mother Octavia Revocca, son M. Ulpius Octavianus.
- CIL* III 14216,1 (Dacia, 150–200): mother Iulia Priscilla, son Ael. Iulianus.
- AE* 1933, 61 (Caesarea, 70–250): mother Calpurnia Ancill<sup>a</sup>, son M. Cassius Calpurnianus.
- CIL* III 2079 (Salona, 1–1500): mother Fadia C. f. Marcellina, son C. Clodius C. f. Ser. Fadienus (=Fadianus?).
- CIL* III 616 (Dyrrachium; 50–200): mother Valeria Secund(a), son P. Clodius P. f. Valerianus.
- AE* 1944, 29 (Apulum, 160–180): mother Statilia Lucia, son Fl. Statilianus.
- CIL* XIII 2272 (Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd c.): mother Severia C. fil. Valerina, son C. Memmius Severianus.

- CIL* XII 81 (Ebrodum, 150–200): mother Fl(avia) Valentini f. Cassia, son L. Allius Flavianus (father of L. Allius Veri f. Pap. Verinus, brother L. Allius Avitus, sister Allia Avita).
- CIL* XII 2277 (Cularo, 2nd c.): mother [Cassia] Paulinula, son (Iuventus) Cassianus (father Q. Iuventus Victor; cf. *CIL* XII 2264 for the mother's gentilicium).
- CIL* XII 3411 (Nemausus, Imperial): mother Valeria Pompeia, son Sex. Antonius Valerianus.
- CIL* XII 3445 (Nemausus, 70–250): mother Attia Peculiaris, son Q. Iulius Attianus.
- CIL* XII 3457 (Nemausus, 2nd c.): mother Cassia Charite, son M. Aurelius Cassianus.
- CIL* XII 3502 (Nemausus, 2nd c.): mother Pompeia Q. f. Severilla, son T. Calvius Pompeianus.
- CIL* XII 4015 (Nemausus, date unclear): mother Licinia Nomas, son C. Vibius Licinianus.
- CIL* XII 4176 (Nemausus, Imperial): mother Tincia L. fil. Materna, son M. Caecilius Tincianus.
- CIL* XII 5900a (Nemausus, 2nd/3rd c.): mother Titia Martialis fil. Paterna, son T. Geminus Titianus (father T. Gemin. Zethus; note that if the mother was not known, we would probably think that the son's cognomen was derived from the father's praenomen).
- AE* 1979, 573 (Patrae, 1st c.): mother Vatinia Fa[usta?], son L. Sentius L. f. [---] Vatinian[us].
- CIL* II 4555 (Barcino, 100–150): mother Numisia L. Numisi Galatici fil. Perpertia, son L. Fulvius L. f. Quirina Numisianus.
- IRT* 644 (Lepcis Magna, 2nd/3rd c.): mother Caecilia Regina, son M. Iulius Caecilianus.
- CIL* VIII 19510 = *ILAlg* II 815 (Cirta, 170–230): mother Lucilia Terentia, son Lucilianus (father M. Aurelius Fidelis).
- AE* 1978, 573 (Bonna, 170–230): Flavia Apra, son M. Aur. Septimius F[la]vianus.

There are also some cases, in which the son's cognomen is derived with *-iānus* from the mother's cognomen – which, however, is a nomen used as a cognomen, e.g. *CIL* V 6019: mother Aemilia Pompeia, son L. Graecinus Pompeianus; *CIL* VI 13353: mother Aurelia Marcia; sons Aurelius Marcianus, Aurelius Longinianus and Aurelius Gaianus (one could speculate that the other two sons got their cognomina after their father).

#### B. Mother's nomen used as cognomen (16):

Rome and Italy:

- CIL* VI 5484 (70–100 CE): C. Titius Aponius, son of Aponia Procla.
- CIL* VI 12450: mother Arruntia Valentilla, son D. Alerius Arruntius.
- CIL* VI 18150 (70–100 CE): T. Flavius Paccius, son of T. Flavius Eutactus & Paccia Capriola (Latin name preferred over a Greek one?).

*CIL* V 2521 (Ateste, 1st/2nd c.): P. Cornelius Albucius, son of P. Cornelius Eglogus and Albucia Chreste.

*CIL* V 5380 (Comum, 2nd c.): mother Sentia Apphia, son Q. Spurius Sentius.

*CIL* XI 2984 (Tuscan, Imperial): mother Sempronia Aprulla, son Naevius Sempronius.

*InscrIt* X.4, 373 = *AE* 2003, 697 (Tergeste, 2nd c.): mother Cassia Ursa, son A. Oppius Cassius.

Provinces:

*CIL* III 8205 (Moesia sup., 1–300): C. Val. Claudius, son of C. Valerius Suestius and Claudia Gallita.

*CIL* III 2520, cf. 8641 (Salona, 150–300): L. Sellius Artorius, son of Sellius Felix & Artoria Secundina.

*CIL* XII 3367 (Nemausus, Imperial): L. Acutius Ventidius, son of L. Acutius Severinus and Ventidia Nice.

*CIL* XII 3965 (Nemausus, Imperial): Tutius Tarcus, son of Q. Tutius Martinus and Tarcia Egit[---].

*CIL* III 4323 (Brigetio, 200–250): L. Sept(imius) Petronius, *avunculus* C. Petronius Nundinus (in other words, his mother was a Petronia).

#### 4.10 Summary of the chapter

The use of cognomina was well established in women's nomenclature from the early Empire onwards. There are, to be sure, occasional cases of women who appear without a cognomen in our sources in later periods, even in the second century CE (4.1). Most of these women, however, are attested in literary sources and one may suspect that the authors may have used an abbreviated nomenclature. Even in the case of some epigraphically attested women, we may suspect that the women in question, in fact, had a cognomen. In any case, it is clear that not having a cognomen was considered rather old fashioned even in the uppermost tier of the society by the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

As the number of different cognomina and ways to derive cognomina grew, so did the options for choosing a name. Most available evidence of the relevant strategies concerns cases in which a woman's cognomen came from one of the parents (4.3.1; 4.3.2). The cognomen could be transmitted in an identical form (e.g. *Priscus/a* > *Prisca*) or in a suffixed (or a de-suffixed) form (e.g. *Priscus* > *Priscilla*; *Priscianus* > *Priscilla*; *Priscianus* > *Prisca*). These styles are well attested

for cognomina inherited from both the father's and the mother's side. There are, however, some differences in terms of popularity. While it was common for the father's cognomen to be transmitted to a daughter both in identical and suffixed form, the mother's cognomen was clearly less often transmitted to a daughter in suffixed form. Cases in which mother and daughter both bear the exact same cognomen, however, are more numerous.

One may, furthermore, add that it was by no means uncommon for Roman men to be named after their mother. In other words, the names of both parents were viable candidates, regardless of the child's gender. This is not self-evident. For instance men in Greece mostly received names from male relatives and the transmission of maternal names concerned women almost exclusively.<sup>986</sup>

In addition to the parents' cognomina, women sometimes had cognomina that were identical or similar to those of the grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives. Evidence of this has been more difficult to come by, since inscriptions are more likely to record a person's parents than some other relatives, but some instructive examples exist (4.3.3). There is, furthermore, evidence of some cases of cognomina that were, technically speaking, not derived from a cognomen used by another family member but chosen because they resembled one closely enough (e.g. if the father was called *Lucanus*, the daughter could bear the name *Lucilla*; see 4.3.4).

Women, naturally, were sometimes given cognomina that were derived not from other cognomina but from nomina and praenomina that were used in the family (4.4; 4.5). In most cases the cognomen would be derived from a nomen with a suffix, but nomina could also be used as cognomina as such. The latter was particularly the case with nomina coming from the mother or grandmother, whilst cognomina originating in the father's (that is, in most cases, the woman's own) nomen would, for obvious reasons, normally be in a suffixed form (unless, of course, the woman did not bear the paternal but the maternal nomen).

As for cognomina derived from praenomina, the most obvious choice was the father's praenomen, but in some cases the name could also be derived from the praenomen of, for instance, the grandfather (particularly the maternal grandfather, since in many cases the praenomina of the father and the paternal grandfather were identical to each other). Furthermore, in the case of freedwomen and the descendants of *liberti*, the cognomen could also be derived from the patron's praenomen.

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<sup>986</sup> Cf. Nieto Isquierdo 2020.



The cognomen could also be taken from more distant family history. This practice was largely restricted to the aristocracy who could trace (or reinvent) their family history and ancestry back several hundred years. In the early Empire, in particular, many families of the old nobility sought to promote their status by reviving ancient *cognomina* and taking into use new *cognomina* which in one way or another connected them to famous ancestors and their achievements. *Cognomina* of this type were also given to some women (4.6.1). People of more humble background, on the other hand, could seek to imitate the names of the elite and name their daughters after famous noble houses – or in general adopt names that they thought sounded ‘upper class’ (4.6.2).

Given that many Latin *cognomina* were based on appellative lemmas, the choice could naturally have to do with the ‘meaning’ of the name (4.7). There is plenty of evidence of cases in which the lexical meaning of the word seems to correlate with the name-bearer’s time or circumstances of birth, age relation to her siblings, or geographical, ethnic or cultural origin. Furthermore, in some cases *cognomina* were translated from Greek to Latin, or vice versa (e.g. mother *Nice*, daughter *Victoria*), or a Latin name was chosen because it belonged to the same semantic subcategory as some other name used in the family (e.g. animal pairs of the type *Lupa* and *Ursa*). A prerequisite for such practice is, of course, a certain level of linguistic awareness of semantic content of the names. It follows that, while names of the ‘speaking’ type were in many cases chosen with no or little regard to their meaning, in some other cases, at least, the meaning was a significant factor.

It seems clear that *cognomina* were also chosen for many reasons that we cannot investigate in detail. We can only assume that a woman could be named, for instance, after a family friend or acquaintance, or a cognomen could be chosen simply because it was fashionable, sounded good, or in some other way happened to please the name-giver.



## 5 Summary and conclusions

The key findings of each main chapter have already been summarized at the end of the chapters. It is now time to recapitulate some of these aspects from the point of view of the study as a whole. The principal questions to which this study has attempted to answer can be narrowed down to:

- i) What types of *cognomina* could women have?
- ii) When did these *cognomina* first appear and become a standard part of women's nomenclature?
- iii) How were these *cognomina* chosen and for what reasons?

These aspects have been investigated through time and space, over a time period of some 400 years, from the first appearance of *cognomina* around 100 BCE to approximately 300 CE. Later cases have also been included in the study, but the main focus has been on the first three centuries CE. Regional differences and practices have been observed in various parts of the Roman Empire with the geographical point of reference in the city of Rome and the Italian peninsula where the 'most Roman' onomastic habits originated. Moreover, the various naming practices have been investigated in different layers of the society, with special attention given to the nomenclature of senatorial women. Furthermore, the practices have been observed in comparison to those of Roman men.

The first question, regarding what types of *cognomina* women could have, can be answered with a fair level of confidence based on our ancient sources, mostly of epigraphic nature. While we obviously do not know all Roman women and *cognomina* that once existed, the amount of evidence – consisting of c. 2 700 female *cognomina* – is certainly large enough to answer the question, what kind of names most Roman women had and could have – and what kind of names they could not have.

As has been noted in Chapter 2, the variety of Latin female *cognomina* was large. In theory, any suitable word could be harnessed for onomastic purposes and used as a personal name. New names could also be created from existing ones through the use of various suffixes. Most of the known *cognomina* are attested only once or twice, whilst at the same time a handful of names were extremely popular. The most frequently attested *cognomina* were primarily non-suffixed, semantically transparent names that corresponded to different words of the Latin lexicon (of the type *Fortunata*, *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Maxima*, *Felicitas*). Simple

forms of this kind can be divided in various types of adjectival and substantival forms (2.3).

The majority of all cognomina, however, were suffixed formations (2.4). The formation of new names through the use of suffixes was particularly characteristic to Latin onomastics (compounds being almost non-existent and mostly restricted to Late Antiquity and N. Africa). Suffixed forms could be derived from other cognomina (and words of the Latin lexicon), but also from nomina and praenomina. The range of different suffixes used for this purpose was extensive. Some suffixes were naturally more popular and productive than others and some, particularly diminutive forms, were typical to female rather than male cognomina. While most of the suffixes are found in both names and appellatives, two of them, *-illa* and *-itta*, were predominantly used as cognomen-suffixes which, moreover, were primarily (or exclusively) used in women's rather than men's cognomina. Some suffixes, such as *-illa* and *-īna*, were used from early on and remained popular throughout the Empire, whilst for instance female names in *-iāna* became popular only later, in the second century CE (in contrast to male names in *-iānus*, which were already used during the Republic). Some suffixes, on the other hand, were mostly restricted to certain geographical areas (e.g. *-ōsa* in Africa) and/or Late Antiquity (e.g. *-ia*; also suffix clusters of the type *-iānilla*). Suffixed formations in general were more typical to later rather than earlier periods, since their existence typically presupposes that the root word had already been used as a name. In fact, most of the early cognomina, as seen in Chapter 3, were of the simple, non-suffixed type.

In addition to the types mentioned above, nomina could be used as cognomina as such, resulting in a nomenclature of the type *Claudia Octavia* (2.5). This style was particularly characteristic to women's nomenclature and is well attested during the first three centuries CE – though among senatorial women, the style seems to go out of fashion towards the end of the second century.

But what kinds of names did women *not* have, or what kinds of names were generally avoided? Semantics played a role here. Whilst technically any Latin appellative could be used as a cognomen, many words were unsuitable for this purpose because of their meaning. Pejorative names, which were sometimes used by men (e.g. *Crassus*, *Varus*) were generally avoided in women's nomenclature (2.6.2). This is, in fact, largely the case with most other languages and cultures as well. In Latin onomastics, the negative connotations could sometimes be circumvented by the use of suffixes (e.g. *Taurina/Taurilla* from *Taurus*, instead of *\*Taura*; or *Varilla* from *Varus*, instead of *Vara*). Other restrictions to the use cognomina were largely of formal and phonetic nature. In other words, formations

which would have been awkward to form or which did not sound good were generally avoided. This aspect also has to do with the fact that some suffixes, when attached to certain kinds of names, could produce a 'reduced' form through haplogy (e.g. *Hispulla* from *Hispo*, instead of the more awkward \**Hisponulla*). In the case of some seemingly irregular formations, however, we may be dealing with the convenient use of an existing cognomen with close resemblance to the name from which it was seemingly derived. For instance, if a woman was called Lucilia Lucilla, the cognomen was seemingly derived from the nomen, even if we are probably dealing with the practical use of the existing name *Lucilla*, a regular derivation from *Lucius*.

From a purely formal point of view, almost all female cognomina had the termination *-a*. There were, however, also names with other terminations (e.g. *-is*, *-(e)ns*, *-(i)tas*, etc.). Some names of this type – as well as some nouns with the termination *-a* – were used by both men and women (2.6.3). While most of the unisex names were predominantly used by men rather than women, there are also names that were perceived either as feminine (rather than masculine) or as gender-neutral. The gender distribution of unisex names could depend on various factors of semantic and morphological nature, amongst other things.

As for the second principal question, cognomina in general started to appear in the nomenclature of freeborn women in the late Republican period. An exact chronology of the earliest cases is difficult to establish, since many of the inscriptions can be dated only tentatively. However, as shown in 3.1, there are two Praenestan inscriptions, recording freeborn women with cognomina which certainly predates 82 BCE (and in fact, the cases probably date already from the late second century BCE). We also have literary testimonies of some senatorial women who probably bore cognomina during the latter half of the second century, and from not much later there is also epigraphic evidence available (3.3).

As noted above, most of the early female cognomina of the freeborn plebs were semantically transparent, descriptive names of the type *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Polla*, *Maxima*. In this respect many of the early female cognomina corresponded to the Republican female praenomina, which is not surprising, since their use and function were largely the same in this period (cf. 2.3.4). The evolution from the occasional use of female praenomina to the universal use of female cognomina is significant. Whilst the female praenomen was always an optional item, this was not the case with the cognomen which eventually came to be a standard part of every woman's nomenclature, thus providing all Roman women with a genuine, individualizing name not only in the family but also in the eyes of the whole Roman society. This also resulted in a difference in the function of women's

praenomina and cognomina. Female praenomina in the Republican period were almost exclusively descriptive items that indicated, for example, birth order within a family. While similar names were sometimes also used as cognomina in a similar function, it is noteworthy that during the Empire they could be and often were used like any other cognomen, that is to say simply as names without any obvious connection to whatever lexical meaning they once had. In fact, there is evidence of this already from the late Republican and early Augustan periods (for example cases in which a woman's cognomen is inherited from a parent). Furthermore, while the majority of the early female cognomina used by the *plebs ingenua* were of the generic, descriptive type, there were also many other types of cognomina in use in this period (3.2).

Senatorial women's early cognomina – or rather the early cognomina of women of the nobility – differed in many ways from those of the *plebs*. Most senatorial families of the Republic had long traditions of using hereditary cognomina that distinguished different branches of one *gens* from one another. The automatic inheritance of such cognomina, as a rule, did not apply to women, but the daughters of these families – if they were to receive a cognomen in the first place – would often bear a cognomen which was either identical to or derived from the family cognomen (3.3.1). Such names were socially more distinctive than the generic cognomina of the *plebs*. This is also significant, since the emergence of the cognomen in women's nomenclature offered means for social distinction in a way that had not been possible before. The Roman nomen gentilicium, in essence, was an egalitarian item. Practically any woman, regardless of rank, who happened to be connected to, say, the *gens Caecilia* through their father or patron, could bear the nomen *Caecilia*. But only a *Caecilia* of the high aristocracy could bear the cognomen *Metella* – whilst a *Caecilia* of more humble origin would have had to settle for a more generic name of the type *Polla*, *Maxima*, *Tertia*. This is also shown in the nomenclature of women whose families had only recently obtained senatorial status (3.3.2). It is true that some *homines novi* or equestrian men, who had formed close contacts with the ruling elite, had assumed the use of cognomina (hereditary or not) and could name their daughters accordingly (e.g. *Caecilia Attica*, daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus). In many cases, however, they had not, or their cognomen was otherwise unsuitable for women, either in terms of form or meaning. Women, in such cases, would not bear cognomina of the socially elevated type, but instead the repertoire of their cognomina was largely the same as that of the *plebs*. In this period, it was also possible that, in families with two daughters, the first-born would lack a cognomen while the second one could bear one.

The Augustan period saw a rise in the popularity of female cognomina and, by the mid-first century CE, most women had one. The style of not having a cognomen seems to have held its ground more persistently among the women of the senatorial elite, but even in these circles not having a cognomen must have been considered old-fashioned by the time of Nero at the latest. In our sources there are occasional examples of women who did not have a cognomen as late as the second century, but as has been shown in 4.1, this is a problem more with our sources than anything else and probably does not reflect the reality. In other words, most of these women are attested in literary accounts and may have (or in some cases must have) had a cognomen, even if the author does not mention it, or, at times, the surviving name may have been a nomen used as a cognomen.

This brings us to the third main theme, namely the use and choice of female cognomina during the Empire, when the cognomen had already become a standard part of women's nomenclature. If the questions regarding *what* and *when* could be answered with a fair level of confidence, the *how* and *why* have been trickier. We cannot ask the ancient Romans what they had in mind when choosing a name for their daughters. Nor do we have access to any comprehensive family register of all Roman women of a certain time or place. What we do have – the hard evidence of this study – consists of surviving written accounts, mostly funerary inscriptions, which sometimes provide us with some clues, but more often they do not. The curtain of history offers us only glimpses as to what lies behind it. In this case, an overall picture of what that might be requires not only the investigation of the hard evidence but also a good amount of educated guesswork and imagination. In any case, the amount of evidence that we have is luckily large enough to produce at least some basic understanding of how female cognomina could be chosen and for what reasons.

It is clear that, during the Imperial period, a cognomen could be chosen for almost any imaginable reason. Fashion certainly played a role, and a name could obviously be chosen because it sounded good or in some other way pleased the name-giver. In most cases, however, we do not have any decisive evidence to be able to tell what the exact reason was, other than that a name such as, say, *Fortunata*, was perhaps chosen because of its positive connotations. Sometimes, however, we have more clues.

For instance, it is an undeniable fact that the Romans favoured names that were already used in the family (4.3). In the most typical, or at least the best attested, scenario the cognomen would come from one of the parents, either in an identical form or as a suffixed variant. There is plenty of evidence of women, who bear the same or a similar cognomen as their father or mother (4.3.1; 4.3.2).

Naturally the name could also come from another relative, for example, from a grandparent, uncle, or an aunt (4.3.3). In addition, the cognomen could be derived from a nomen that was used in the family or a nomen could simply be used as a cognomen. In the latter case, the nomen would often come from the mother or a grandmother, since the father's nomen would typically be the woman's own nomen as well. It is also worth pointing out that a female cognomen could be derived from the mother's nomen with various suffixes (*-illa*, *-īna*, *-iāna*, *-iola*, etc.), whilst in men's nomenclature the cognomen, in a similar scenario, would almost exclusively be derived with *-iānus* (4.9.2).

There is also plenty of evidence of women whose cognomina were derived from a family praenomen. These are mostly from the father, but also the (maternal) grandfather, or, in the case of freedwomen and descendants of *liberti*, the patron (4.5).

Other strategies existed as well. One of these was to choose cognomina for reasons of prestige. Among the early Imperial nobility, for example, it became fashionable to revive or to create cognomina that connected the family to famous ancestors and past glory. Names of this type were sometimes also given to women (4.6.1). People of more humble background, on the other hand, could resort to the imitation of the aristocracy or to what they thought sounded 'noble' (4.6.2).

Since most Latin cognomina were based on or derived from words of the Latin lexicon, it is no surprise that the 'meaning' of the name could also play a role (4.7). A cognomen could, for instance, be chosen because it resembled another cognomen in terms of meaning; or it could be chosen to reflect the time or circumstances of the woman's birth, or her hometown or place of origin. There is plenty of evidence of all this. In the absence of such evidence, however, one must be careful not to overinterpret names of this (or any) type as necessarily associated with their lexical meaning or traceable etymology. Once words become names, they no longer need to have any connection to their original meaning, although they can and sometimes do. In other words, sometimes names are 'just names' and they can be chosen for any number of reasons.



# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Catalogue of Latin female cognomina

In the following catalogue, an attempt has been made to document all known Latin female cognomina. 'Latin' in this case refers not only to names that are Latin in a strict etymological sense but to cognomina of Italian stock more generally speaking. The catalogue is roughly arranged in order of frequency. As a caveat, one must keep in mind that some of the numbers are more approximate than accurate for a couple of reasons. I have largely relied on the numbers of Kajanto 1965, whenever a name has more than five attestations in his catalogue. There are, however, many names that were either omitted by Kajanto (e.g. *Posilla* and *Bassa* and its derivatives) or unknown to him (i.e. new names found in sources that have been published after Kajanto's book). Thus, all names that are either not found or have fewer than five attestations in Kajanto's catalogue, I have sought to document with as much accuracy as possible, though in the case of the most popular ones I have mostly settled with recording the attestations in Latin rather than Greek sources. Furthermore, the frequencies represent the overall situation over a time period of several hundred years and do not necessarily give a good picture of what names were popular in a particular moment in history. Various chronological, geographical, and social factors are discussed elsewhere in this book. The dates, whenever available and given in parentheses, are CE, unless specifically marked BCE.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Attestations</b>	<b>Source</b>
Fortunata	1093	Kajanto 1965, 273
Secunda	1067	Kajanto 1965, 292
Prima	1014	Kajanto 1965, 291
Victoria	750	Kajanto 1965, 278
Saturnina	734	Kajanto 1965, 213
Ianuaria	693	Kajanto 1965, 218
Maxima	674	Kajanto 1965, 275
Sabina	586	Kajanto 1965, 186
Tertia	491	Kajanto 1965, 292
Severa	486	Kajanto 1965, 256
Felicitas	458	Kajanto 1965, 273
Proc(u)la	432	Kajanto 1965, 176
Primigenia	430	Kajanto 1965, 290
Felic(u)la	420	Kajanto 1965, 273
Hilara	410	Kajanto 1965, 260
Rufina	403	Kajanto 1965, 229
Tertul(l)a	392	Kajanto 1965, 292
Prisca	388	Kajanto 1965, 288
Marcella	361	Kajanto 1965, 173
Veneria	358	Kajanto 1965, 214
Victorina	357	Kajanto 1965, 278
Urbana	328	Kajanto 1965, 311
Donata	327	Kajanto 1965, 298
Suc(c)essa	318	Kajanto 1965, 356
Fausta	303	Kajanto 1965, 272
Domna	300	287 cases from Asia Minor; cf. Kajanto 1965, 362 + Solin 2018, 177.
Secundina	296	Kajanto 1965, 292
Faustina	287	Kajanto 1965, 272
Primitiva	283	Kajanto 1965, 290
Quarta	276	Kajanto 1965, 293
Iucunda	275	Kajanto 1965, 283

Rogata	269	Kajanto 1965, 297
Quinta	268	Kajanto 1965, 174
Res(ti)tuta	249	Kajanto 1965, 356
Iusta	241	Kajanto 1965, 252
Vitalis	240	Kajanto 1965, 274
Paul(l)ina	228	Kajanto 1965, 244
Ingenua	222	Kajanto 1965, 314
Optata	221	Kajanto 1965, 296
Marcel(l)ina	218	Kajanto 1965, 173
Vera	215	Kajanto 1965, 253
Felicissima	213	Kajanto 1965, 273
Venusta	212	Kajanto 1965, 283
Valentina	209	Kajanto 1965, 209 = 247
Flora	207	Kajanto 1965, 233
Festa	206	Kajanto 1965, 221
Salvia	204	Kajanto 1965, 177
Honorata	200	Kajanto 1965, 279
Matrona	197	Kajanto 1965, 305
Rufa	197	Kajanto 1965, 229
Romana	183	Kajanto 1965, 182
Musa	178	Kajanto 1965, 216
Marciana	155	Kajanto 1965, 150
Primilla	148	Kajanto 1965, 291
Severina	143	Kajanto 1965, 257
Priscilla	141	Kajanto 1965, 288
Galla	140	Kajanto 1965, 195
Spes	139	Kajanto 1965, 286
Paul(l)a	137	Kajanto 1965, 243
Gemel(l)a	132	Kajanto 1965, 295
Ursa	131	Kajanto 1965, 329
Maximilla	130	Kajanto 1965, 276
Iustina	124	Kajanto 1965, 252
Quieta	124	Kajanto 1965, 262

Modesta	120	Kajanto 1965, 263
Lucil(l)a	118	Kajanto 1965, 173
Iuliana	116	Kajanto 1965, 148
Aucta	115	Kajanto 1965, 350
Crispina	115	Kajanto 1965, 223
Attica	112	Kajanto 1965, 203
Grata	111	Kajanto 1965, 282
Urbica	111	Kajanto 1965, 311
Maximina	110	Kajanto 1965, 276
Casta	109	Kajanto 1965, 251
Materna	109	Kajanto 1965, 303
Verecunda	108	Kajanto 1965, 264
Pia	105	Kajanto 1965, 251
Secundilla	103	Kajanto 1965, 292
Paterna	102	Kajanto 1965, 304
Ampliata	101	Kajanto 1965, 349
Clara	101	Kajanto 1965, 278
Candida	100	Kajanto 1965, 227
Avita	99	Kajanto 1965, 304
Crescentina	98	Kajanto 1965, 234
Extricata	97	Kajanto 1965, 352
Magna	93	Kajanto 1965, 275
Rustica	92	Kajanto 1965, 310
Felicia	90	Kajanto 1965, 273
Silvana	88	Kajanto 1965, 216
Privata	87	Kajanto 1965, 315
Firmina	85	Kajanto 1965, 258
Primula	85	Kajanto 1965, 291
Amanda	84	Kajanto 1965, 360

Bassa	84	SEN. (5): PFOS 141; 407; 667; PIR <sup>2</sup> C 1082; Epigraphica 82 (2020) 432–436. Other cases in Latin sources (excluding CIL XV): <b>Rome</b> : AE 1990, 115 = 2008, 193 (50–1 BCE, liberta); CIL VI 359 (Augustus-Tiberius); VI 4067 (Augustus-Tiberius); VI 6558 (1–50, liberta); VI 7460 = 18501 (Augustan, liberta); VI 7593 (1–30); VI 7882 (1–50, liberta); VI 7898 (51–100); VI 8865 (Trajan); VI 9118 (51–200); VI 10679 (117–180); VI 12931 (liberta); VI 13241 (2nd c.); VI 13528; VI 13529 (verna); VI 13530 (father Bassus); VI 14494 (2nd c.); VI 15364; VI 15370; VI 16551; VI 17698 (1st c.); VI 18785 (1st c.); VI 19129 (2nd c.); VI 20392; VI 25362 (150–200 CE); VI 25701; VI 26435 (liberta); VI 28169; VI 29418; VI 33418 (1st c.); VI 33512 (1st c.); VI 34588 (late 2nd c.); VI 35471; VI 35840; VI 37410; VI 38623; VI 41154 = 3829; ICUR 2171 (4th/5th c.); ICUR 14076 (late 4th c.); ICUR 18518 (4th c.). <b>Italy</b> : CIL IX 1651 (Beneventum, 1st c.); IX 1762 (Beneventum); Labruna 2013, 74 (Aeclanum); IX 707 (Teanum Apulum, 31–70); AE 1988, 416 (Volcei, Augustan); XI 2291 (Clusium, Etruscan); XI 3852 (Saxa Rubra, 1st/2nd c.); XI 3406 (Tarquinia, 75–51 BCE); Quilici 2005, p. 117 (Signia, 3rd c.); X 8056,61 (Capua); X 2147 (Cumae, 3rd c.); X 1809 (Puteoli); X 2786 (Puteoli); Epigraphica 82 (2020), 432–436; EpOst 149 (Ostia); EpOst 150 (Ostia); V 7451 (Liguria); IX 5695 (Picenum, 1st/2nd c.); IX 5390 (Firmum Picenum, liberta); IX 7924 (Alba Fucens); IX 3613 (Aveia, late 1st c.); AE 1989, 215 (Samnium, early Aug., liberta); IX 7760 (Marruvium, 1st c.); IX 6901 (Histonium, early 1st c.); IX 4799 (Forum Novum); X 8053,33 (Sardinia); AE 1991, 638 (Umbria, 2nd c., liberta); XI 5738 (Sentinum, late 2nd/early 3rd c.); V 4241 (Brixia, 224 CE). <b>Outside Italy</b> : AE 2005, 1690 (Bulla Regia, 130–170); VIII 22644a-e (Carthago). PIR <sup>2</sup> O 90 (Ephesus, early Imperial); CIL III 1366 (Dacia, 107–275); III 14753,1 (Salona, 150–300); XIII 8415 (Col. Claud. Ara Agripp.); XIII 2059 (Lugdunum); ERBeira 50 (Lusitania, liberta); IMS II, 73 (Moes. sup., 100–230); CIL VIII 19528 (Cirta; 31–70).
Peregrina	84	Kajanto 1965, 313
Firma	83	Kajanto 1965, 258
Marina	81	Kajanto 1965, 308

Posilla/Pusilla	80	<p><b>Rome:</b> CIL VI 6661 (1st c.); 6996 (Augustus-Nero, liberta); 13492 (0–50); 14065 (1st c. BCE); 16069; 17031 (liberta); 21549 (Flavian); 23133 (50–1 BCE); 24501; 28422 (0–30); 37711 (1st c., liberta); 37956 (1st c.); 38107; Granino 2012, 318 (Roma); AE 1993, 204 = 2005, 218 (Rome, Augustus-Tiberius, liberta). <b>Italy:</b> AE 1979, 252 = 1980, 482 (Bononia, Augustan); CIL V 2429 (Ferrara, 1st c.); 2437 (Ferrara, 30–70); 7963 (Cemenelum, 50–100); IX 1972 (Beneventum); 1064 (Acclanum); 852 (Luceria, 1–20); Russi 1976, 20 (Teantum Apulum, 70–130); CIL X 337 (Atina); X 247 (Grumentum, serva); AE 2005, 396 (Egnatia); InscrIt III.1 113 = AE 1910, 191 (Forum Popilii, Tiberian); CINar II 214 (Narona, 2nd c.); CIL I<sup>2</sup> (Caere, 75–51 BCE); AE 1990, 337 (Etruria); CIL XI 3492 = SECI 103 (Tarquinia, 100–76 BCE); AE 2010, 457 = SECI 22 (Tarquinia, 50–26 BCE); CIL V 7739 (Luna, 30 BCE–50 CE); XII 299 (Forum Iulii); XI 1224 (Placentia, 2nd c.); XII 3506 (Nemausus); CIL X 5817 (Aletrium, Augustus-Tiberius); X 5414 (Aquinum, Augustan); X 4047 (Capua, Augustus-Tiberius, liberta); X 5264 (Casinum); PBSR 1910, 260 (Castrimoenium, Augustus-Tiberius, liberta); AE 2001, 758 (Tarracina, liberta); CIL V 7813 (Liguria, 1st c.); V 7448 (Forum Fulvii, 1–50); CIL IX 7500 (Aufinum); IX 2734 (Aesernia, liberta); AE 2013, 565 (Bergomum, 1–50); CIL V 6150 (Mediolanum); XI 4438 (Ameria, 1–30); V 1363 (Aquileia); AE 2003, 681 (Aquileia, 50–100); IEAquil 346 (Aquileia); CIL V 2616 (Ateste); V 2221 (Altinum, 27 BCE–37 CE); V 3553 (Verona). <b>Outside Italy:</b> CIL VIII 1347 (Afr. proc.); HEp 2005, 64 (Palma, liberta); SEG XLIII 457 (Thessalonica, Aug.-Tib., cf. Chapter 3). <b>PUSILLA:</b> <b>Rome:</b> CIL VI 16040 (delicia); VI 37622 (1st c.); Friggeri 1999, 160b (1st c., liberta); ICUR 14469 (4th/5th c.). <b>Italy:</b> CIL XI 6881 (Bononia, 1–50, liberta); AttiAccLinc 1901, 127, no. 242 (Capua, Augustus-Tiberius, liberta); CIL V 3192 (Vicetia, liberta); CIL V 6591 (Transpadana, 2nd c.); V 1323 (Aquileia, 2nd c., liberta); IAquil 171 (50–100, Aquileia, liberta); InscrIt X.1 103 (Pola, 1–30). <b>Outside Italy:</b> CIL VIII 12042 (Afr. proc.); III 2929 (Dalmatia, 30–150); XII 5925 (Nemausus); II 3899 (Saguntum, 70–200); CIL III 632 (Macedonia); III 5227 (Celeia, 50–150); III 10812 (Pann. sup., 1st c.); III 3816 = 10735 (Emona, 1st/2nd c.); III 3874 (Emona); AE 1997, 1259 (Savaria); ILJug III 3109 = AE 1995, 1239 = 2008, 1078 (Pann. sup., 2nd/3rd c., liberta).</p>
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Florentina	78	Kajanto 1965, 189 = 233
Celerina	77	Kajanto 1965, 248
Quintilla	75	Kajanto 1965, 169 = 174
Quartil(l)a	74	Kajanto 1965, 293
Faustilla	73	Kajanto 1965, 272
Bonifatia	72	Kajanto 1965, 272
Celsina	71	Kajanto 1965, 230
Concordia	70	Kajanto 1965, 255
Tigris	70	Kajanto 1965, 329
Arbuscula	69	Kajanto 1965, 334
Proba	69	Kajanto 1965, 253
Agrip(p)ina	67	Kajanto 1965, 175 (+ 2x sen.)
Hilaritas	67	Kajanto 1965, 261
Hospita	66	Kajanto 1965, 306
Procilla	66	Kajanto 1965, 177
Fusca	65	Kajanto 1965, 228
Gemina	65	Kajanto 1965, 294
Rufil(l)a	65	Kajanto 1965, 229
Amabilis	64	Kajanto 1965, 282
Atticilla	63	Kajanto 1965, 168 = 203
Sperata	63	Kajanto 1965, 297
Martina	62	Kajanto 1965, 162 = 212
Montana	62	Kajanto 1965, 309
Dativa	61	Kajanto 1965, 297
Italia	60	Kajanto 1965, 180
Laeta	59	Kajanto 1965, 261
Amoena	58	Kajanto 1965, 282
Valeriana	58	Kajanto 1965, 157
Capitolina	56	Kajanto 1965, 183
Capreola	55	Kajanto 1965, 326
Crescentia	55	Kajanto 1965, 234
Bassilla	54	passim
Ursula	54	Kajanto 1965, 330

Mansueta	52	Kajanto 1965, 263
Maura	52	Kajanto 1965, 206
Cara	51	Kajanto 1965, 284
Macrina	51	Kajanto 1965, 244
Satura	50	Kajanto 1965, 233
Lupula	49	Kajanto 1965, 328
Africana	48	Kajanto 1965, 205
Co(n)stantia	48	Kajanto 1965, 258
Emerita	48	Kajanto 1965, 258
Lea	48	Kajanto 1965, 327
Lucia	48	Kajanto 1965, 172
Postuma/-ima	47	Kajanto 1965, 295
Silvina	47	Kajanto 1965, 162 = 310
Aquilina	46	Kajanto 1965, 330
Felix	46	Kajanto 1965, 272
Novella	46	Kajanto 1965, 289
Romula	46	Kajanto 1965, 179
Albana	45	Kajanto 1965, 181
Bonosa	45	Kajanto 1965, 275
Castula	45	Kajanto 1965, 252
Fruct(u)osa	45	Kajanto 1965, 285
Gaudentia	45	Kajanto 1965, 260
Serena	45	Kajanto 1965, 261
Florentia	44	Kajanto 1965, 233
Placida	44	Kajanto 1965, 262
Regilla	44	Kajanto 1965, 316
Benigna	43	Kajanto 1965, 255
Lepida	42	Kajanto 1965, 283
Marcia	42	From Marcus. cf. 2.4.7.1. In other cases possibly N+N (cf. n. 332).
Nigella	42	Kajanto 1965, 228
Festiva	41	Kajanto 1965, 260
Fortuna	41	Kajanto 1965, 273



Germana	41	Kajanto 1965, 201
Verina	41	Kajanto 1965, 254
Gemel(l)ina	40	Kajanto 1965, 295
Maior	40	Kajanto 1965, 294
Pacata	40	Kajanto 1965, 261
Redem(p)ta	40	Kajanto 1965, 355
Servanda	40	Kajanto 1965, 360
Servata	40	Kajanto 1965, 356
Tertul(l)ina	40	Kajanto 1965, 292
Aeliana	39	Kajanto 1965, 139
Longina	39	Kajanto 1965, 231
Pupa	39	Kajanto 1965, 300
Quintina	39	Kajanto 1965, 174
Secura	39	Kajanto 1965, 280
Vincentia	39	Kajanto 1965, 278
Exorata	38	Kajanto 1965, 297
Laurentia	38	Kajanto 1965, 182
Potita	37	Kajanto 1965, 354
Repentina	37	Kajanto 1965, 296
Accepta	36	Kajanto 1965, 281
Natalis	36	Kajanto 1965, 290
Profutura	35	CIL XI 752 (Bononia); ILTun 1109,76 (Carthago); ILAlg I 2317 (Madaurus); CIL III 9028= ILJug III, 2356 (Salona, 4th c.); AE 1981, 348 (Volsinii); NSA 1919, 206 (Volsinii; perhaps the same as previous); NSA 1919, 207 (Volsinii); CIL XI 1759 (Volaterrae); XIV 1155 (Ostia); XIV 1292 (Ostia, father Profuturus); X 1729 = AE 1988, 296 (Puteoli); CIL XIII 1977 (Lugudunum; <i>Aeli Profuturi filia</i> ); XIII 2187 (Lugudunum); VIII 20752; III 5467; III 5947 (Castra Regina); VI 4753; 12178; 13634 = ICUR 22619 (4th c.); CIL VI 15569; 24996; 29217; ICUR 6871c (290–325 CE); 11396; 25293; 25462; 23771 (290–325 CE); JIWE II 371 (4th c.); AE 1987, 105 (Roma; 150–230): Papiria Profutura; CIL V 5354 (Comum); CIL V 5368 (Comum; 2nd c.); CIL V 5388 (Comum; 2nd c.); AE 2004, 520 (Ameria); CIL V 1142 (Aquileia); AE 1986, 76 (Rome, 170–230 CE)
Regina	35	Kajanto 1965, 316

Fortunula	34	Kajanto 1965, 273
Benedicta	33	Kajanto 1965, 350
Lasciva	33	Kajanto 1965, 261
Stercoria	33	Kajanto 1965, 246
Titul(l)la	33	Kajanto 1965, 171
Faventina	32	Kajanto 1965, 196
Lucida	32	Kajanto 1965, 288
Lupa	32	Kajanto 1965, 327
Albina	31	Kajanto 1965, 227
G(a)etula	31	Kajanto 1965, 206
Nigrina	31	Kajanto 1965, 228
Pisin(n)a	31	Kajanto 1965, 299
Salvilla	31	Kajanto 1965, 177
Sura	31	(= <i>Syræ</i> in some cases?) Kajanto 1965, 226
Ursina	31	Kajanto 1965, 330
Cupita	30	Kajanto 1965, 296
Flaccilla	30	Kajanto 1965, 240
Frontina	30	Kajanto 1965, 236
Septimina/ umina	30	Kajanto 1965, 293
Adeodata	29	Kajanto 1965, 216
Augustina	29	Kajanto 1965, 316
Perpetua	29	Kajanto 1965, 274
Campana	28	Kajanto 1965, 190
Gratilla	28	Kajanto 1965, 282
Iovina	28	Kajanto 1965, 212
Maritima/uma	28	Kajanto 1965, 308
Pietas	28	Kajanto 1965, 251
Sirica	28	Kajanto 1965, 346
Clementilla	27	Kajanto 1965, 263
Luciosa	27	Kajanto 1965, 173
Quintula	27	Kajanto 1965, 174
Simplicia	27	Kajanto 1965, 253

Aprulla	26	Kajanto 1965, 170 = 325
Catulla	26	Kajanto 1965, 250
Crescentilla	26	Kajanto 1965, 234
Pollit(t)a	26	Kajanto 1965, 171
Sedata	26	Kajanto 1965, 262
Veneriosa	26	Kajanto 1965, 214
Augusta	25	Kajanto 1965, 316
Fida	25	Kajanto 1965, 254
Inventa	25	Kajanto 1965, 298
Libosa	25	All in Africa: CIL VIII 16990; 15483 (agnomen); 11607; 19822; 3526; 19022; 17211; 18199; 4258; AE 2013, 1837; 2013, 1872; 1995, 1769; IALg II.2 6281; II.1 1079; II.1 1834; II.1 3192; II.3 9861; II.2 4749; II.2 4843; II.2 4856; II.2 4888; II.2 4944; II.2 5388; II.2 5656; II.2 5925
Lucana	25	Kajanto 1965, 193
Renata	25	Kajanto 1965, 355
Spesina	25	<b>Rome:</b> AE 1967, 50 (Rome, 250–300); ICUR 11430 (4th c.); 22493a (290–325 CE); 22646 (325–375); AE 1979, 44a (Rome, 4th c. Christ.). <b>All other cases from Africa:</b> CIL VIII 4687; 4935; 14644; 16376; 17249; 16705; 18604; 19118; 27867; IALg I 475; 477 ( <i>Augg. ve[rna]</i> ); AE 2013, 1969; 2110; ILTun 579; Mactaris III 6. Also <i>Ispesina</i> in: CIL VIII 150 (Christ.); 16996; 11625; AE 2007 1707e (Afr. proc., Christ.).
Ursilla	25	Kajanto 1965, 330
Aemiliana	24	Kajanto 1965, 139
Augurina	24	Kajanto 1965, 318
Barbara	24	Kajanto 1965, 312
Blanda	24	Kajanto 1965, 282
Exsuperantia	24	Kajanto 1965, 277
Libera	24	Kajanto 1965, 280
Lucina	24	Kajanto 1965, 173
Quartina	24	Kajanto 1965, 293
Secundula	24	Kajanto 1965, 292
Voluptas	24	Kajanto 1965, 269
Asella	23	Kajanto 1965, 325

Celsa	23	Kajanto 1965, 230
Luperca	23	Kajanto 1965, 318
Potestas	23	Kajanto 1965, 248
Recepta	23	Kajanto 1965, 355
Suavis	23	Kajanto 1965, 283
Censorina	22	Kajanto 1965, 317
Concessa	22	Kajanto 1965, 350
Firmilla	22	Kajanto 1965, 258
Praiecta/Proiecta	22	Kajanto 1965, 287
Primosa	22	Kajanto 1965, 291
Pudentilla	22	Kajanto 1965, 250
Respecta	22	Kajanto 1965, 355
Rogatina	22	Kajanto 1965, 297
Satulla	22	Kajanto 1965, 233
Severiana	22	Kajanto 1965, 155 = 257
Severilla	22	Kajanto 1965, 257
Viola	22	Kajanto 1965, 336
Adiecta	21	Kajanto 1965, 349
Apra	21	Kajanto 1965, 325
Dubitata	21	Kajanto 1965, 351
Flavina	21	Kajanto 1965, 161 = 227
Florida	21	Kajanto 1965, 233
Supera	21	Kajanto 1965, 277
Antonina	20	Kajanto 1965, 161
Bona	20	Kajanto 1965, 274
Digna	20	Kajanto 1965, 280
Hilaria	20	Kajanto 1965, 261
Lucifera	20	Kajanto 1965, 288
Moderata	20	Kajanto 1965, 263
Vernac(u)la	20	Kajanto 1965, 312
Victrix	20	Kajanto 1965, 278
Decimina/ -umina	19	Kajanto 1965, 172

Deogratia(s)	19	Kajanto 1965, 217
Liberalis	19	Kajanto 1965, 220 = 256
Martil(l)a	19	Kajanto 1965, 169
Nepotilla	19	Kajanto 1965, 305
Proc(u)lina	19	Kajanto 1965, 177
Sabiniana	19	Kajanto 1965, 154 = 186
Septima/-uma	19	Kajanto 1965, 293
Urbanil(l)la	19	Kajanto 1965, 311
Afra	18	Kajanto 1965, 205
Balbilla	18	Kajanto 1965, 240
C(a)elestina	18	Kajanto 1965, 188 = 338
Claudiana	18	Kajanto 1965, 144
Clementina	18	Kajanto 1965, 263
Donatula	18	Kajanto 1965, 298
Luculla	18	Kajanto 1965, 173
Nobilis	18	Kajanto 1965, 279
Processa	18	Kajanto 1965, 354
Quadratilla	18	Kajanto 1965, 233
Tertiola	18	Kajanto 1965, 292
Abundantia	17	ILTun 1710,2 (Afr. proc.); IHC 366 = ILJerez 88 (Baetica, 640-700); CIL III 14734 = ILJug III 2396 (4th-6th c.); CIL XIV 3426a (Praeneste, 4th/5th c.); AE 1983, 885 (Macedonia, 5th/6th c.); AE 1975, 120 (Rome, 4th c.); ICUR 2127 (early 4th c.); 6117 (350-400); 13967 (4th c.); 17302 (mid-4th c.); 18373 (4th c.); 18416 (350-400); 20005 (4th c.); 20363 (3rd c.); 20768 (341 CE); CIL V 6202 (350-400); XI 4329 (Interamna Nahars, 386 CE)
Crispinilla	17	Kajanto 1965, 223
Domestica	17	Kajanto 1965, 314
Gaia	17	Kajanto 1965, 172
Gaudiosa	17	Kajanto 1965, 260
Innocentia	17	Kajanto 1965, 252

Maxentia	17	AE 2007, 1711 (Afr. proc.; Christ.); ILJug III 2040 (Clissa, 5th c.); CIL III 11026 = RIU II 559 (Brigetio, 300–350); CIL VI 13357 (4th c.); ICUR 2906 (250–350); 2337 (4th/5th c.); 8851 (375–400); 11953 (4th/5th c.); 14474 (350–400); 16344 (325–375); 17932 (4th c.); 17933 (4th c.); 25265 (300–350); CIL V 5190 (Bergomum, 5th c.); 6738 (Vercellae, 300–500); 1686 (Aquileia, 4th c.); Pais 336 (Aquileia, 350–400)
Mercatilla	17	Kajanto 1965, 353
Valentia	17	Kajanto 1965, 247
Amantia	16	Kajanto 1965, 255
Antul(l)a	16	Kajanto 1965, 175
Certa	16	Kajanto 1965, 254
Crispa	16	Kajanto 1965, 223
Italica	16	Kajanto 1965, 180
Legitima	16	Kajanto 1965, 298
Reburrina	16	CIL X 329 = InscrIt III.1 237 (Tegianum, 150–250 CE); From Spain: II 4268; HEp 1996, 853; HEp 1990, 619; CIRPZ 41-41; 97; 297; AE 1987, 605; AE 1984, 560; CIRPBu 538; 563; CIRPSa 133; 210; 228; 333; Nascimento 2018, 36 (Lusitania)
Reparata	16	Kajanto 1965, 355
Rogatula	16	Kajanto 1965, 297
Serana	16	CIL VIII 1694 (Sicca Veneria); VIII 1734 (ibid.); XIII 375 (Aquitania); XIII 13 (Consortanni); XII 3243 (Nemausus); XII 3973 (ibid.); XII 4008 (ibid.); ILGN 490 (ibid.); AE 1972, 311 (Aeso, 2nd c.); 1984, 603 (Hisp. cit., 2nd c.; father Seranus); 1992, 1089 (Hisp., 30–100); 1990, 569 (Hisp. cit.); 1994, 866 (Emerita); 1985, 985 (Albulae, 230–270) CIL II 6322 (Barcino, 30–100); II 4449 (Requena, 50–150)
Specula	16	Kajanto 1965, 286
Tusca	16	Kajanto 1965, 188
Anulla	15	Africa (7): CIL VIII 7476; 8047; 15959; 20699; 20203; IAM II.2 476; ILaIlg II.1 3871; Hispania (8): CIL II 1205; 1713; 1979; AE 1986, 367; AE 2012, 672; ILER 2302; IPM 1994, p. 64; CILCáceres I 325
Aura	15	Kajanto 1965, 338
Aventina	15	Kajanto 1965, 183

Columba	15	Kajanto 1965, 330
Domitilla	15	Kajanto 1965, 168
Fabiana	15	Kajanto 1965, 146
Gallitta	15	Kajanto 1965, 195
Modestina	15	Kajanto 1965, 263
Potentina	15	Kajanto 1965, 187 = 247
Quintiana	15	Kajanto 1965, 153
Sabinilla	15	Kajanto 1965, 186
Vegeta	15	Kajanto 1965, 247
Albula	14	All but 3 from Africa (6x from Celtianis): CIL VIII 6092; 14123 (Christ.); 27252; CIL VIII 19793; IALg II.3 9568; II.1 2859; 3129; 3281; 3282; ILCV 3640; AE 2016, 747 (liberta); CIL II 1911 (Gades); IX 2290 (Telesia, 2nd c., liberta); AE 2007, 512 (Asisium, 2nd c.)
Apic(u)la	14	Kajanto 1965, 333
Apta	14	Kajanto 1965, 286
Benenata	14	Kajanto 1965, 350
Bonitas	14	Kajanto 1965, 277
Clementiana	14	Kajanto 1965, 263
Communis	14	Kajanto 1965, 256
Decimilla	14	Kajanto 1965, 172
Fabul(l)a	14	Kajanto 1965, 170
Fundana	14	Kajanto 1965, 182
Fuscina	14	Kajanto 1965, 228
Germanil(l)a	14	Kajanto 1965, 201
Iuliosa	14	Kajanto 1965, 165
Parata	14	Kajanto 1965, 260
Sextilla	14	Kajanto 1965, 170 = 174
Spica	14	Kajanto 1965, 337
Titiana	14	Kajanto 1965, 157
Adaucta	13	CIL VIII 12662 (Carthago, 2nd c.); 24778 (Carthago); 27858 (Theveste, 2nd/3rd c.); IALg I 1048; CIL III 14484 (Dacia); AE 1966, 70 (Neapolis); AE 1984, 191 = 1987, 249 (Capua, 2nd c.); AE 1993, 174 (Rome, 2nd c.); CIL VI 10462 (3rd c., Christ.); VI 19437; VI 26981 (2nd c.); IX 3252 (Corfinium, 2nd c.); V 1444 (Aquileia, 2nd c.)

Civitas	13	Kajanto 1965, 315
Dulcitia	13	Kajanto 1965, 282
Exspectata	13	Kajanto 1965, 296
Florina	13	Kajanto 1965, 234
Graeca	13	Kajanto 1965, 204
Mellita	13	Kajanto 1965, 284
Patricia	13	Kajanto 1965, 313
Quartula	13	Kajanto 1965, 293
Reducta	13	Kajanto 1965, 355
Sexta	13	Kajanto 1965, 174
Sextina	13	Kajanto 1965, 162 = 174
Spectata	13	Kajanto 1965, 277
Varilla	13	Kajanto 1965, 170; 242
Advena	12	Kajanto 1965, 312
Bella	12	Kajanto 1965, 231
Bellica	12	CIL VIII 16928a; VIII 12936; VIII 4961; 5036; 5790; 6400 = 19361; ILaIlg II.3 9385; CIL VI 8583; III 6376 = 8656 (Salona); XII 2247; 2262 (Cularo); XII 1361 (Vasio); XIII 11179 (Lugudunum)
Calvina	12	Kajanto 1965, 235
Catullina	12	Kajanto 1965, 250
Cerialis	12	Kajanto 1965, 211 = 221
Cresconia	12	All from Christian and African sources: CIL VIII 17387; 11134; 13590; 23593 ( <i>[Cres]conia</i> ); ILTun 1147; AE 1997, 1605; Duval 1975, no. 43; no. 117; BCTH 1894, p. 335; 1901, p. 310; AE 1966, 557; 591
Data	12	Kajanto 1965, 298
Dextra	12	Kajanto 1965, 250
Exsuperia	12	Kajanto 1965, 278
Frontilla	12	Kajanto 1965, 236
Graecina	12	Kajanto 1965, 204
Gratina	12	Kajanto 1965, 282
Iulit(t)a	12	Kajanto 1965, 171
Iunilla	12	Kajanto 1965, 169
Latina	12	Kajanto 1965, 180



Nonnit(t)a	12	CIL XIII 563 = ILCV 1919 (Aquitania); CIL XIII 3859 = ILCV 1373 (Augusta Treverorum, 450–500); CIL XIII 3867 (ibid., 350–400); IBC 10 (Britannia, Christ.); Berger 2002, 171 (Germ. inf., 275–300); ICERV 205 (Tarraco, 5th c.); AE 1939, 286 (Scarbantia, 98–150); ICUR 6836 (4th c.; Novvιτα); 10303d (4th c.; [ <i>Non</i> ]nita); 24537a (4th/5th c.); CIL V 6252 = ILCV 1263 (Mediolanum, 4th/5th c.); CIL V 1691 = ILCV 4266d (Aquileia)
Paetina	12	Kajanto 1965, 239
Rutila	12	Kajanto 1965, 230
Adiutrix	11	Kajanto 1965, 360
Aproniana	11	Kajanto 1965, 149
Caeciliana	11	Kajanto 1965, 142
Catta	11	Kajanto 1965, 326
Cethegilla	11	SEN. 7x (cf. Appendix 2); other cases: CIL XIV 5119 (Ostia); VI 11684; 26529; ICUR 11858 (325–365)
Co(n)stantina	11	Kajanto 1965, 258
Colonica	11	Kajanto 1965, 321
Corneliana	11	Kajanto 1965, 144
Finita	11	Kajanto 1965, 352
Generosa	11	Kajanto 1965, 313
Homulla	11	Kajanto 1965, 222
Honesta	11	Kajanto 1965, 279
Honorina	11	All Christian: CIL VIII 23038c; XIII 3842 (Augusta Treverorum, 5th c.); III 9506 (Salona, 355); ICERV 270 = AE 1992, 1080a (Hisp. cit., 350–600); ILTG 271 (Lugudunum); Caillet 1993, 376 = Zettler 2001, 220 (Emona, 400–430); ILCV 1775 (Rome, 424–434); ICUR 10915b (4th c.); 15709 (325–375); CIL V 5241 (Transpadana, 501–508); 365 (Parentium, 500–550)
Impetrata	11	Kajanto 1965, 296
Kalendina	11	Kajanto 1965, 219
Lucusta/Locusta	11	Kajanto 1965, 333
Lupercilla	11	Kajanto 1965, 318
Mustela	11	Kajanto 1965, 328
Octaviana	11	Kajanto 1965, 151

Placidina	11	CIRG II 71; EE VIII 124; AE 1976, 337a; HEp 2000, 232 = AE 2002, 823 ( <i>Placidi[na]e</i> ); HEp 1993, 463 = AE 1987, 593 ( <i>[P]lacidina</i> ); EPSal 54 (6x from the Iberian Peninsula); CIL XIII 1877 (Lugudunum); III 6534 (Raetia); VI 24232; ICUR 2862 (4th c.); 27046 (290–325)
Plotina	11	Kajanto 1965, 242
Pompeiana	11	Kajanto 1965, 153 = 191
Publia	11	CIL II 2148 (Baetica, 2nd c.); III 1249 (Apulum, 130–170; <i>Viri Publi filia</i> ); VIII 16084; 27564; ILAlg I 2003; AE 1968, 100 (Albanum, 200–250); AE 1939, 123 (Moes. inf., 150–250); AE 2000, 224 (Rome); ICUR 13543 (4th c.); 9267,3 (4th/5th c.); CIL V 216 = InscrIt X.1 177 (Pola, 3rd c.)
Titia	11	From Titus. cf. 2.4.7.1. In other cases perhaps N+N (cf. n. 330).
Torquata	11	Kajanto 1965, 346
Tuta	11	Kajanto 1965, 280
Vindemia	11	Kajanto 1965, 364
Vitalica	11	Africa: CIL VIII 1094 = 12476; VIII 12862 (2nd c.); VIII 26886; VIII 27225; ILAlg II.3 7337a; II.3 8133; II.1 2456; II.1 3314; CIL VIII 3138; VIII 12854 (slave). Other regions: CIL XIII 3552; BCTH 1951/52, 243b.
Vitalina	11	Kajanto 1965, 274
Acuta	10	Kajanto 1965, 249
Alpina	10	Kajanto 1965, 195
Amor	10	Kajanto 1965, 284
Anniola	10	All in Celtic regions: CIL XIII 1396 (Aquitania; <i>Annia Annio[ll]a</i> ); 1397 (eadem?); 2150 (Lugudunum); CIL II 1985 (Baetica, 1st c.); 1289 (ibid.); ILingons 160 (2nd c.); AE 1982, 658 (Britannia, 3rd c.); ILN V.2 405 = AE 1980, 620 (Cularo); IRCP 344 (Pax Iulia); CAG 29, p. 380
Atiliana	10	Kajanto 1965, 141
Augenda	10	Kajanto 1965, 360
Aureliana	10	Kajanto 1965, 141
Cervola	10	CIL XI 1079 (Parma); ILJug II 872 (Nedinum); ILJug II 931 = AE 1964, 257 (Dalmatia; <i>[C]ervola</i> ); CIL VI 7908; 8977; 22906; AE 1980, 421 (Sassina); CIL V 1377 (Aquileia); 8305 (ibid.); 8463 (ibid.)
Cleme(n)s	10	Kajanto 1965, 263

Cogitata	10	Kajanto 1965, 350
Cresce(n)s	10	Kajanto 1965, 234
Domnina	10	Kajanto 1965, 362
Domnula	10	CIL VIII 8890 (Maur. Caes.); XIII 8391 (Köln, 170–230); AE 2005, 1257 (Aquincum, 3rd c.); ICUR 8849 (4th/5th c.); 9775 (4th c.); 17779 (4th c.); 17780 (4th c.; [ <i>Do]mnule; eadem?</i> ); 24746 (290–325); IAquil III 3152 (Aquileia); CIL V 8662 (Concordia, 400–450)
Frugil(l)a	10	BCAR 54 (1926) 244 (Roma); Other cases from the Greek East: IPergamon II 509; Walther 1898, 99 no. 77; RPh 36 (1912), 56 no. 12 (Iconium); IEphesos 3072 (PHI: Ephesos 1380); SEG XLIII 865 (Lydia); TAM V,1 122 (Lydia); SEG XL 1089 (Lydia); MAMA I 273; also SEG VI 429 (ΦΡΟΥΤΙΑΗ; in Solin & Salomies, <i>Repertorium</i> this is classified as <i>Frugula</i> , but perhaps <i>Frugil(l)a</i> ?; cf. also JRS 14 (1924), 48 no. 39).
Matronica	10	Kajanto 1965, 305
Provincia	10	Kajanto 1965, 198
Pulchra	10	Kajanto 1965, 231
Puteolana	10	Kajanto 1965, 191
Revocata	10	AE 1966, 122 (Faventia, 370–430); ILAfr 177,9 (Ammaedara); AE 1964, 10 (Pann.); CIL III 1471 (Dacia, 200–270; agnomen); III 3107 (Dalmatia, 3rd c.); IDR III.2 365 (Dacia, 3rd c.); ILAlg II.1 3431 (Numidia, 2nd c.; <i>Reocata</i> ); AE 1965, 50 (Aquincum, 270–330); RIU V 1227; 1228 (Intercisa); RIU II 634 (Brigetio, 4th c.)
Sancta	10	Kajanto 1965, 252
Saturnia	10	cf. Solin & Salomies, <i>Repertorium</i> , 398
Sorica	10	8 in Africa: ILAfr 169,2 (Ammaedara); CIL VIII 25286 (Carthago, Christ.); AE 1997, 1720 (Uchi Maius, 4th c.); BCTH 1938/1940, p. 695 (Hadrumetum, Christ.); BSHS 1941, 126 no. 61 (Maur. Caes.); ILAlg II.2 6687; II.1 2543; AE 2012, 689 (Emerita, 2nd c.); ICUR 18745 (5th c.); 20171 (350–400)
Tarentina	10	Kajanto 1965, 193
Titioia	10	Kajanto 1965, 168
Verula	10	Kajanto 1965, 254
Vestina	10	Kajanto 1965, 186 = 214

Asellica	9	All late Christian cases: AE 1975, 120 (Rome, 4th c.); 1976, 75 (Rome, 4th c.); EDCS 353 (Rome, Christ; unpublished); ICUR 2152 (3rd c.); 17285 (4th/5th c.); 20906 (6th c.); 23806 (4th c.); 23812 (4th c.); 27387 (350–400)
Carina	9	Kajanto 1965, 284
Cas(s)iana	9	Kajanto 1965, 144
Catula	9	Kajanto 1965, 326
Delicata	9	Kajanto 1965, 270
Dignitas	9	Kajanto 1965, 280
Dom(i)nica	9	Kajanto 1965, 362
Feliciana	9	Kajanto 1965, 273
Flaviana	9	Kajanto 1965, 146
Gratia	9	Kajanto 1965, 283
Herc(u)lania	9	Epigraphica 2021, 40 no. 2 (Compsa, 3rd/4th c.); CIL X 156 (Potentia); XIII 8374 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agri); ILCV 4877 (3rd c.); ICUR 4950 (4th/5th c.); 8692u (4th/5th c.); 9898 (4th c.); 12329 (375–400); 23970 (4th c.)
Laetina	9	Kajanto 1965, 261
Leoparda	9	Kajanto 1965, 327
Liberata	9	Kajanto 1965, 353
Liciniana	9	Kajanto 1965, 148
Maiorica	9	Kajanto 1965, 294
Matura	9	Kajanto 1965, 301
Messal(l)ina	9	Kajanto 1965, 194
Praenestina	9	Kajanto 1965, 182
Salutia	9	CIL VI 32054a = ICUR 1021 (325–375); 570 (300–350); 11416 (5th c.); 17336 (325–375); 18021 (4th c.); 25497 (4th c.); 24141 (4th c.); JIWE II 87 (3rd/4th c.); CIL X 5409 (Aquinum)
Sponsa	9	Kajanto 1965, 305
Statuta	9	Kajanto 1965, 356
Tacita	9	Kajanto 1965, 263
Tranquilla	9	Kajanto 1965, 262
Ursicina	9	Kajanto 1965, 330
Valerina	9	Kajanto 1965, 163
Venustina	9	Kajanto 1965, 283

Vet(t)illa	9	PFOS 333; 334; PIR <sup>2</sup> V 247 (3x SEN.); CIL VI 18247 (father Vetto, brother Vettianus); IX 2456 (Saepinum, 117–138); III 168 (Syria, 211–222; <i>Vettia Vet-</i> ); 7893 (Dacia, 150–270); II 468 (Emerita); ILAlg II.2 4755 (Thibilis)
Victoriana	9	CIL VIII 7794 (Cirta); VIII 26798; VIII 27320; ILTun 1505 (3 from Thugga); AE 2016, 1096 (Belgica, 170–250); CIL XII 569 (Aquae Sextiae); RIU II 584 (Brigetio, 200–250); RIU III 719 (Brigetio, 211–222; father Victorinus, sister Victoria); AE 2015, 139 (Rome, 1st c.)
Vitic(u)la	9	CIL VI 14391 (liberta); IX 1774; 1897 (Beneventum, liberta); IREdeta II 44 (Hisp. cit., 70–200); AE 1982, 629 (Hisp. cit., 1st c.); AE 2007, 352 (Tarracina, liberta); AE 2004, 216a-b (Rome, liberta); AE 1993, 193 (Rome, liberta); IIAdria 28 (Atria)
Viventia	9	All from 3rd/4th c.: CIL III 9597; III 13739; XIII 1822; VI 24841; AE 2001, 1350; RIB II.2 2414,1; ICUR 12063; 12064; 14725
Acca	8	All from the Iberian Peninsula: CIL II 5771; 2808; AE 1925, 22 (Augustus-Nero); 1982, 479 (1st c.); 1985, 592; 1987, 615b; 2002, 767 (serva); 2017, 766 [ <i>A]cca</i> . In other cases we seem to be dealing with a gentilicium.
Alba	8	Kajanto 1965, 226
Antoniana	8	AE 1997, 706 (Ateste, liberta); ICUR 24946 (4th/5th c.); 6x from Volubilis: CIL VIII 21852 ( <i>Antonia[na]</i> ); VIII 21882 ( <i>Anto[nian]a</i> ); IAM 452; 524 ( <i>[Ant]oniana</i> ); II.2 562; 591
Appia	8	Kajanto 1965, 172
Aprilla	8	Kajanto 1965, 325
Balbina	8	Kajanto 1965, 240
Decorata	8	Kajanto 1965, 231
Drusilla	8	cf. TLL Onom. s.v. 'Drusilla'
Faceta	8	Kajanto 1965, 260
Fadilla	8	Kajanto 1965, 168
Faustiniana	8	Kajanto 1965, 272
Fecunda	8	Kajanto 1965, 285
Fidelis	8	Kajanto 1965, 254
Flavianilla	8	PIR <sup>2</sup> F 421 (SEN.); Duval 1975, no. 129 (Africa); ILAlg I 1082; ICUR 2741 (5th c.); 7060 (4th/5th c.); 13535 (4th/5th c.; <i>Flabianilla</i> ); 16226 (325–375; [ <i>F</i> ]abia <i>Flabianilla</i> ); 16318 (4th/5th c.).

Formicula	8	All late and Christian sources: AE 1948, 99 (Rome, 405); ICUR 2254 (3rd c.); 5720 (4th/5th c.); 6198 (350–400); 12464 (350–400); 17823a (4th c.); 20712 (4th c.); ICI XVII 27 (Transpadana, 460–482)
Iulla	8	CIL VIII 15932 (Sicca Veneria); VIII 18936 (Thibilis); AE 2013, 1830 (Ammaedara); ILaIlg II.2 4639 (Thibilis); II.3 10070 (Numidia); CIL XIII 2029 (Lugudunum); ILJug III 1818 (Dalmatia, 2nd/3rd c.); AE 1989, 538 (Belgica)
Laurina	8	Kajanto 1965, 334
Lol(l)iana	8	PIR <sup>2</sup> H 43 (SEN.); PLRE I, p. 511 (SEN.); ILTun 1710,76 = ILCV 2514h; AE 2014, 1544 (Madaurus, 350–430); CIL VI 21823; X 107/108 (Croton, 2nd/3rd c.); CIL VI 35707 = ICUR 21154 (4th/5th c.); 3460 (4th c.)
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Matutina	8	Kajanto 1965, 220
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Musica	8	Kajanto 1965, 321
Natalica	8	CIL VI 36377 (250–400); ICUR 3675 (4th c.); 6x from Africa: AE 2003, 1929 (350–500); CIL VIII 1742; 3653; 23603; 27246a; 13545 (Christ.)
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Procella	8	CIL XIII 7638 = AE 2006, 941/942 (Germ. sup., 150–250); CIL III 14354 (Aquincum, 200–250); TitAq I 423 (ibid., 1–200); ILJug I 271 (Pann. inf., 250–350); AE 1998, 1056 (ibid., 61); RIU III 782 (Pann. sup., 211–222; <i>P[ro]cella</i> ); AE 1979, 439 (Raetia, 70–200); CIL V 5075 (Anauni, 1st/2nd c.)
Quin(c)til(l)iana	8	Kajanto 1965, 153 = 174
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Sextula	8	CIL VI 18733; VI 33870 (liberta); II.7 513 (Corduba, liberta); X 4935 (Venafrum, liberta); AE 2015, 888 (Haedui); IALg II.2 4874 (Thibilis); II.2 5134 (ibid.); AE 1991, 135 (liberta); cf. also Sestula
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Aventia	7	CIL V 8371 (Aquileia, 2nd c.); AE 2013, 574 (Mediolanum, Christ.); <i>Abentia</i> : ICUR 6116 (350–500); 6574 (4th c.); 20915b (4th c.); 22341 (300–350; father Abentius); 26437,a (3rd c.)
Britta	7	CIL II 1335 (Baetica); 805 (Lusitania); AE 2013, 791 (Turgalium, 50–200); 2012, 719 (ibid.; same as previous?); HEp 1989, 555 = AE 1979, 342 (Italica); CIL XIII 5020 (Germ. sup.); III 15169 (Aquincum, 100–150)
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G(a)etulica	7	PFOS 284 (SEN.); AE 2008, 1618/1619 (SEN.); CIL XI 7108 (Perusia, 2nd c.); VI 17717; <i>Getulica</i> : VIII 11253; ILAfr 169,4; ICUR 16551 (325–375)
Gaiana	7	CIL III 10317 (Intercisa, 100–130); IX 7679 (Marruvium, 150–250); XI 7752 (Veii, 150–200); XV 7343 (Etruria, 230–270); NSA 1919, 55 (Rome); AE 2015, 253 (Ostia, 250–400); 1974, 450 (Köln, 170–300)
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Iucundilla	7	CIL IV 10102 (Pompeii; <i>Iucu[n]dilla</i> ); XII 34 (Vintium); XII 3608 (Nemausus; <i>Iuc[und]illa</i> ); IX 1817 (Beneventum); XV 8448; AE 1974, 295 (Velia, 170–250); Pais 988 (Liguria, 2nd c.)
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Nigrosa	7	Kajanto 1965, 228
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Praetextata	7	Kajanto 1965, 300
Pretiosa	7	CIL VI 16871 (2nd/3rd c.); VIII 1994 (Theveste, 2nd/3rd c.); IX 4523 (Samnium, 2nd c.); 6218 = JIWE I 84 (Venusia); CIL III 2939 (Dalmatia, 150–300); AE 2012, 327; ILBulg 354 (Moes. inf., 222–235)
Primulla	7	AE 2013, 1974 (Ammaedara); ILaI 1 1850; CIL VIII 3440 (Lambaesis); VI 13845 (2nd c.); 38791 (50–150); AE 1987, 447 (Patavium); 2007, 810 (Hisp. cit.)
Probina	7	MEFR 1918, 311 (Baetica); CIL III 1198 (Apulum, 230–270); XIII 8267a-b (Köln, 1–300; father Probinus); ILLPRON 78 (Virunum, 2nd c.); ICUR 3903 = JIWE II 625 (3rd c.); CIL V 6259 = ILCV 2745 (Mediolanum, 4th/5th c.); CIL V 1604 = ILCV 1883 (Aquileia, 579)
Quintiliana	7	CIL VI 30798 (211–217); IX 574 (Aeclanum, 2nd/3rd c.); ILTun 1147 (Carthago, Christ.); AE 2011, 1660 (Ammaedara, Christ.); ICUR 2373 (4th c.); 3737 (300–350); 19551 (350–400)
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Taurina	7	Kajanto 1965, 196 = 329
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Bonavia	6	CIL VIII 16700 (Fuara); VIII 7233 (Cirta); ILALg II.2 4958 (Thibilis); ILALg II.1 3673; ICUR 25037; ILSard 98 (Carales, 170–300)
Caesul(l)a	6	CIL VI 29466 (1–50); V 618 (Tergeste, liberta); 540 (Tergeste, 1–75); 456 (Piquentum, 1–50); II 3688 (Palma); AE 1994, 992 (Lusitania, 150–235; <i>Caesi filia</i> )
Candidiana	6	AE 2013, 1846 (Ammaedara, 3rd c.; mother Candida); CIL II 2857 (1st/2nd c.); X 3768 (Suessula, 170–230); AE 2003, 1376 (Brigetio, 130–250); ICUR 45 (339); 23118 (4th c.)
Capratina	6	Perea Quesada 2017, 343 (Corduba, liberta); AE 2004, 995 (Germ. sup., 190–210); CIL II 3300 (Castulo, liberta); Fouilles de Conimbriga II, no. 60; CIL VI 6061 (50–200); 35354 (1–50, liberta)

Catella	6	PFOS 10 (SEN.); CIL VI 16162 (3rd c.); VIII 27448 (Thugga); AE 2009, 1741 (Ammaedara); AE 1992, 1848 (Numidia; Catel[la]); JIWE I 68 (Venusia, 570–630)
Celsilla	6	Kajanto 1965, 230
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Facultas	6	AE 1993, 329 (Rome); CIL VI 11619; 4x in Samnium: IX 3327; 3584; 8294; 4079 (liberta)
Ferocilla	6	CIL III 2737/8 (mother and daughter); 8976 (Salona, 3rd c.); ILjug III 2128 (ibid., 150–300); AE 2010, 1083 (Mogontiacum, 200–250); CIL XIII 3123 (prov. Lugud.)
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Iucundina	6	CIL VI 15484/5 (mother Iucunda); 34805; V 6516 (Novaria, 70–150, liberta); X 1872 (Puteoli, 120–140); AE 2019, 1991; 2015, 819 (prov. Narb.)
Iullina	6	CIL VI 15705; XIII 573 (Burdigala) XIII 637 (eadem?); XIII 4379; XII 2516; 2002 (Vienna); ILGN 386 = AE 1907, 137 (Nemausus)
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Laurilla	6	CIL VI 15491 (1st c.); 20548a; IX 2813 (Aufidena, 150–200); X 3750 (Atella, 30–70); AE 2006, 566 (Lusitania); 1999, 881 (ibid.)
Longa	6	Kajanto 1965, 230
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Priminia/ Primenia	6	AE 2016, 311 (Aceruntia, 100–150); 1987, 315 (Trapeia, 430–470); ICUR 26 (390–425); 13321 (366); 15919 (300–350); 17980 (350–450). In other cases probably a gentilicium.
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Probilla	6	CIL III 12707 (Dalmatia, 1–300); 1877 (Narona, 100–150); 3553 (Aquincum, 150–250); 13374 (ibid., 193–200); IMS I 76 = ILJug I 24 (Moes. sup., 250–300); CIL II 400 = HEp 2013, 589 (Lusitania)
Publiana	6	PFOS 587 = PIR <sup>2</sup> O 155 (SEN.); CIL VIII 24043; 27186; 5898; VI 1516 (4th c.); ICUR 22306 (270–280)
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Vitalissima	6	Kajanto 1965, 274
Vitula	6	PIR <sup>2</sup> M 716; ILAlg II.1 2323 (Celtianis); II.3 7475; CIL VIII 9591 (Caesarea, 4th/5th c.); ERAE 295 (Emerita); HEp 1995, 111 (Lusitania, late 1st c.)
Adaugenda	5	CIL VI 10567 (if a woman; <i>Adaugen[---] coniugi</i> ); VI 33785/6; X 3116 (Puteoli, 150–250); X 4096 (Capua, 150–200); Marek 1977 no. 21 (Rome, liberta)
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Auctilla	5	Kajanto 1965, 350
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Baebiana	5	PIR <sup>2</sup> A 439; C 1079 (2x SEN.); CIL V 4452 = InscrIt X.5 239 (Brixia); ICUR 27296 (390–425); IGLS XVII 492 (Palmyra)
Bassula	5	PFOS 264; 734; 735 (3x SEN.); CIL VIII 15913 (Sicca Veneria); IX 1254 = Suppl It, p. 133 (Aeclanum, 150–200)
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Carilla	5	AE 1976, 480 (Divodurum); CIL XII 1616 (prov. Narb.); 1679 (ibid.); 2286 (Cularo); II 2865 (Hisp. cit., 100–300)
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Celeriana	5	RIT 905 = AE 1955, 246 (Tarraco, 197–300); ILAlg II.1 2864 (Celtianis, 2nd c.); CIL III 11303 (Scarbantia, 170–300); VI 14306; AE 1975, 54 (Rome, 4th c.)
Cerva	5	CIL XIII 1490 (Aquitania); HEp 1997, 425 (Carthago Nova); ILJug I 374 (Celeia); ICUR 6286 (350–400); CIL III 5274 (Celeia)
Cervilla	5	CIL VI 27873; XI 5787 (Sentinum, 150–300); IX 5778 (Ricina); AE 1985, 355 (Ricina, 3rd c.); AE 1995, 204 (Rome; <i>Cervilla</i> )
Cirrata	5	Kajanto 1965, 223
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Dulcis	5	Kajanto 1965, 282
Etrusca	5	CIL XI 1551 (Faesulae); 7071 (Volaterrae); AE 1976, 198 (Luna); CIL VI 5417 (1st c.); V 82 = InscrIt X.1 156 (Pola, liberta)
Extricatula	5	Kajanto 1965, 352
Fa(v)osa	5	Kajanto 1965, 284
Facilis	5	Kajanto 1965, 256
Faustiana	5	Kajanto 1965, 272
Festina	5	Kajanto 1965, 221
Fidentia	5	AE 1939, 286 (Scarbantia, 98–150); 1982, 984 (Afr. proc., 3rd/4th c.; father Fidentius); CIL XIII 2599 (prov. Lugud., 225–250); ICUR 10902 (4th c.); 17809 (5th c.)
Flacca	5	CIL I 477 (Rome, 2nd c. BCE? Dubious, cf. 3.1); IX 5223 (Picenum, 50–1 BCE); VI 20710; 30512 (dubious); 39497
Flaccina	5	Kajanto 1965, 240
Florentilla	5	CIL V 21196 (1st/2nd c.); VIII 23524 (Mactaris); AE 1975, 941 (Ammaedara; Christ.); ICUR 14288 (4th/5th c.); X 26741 (4th c.)
Fructa	5	Kajanto 1965, 352
Fruenda	5	Kajanto 1965, 360
Frugifera	5	Kajanto 1965, 285
Frunita	5	AE 1998, 1581 (Afr. proc., 209–211, liberta); CIL IX 94 (Brundisium, 1–50); III 6358 (Dalmatia, 150–250); AE 1983, 748 (Dalmatia, 150–230); PCM 2020, 13 no. 11 (Puteoli, 3rd c.; father Frunitus)



Fuscinilla	5	PIR <sup>2</sup> F 76 (SEN.); S 327 (SEN.); CIL VI 31711; IX 6083,28 (signaculum); III 4375
Fuscula	5	Kajanto 1965, 228
Genialis	5	PCM 2020, p. 41 (Puteoli); CIL VI 4639 (1–150); VI 24035 (50–200); IX 3593 (Samnium, liberta); ILCV 4877 (3rd c.)
Gr(a)ecula	5	Kajanto 1965, 204
Herbula	5	CIL X 2781 (Puteoli, 1st c.); XI 7221a (Clusium); 5781 (Sentinum, 1st/2nd c.); IX 2608 (Terventum, 2nd c.); III 2347 (Salona; <i>Erbula</i> )
Hilarina	5	CIL II 5465 (Baetica, 200–250); III 5939 (Raetia, 2nd c.); AE 1994, 218 (Rome, 4th c.); ICUR 3540 (350–400); 18592 (4th c.)
Honorina	5	AE 2011, 1596 (Afr. proc.; Christ.); IALg II.3 7951 (Cuicul); CIL VIII 5567 (Thibilis, liberta); II 941 (Lusitania); VI 26999 (father Honoratus)
Ioviana	5	ICUR 13174 (4th c.); AE 2016, 572 (Mediolanum, 4th/5th c.); <i>Iobiana</i> in CIL VIII 983 = ILCV 1398c (Clipea); ICUR 6219 (350–400); AE 1989, 352 (Carales, 5th c.)
Iunonia	5	IL Afr 162,40 (Ammaedara); IALg I 1686 (Numidia); I 1192 (Afr. proc.); CIL VIII 21329 (Caesarea); AE 2018, 350 (Ostia)
Iuventina	5	Kajanto 1965, 162
Larga	5	Kajanto 1965, 256
Laurentina	5	Kajanto 1965, 182
Lavinia	5	CIL VIII 5035 (Afr. proc.); VIII 27890 (ibid.); XIII 652 (Burdigala, 3rd c.); AE 1996, 923 (Hispania cit.); 1987, 1116 (Volubilis)
Leporina	5	AE 1996, 1762; 1957, 182 (both Afr. proc.); CIL VI 31845 (3rd c.); ICUR 17908 (4th c.); 25292 (3rd c.)
Liberina	5	Kajanto 1965, 280
Licentia	5	CIL VI 22926 (late 1st c., liberta); 28608; 29603 (69–100); XII 5258 (Narbo, liberta); EE VII.1 331 (Pompeii, liberta)
Livilla	5	Kajanto 1965, 169
Luciana	5	Kajanto 1965, 172
Lucil(l)iana	5	Kajanto 1965, 149 = 173
Luciola	5	CIL VIII 27051 (Thugga); XIII 5391 (170–230); 2553 (Ambarri); 2555 (ibid.); AE 1962, 119 (Aquincum, 185–188)

Lucrosa	5	ERAE 367 (Emerita); ICUR 4520 (463); 5388 (4th/5th c.); 24890 (250–300); Agnello 1953, 77 (Syracusae)
Lupilla	5	Kajanto 1965, 328
Mamertina	5	CIL IX 1472 (liberta); XIII 11670 (Germ. sup., 100–250); III 10376 (Matrica, 150–230; <i>M[a]m(er)t(i)n(a)e</i> ); RIU VI 1548b (Gorsium, 150–300); RICG I 144 = Gose 1958, 447 (Augusta Treverorum, 450–500)
Marcina	5	Kajanto 1965, 173
Marianilla	5	PFOS 532 = PIR <sup>2</sup> M 280 (SEN.); CIL V 7945 (Cemenelum); ILAM 375 (ibid.); ILAlg II.3 8866; ICUR 19087 (4th c.)
Marita	5	Kajanto 1965, 305
Marsa	5	CIL VIII 27554; 19708 (Celtianis, 2nd c.); IX 7762 (Marruvium, 1st c.); XIII 2140 (Lugudunum); ICUR 12695 (390–425)
Marsilla	5	PIR <sup>2</sup> T 396 (SEN.); CIL X 3020 (Puteoli, 70–150); IX 3945 (Alba Fucens, 2nd c.); XIII 1249 (Avaricum); ICUR 21899a (270–280)
Masc(u)lina	5	AE 1958, 131 (Afr. proc.); 1982, 972 (Maur. Caes., 2nd/3rd c.); ILLPRON 9 (Noricum, 1–50 CE); 642 (ibid., 150–200); CIL V 1686 (Aquileia, 4th c.)
Matta (?)	5	Kajanto 1965, 348
Maurica	5	Kajanto 1965, 206
Messilla	5	Non-Latin? Suppl It XVII 28 = AE 1984, 399 (Vicohabentia, 170–230); CIL III 1901 (Dalmatia, 3rd c.) eadem III 3105 (?); III 13992; 1872 (Narona); III 3990 (Siscia). There is also ILLPRON 471 ( <i>peregrina</i> ).
Messina	5	Kajanto 1965, 162
Metella	5	cf. Chapter 3
Minuta	5	ILAfr 261 (Thurburbo Maius); ILTun 1179,4 (Utica); CIL XIII 4561; 5543; XII 1435
Montanilla	5	CIL XII 2789 (Aquitania, 75–250; father Montanus); II 1686 (Baetica, 1–50); AE 1972, 461 (Apulum, 200–270); CIL XI 2555 (Clusium, Christ.); 4453 (Ameria, 1–200)
Muciana	5	ILGN 3 (Vintium, 50–100); CIL III 12408 (Moes. sup., 200–250); ICUR 10042 (4th c.); 20184 (350–400); 21319 (3rd c.; eadem 26593?)
N(a)evilla	5	Kajanto 1965, 169
Nata	5	Kajanto 1965, 304

Novatilla	5	PFOS 50; PIR <sup>2</sup> V 395 (SEN.); ILAfr 162,53 (Amaedara); BCAR 69 (1941), 191; CIL VI 37097 (170–230 CE)
Novicia	5	Kajanto 1965, 289
Octavilla	5	PFOS 372; 697 = PIR2 S 500; PFOS 789 = PIR2 V 393 (3x SEN.); CIL VI 39843 (1–50); ICUR 2080 (343; Ὀκταβίλλης)
Paelina (=Paeli(g)na?)	5	CIL VIII 28062 (Afr. proc.); IX 136/137 (Brundisium, 1st c.); IX 3236; IX 7324 (Corfinium); AE 2014, 718 (Toletum, 3rd c.)
Paesica	5	CIRPBu (1st c.); AE 1984, 578 (1st/2nd c.); CIL II 2856 (2nd c.); AE 1965, 63 (2nd/3rd c.); HEp 2003/4, 208 Pa[esi]ca (?) (all from Hisp. cit.)
Paeta	5	AE 1997, 813 (Baetica); 1997, 631 (Ateste); CIL VI 14575; XII 4714 (Narbo); V 8110,267a-c (Patavium; eadem Pais 1075,26)
Parda	5	CIL XII 4257 (prov. Narb.); ELSagun 17 (Saguntum); AE 2013, 782 (Emerita); ICUR 15719 (300–350); CIL X 8061,19 (Trebula Mutuesca)
Petronilla	5	ICUR 943 (4th c.); 8456 (3rd c.); 13606 (4th c.; [ <i>Petr?</i> ] <i>onilla claris[sima femina]</i> ); 20734 (290–325; [ <i>Pe</i> ] <i>tronilla</i> ); Epigraphica 10 (1948), 42 (Rome)
Plancina	5	Kajanto 1965, 241
Plotilla	5	CIL VI 24341 ( <i>Plotia Plot-</i> ); AE 1905, 208 (Praeneste, 2nd c.; <i>Plotia L. f. Plot-</i> ); CIL XIV 2862 (ibid., 2nd c.); 4091,59a (ibid., perhaps identical with one of the two previous ones); AE 1981, 218 (Atina, 2nd/3rd c.);
Pontiana	5	Kajanto 1965, 153
Praiecticia/ Proiecticia	5	All Christian: ICUR 3717 (4th/5th c.); 4960 (4th/5th c., dubious); 17990b (4th c.; [ <i>Proi</i> ] <i>ecticia</i> ); 23016 (390–425); 23620 (350–400)
Probatia	5	All Christian: ICUR 1315 (350–400); 19222 (4th c.); 12717 (4th/5th c.); CIL V 5422 (Comum); XI 4978 = ILCV 3448 (Spoletium, 508)
Probitas	5	Kajanto 1965, 254
Pusin(n)ica	5	Kajanto 1965, 299
Qu(i)etilla	5	CIL VI 2907 (2nd c.; <i>Quetilla</i> , liberta); III 2281 (Salona, 150–300); II 4340 (Tarraco; mother Quieta); XIII 2300 (Lugudunum; brother Quietus); AE 2001, 562 (Rome, 1st/2nd c.; mother Quieta)

Qu(i)etula	5	CIL VI 16440 ( <i>Quetula</i> ); 4 in Africa: VIII 24704 (2nd c.); VIII 16086 (Sicca Veneria; <i>Quetula</i> ); VIII 11606 (2nd/3rd c.); VIII 17103 ( <i>Quetula</i> )
Quirina	5	Kajanto 1965, 216
Repos(i)ta	5	Kajanto 1965, 355
Rogatilla	5	Kajanto 1965, 297
Rufniana	5	AE 1980, 540 (Lusitania); AE 2001, 429 (Rome, 2nd/3rd c.); CIL VI 18750 (2nd/3rd c.); ICUR 14601 (325–375); 19270 (4th c.)
Rufula	5	CIL XIII 5478 = ILingons 55 (130–230); CIL XIII 5843 = ILingons 530 (2nd/3rd c.); CIL IV 10548 (Herculaneum); X 812 (Pompeii; [ <i>Ru</i> ]fula); ICUR 23614a (4th/5th c.; [ <i>Ru</i> ]fula)
Rusticina	5	CIL VI 18939; ILAlg II.2 4950; 5018 (all from Thibilis); ILAlg II.1 2449 (Celtianis); HAE 227 (Lemona)
Rusticula	5	CIL VIII 23951; II 2162 (71–130); XII 2033; AE 2004, 741 (Baetica, 3rd c.); ILAlg II.3 8295 = AE 1967, 595 (Cuicul; <i>c(larissima) femina</i> , 452)
Saburtilla	5	AE 2005, 1256 (Aquincum, 150–200, <i>vernacula</i> ); ICUR 8559 (4th c.); V 14613 (325–375); VII 19300 (4th c.); X 27378 (390–425)
Scintilla	5	Kajanto 1965, 341
Scita	5	CIL VI 10788 (1st c., liberta); 26011 = CLE 1063; II 1718 (Baetica, 50–100); CILA III.1 316 (ibid., 70–200); AE 2012, 20n (prov. Lugud.; dubious)
Scurra	5	Kajanto 1965, 306
Septimilla	5	Kajanto 1965, 170 = 293
Servatilla	5	Kajanto 1965, 356
Sextulla	5	All from Africa: CIL VIII 5087; VIII 17930; VIII 18997; ILAlg I 569; II.3 7337
Sila	5	Kajanto 1965, 237
Stercula	5	Kajanto 1965, 216
Superata	5	All cases from the Iberian peninsula: AE 1998, 735 (250–300); CILA II.1 195; CIL II 5040; AE 1993, 1045 (150–250); HEp 2003/4, 970 (200–250)

T(h)evestina	5	CIL VIII 27872 (Theveste, 2nd/3rd c.); VIII 4617 (Numidia); VIII 4281 (Verecunda); AE 1995, 1781 (Sitifis, 3rd c.); Gsell 1893, 154 (Numidia)
Tertul(l)iana	5	Kajanto 1965, 292
Tiburtina	5	Kajanto 1965, 183
Tita	5	IL Afr 177,5 (Ammaedara); AE 1993, 1722 (Afr. proc.); CIL XII 2299 (Cularo); AE 1931, 16 (Bonna, 205); IL Alg II.1 2601 (Celtianis)
Tuenda	5	Kajanto 1965, 360
Turtura	5	Kajanto 1965, 332
Utilis	5	CIL X 1044 (Pompeii, 40–60, liberta); AE 2007, 389 (Puteoli, 1–70, liberta); CIL VI 5287a (14–50); 34983 (liberta); AE 2011, 417 (Verona, 1st c.)
Veranilla	5	CIL VI 41180 (SEN., mother and daughter); III 2394 (Salona, 1–50); III 4082 (Pann. sup., 130–170; <i>Veranilles</i> ); IX 4491 (Ameria, 2nd c.)
Verilla	5	Kajanto 1965, 253
Verissima	5	PIR <sup>2</sup> C 147 (SEN.); CIL VI 1363 (2nd/3rd c.); 22020 (130–170); V 1285 = IAquil I 1251 (Aquileia); ICUR 14695 (325–375)
Vigilia	5	Kajanto 1965, 364
Violentilla	5	PFOS 809 = PIR <sup>2</sup> V 672; V 673; A 325 (3x SEN.); AE 2013, 177 (Rome); 1953, 59 (2nd/3rd c.; unless one of the senatorial women)
Volusiana	5	Kajanto 1965, 159
An(n)iana	4	CIL XIV 2482 (Castrimoenium, 2nd c.); III 2922 (Dalmatia, 100–170); ICUR 12566 (4th/5th c.)
Animula	4	AE 1966, 122 (Faventia, 370–430); Mourir à Dougga 67 (Thugga); AE 1945, 6 (Germ. sup.); CIL IV 425 (Pompeii)
Apollinaris	4	CIL XIV 5075 (Ostia); VI 12248; VI 16324; VI 18282
Appiana	4	CIL X 6354 (Tarracina, 70–200); III 3283 (Pann. inf., 2nd c.); VIII 15689 (Sicca Veneria; <i>Appiane</i> ); VIII 15686 (ibid.; <i>A[pp?]iana</i> )
Argentia	4	CIL VIII 11525 = ILCV 2973h (Ammaedara); ILJug III 1994 (Dalmatia, 150–300); CIL III 11971 (Raetia, 150–300); ILCV 3866 (Rome, 6th c.)
Auguria	4	CIL VI 38763; VI 11252 (2nd c.; agnomen); AE 2017, 287 (Aeclanum, 3rd c.); IRT 195 (Sabratha; <i>qui (!) bixit</i> ); JIWE II 325 (Rome, 3rd/4th c.)

Augustula	4	CIL XI 1700 = ILCV 2171 (Florentia, 5th c.); CIL XIII 5986 (Germ. sup., 170–300); ICUR 21905 (360–400); CIL V 6490 = AE 1999, 766 (Novaria, 150–200)
Aureola	4	CIL VIII 5038; IALg I 1019; RPAA 1987/88, p. 275 (Hipponium); CIL II 2396a
Aviana	4	CIL XIII 7678 (Germ. sup.); AE 2002, 803 (Urbiaca, 1st/2nd c.); Revista de Investigación 4 (1980), p. 89; HEP 1994, 378 (Hisp. cit.). In some cases perhaps N+N.
Avitiana	4	PIR <sup>2</sup> N 106 (SEN.); CIL XII 1395 (prov. Narb.); ICUR 20362 (3rd c.); CIL V 8665 (Concordia, 270–330; [A]vitiana)
Avitilla	4	IGLS XIII.1 9198; XIII.2 9507a (Arabia); CIL XIII 2899 (Haedui; father Avitus); XIII 2381 (Haedui)
Bassiana	4	PFOS 420; 460 (2x SEN.); CIL XII 1772 (prov. Narb.); Sinn 1987, no. 248 (in Germania mostly used as a nomen)
Bucca	4	AE 1976, 341 (Celsa, liberta); 1981, 452 (Altinum, liberta); 1994, 1333 (Noricum); CIL III 3788 (Emona)
Caeliana	4	PFOS 661 (SEN.); IALfr 342 ( <i>Caelia Cael-</i> ); CIL VI 8454 (150–250); 19881 (father Caelianus)
Carosa	4	AE 2016, 1086 (Belgica, 150–250); CIL XIII 4672; VIII 8531; 20284
Celtibera	4	All in the Iberian peninsula: HEP 1994, 156 (2nd c.); CIL II 6168 (Barcino); II 3132 (Segobriga); CILCTurgalium 901
Ceriola	4	All in Africa: CIL VIII 19712; IALg II.1 3284; 3877; 1077 ( <i>Cereola</i> )
Citata	4	All from Noricum: CIL III 4917; 4958; 5054 ( <i>Citatia Citat-</i> ); AE 2019, 1162
Clarissima	4	CIL II 5894 (Hisp. cit., 2nd c.); InscrIt X.2 183 (Parentium); AE 2017, 500 (Aquileia); CIL VIII 13545 (Carthago)
Classica	4	CIL VI 2204 (50–130); 20780 (2nd c.); XIV 988 (Ostia, 150–230); XII 5759
Clementia	4	CIL VIII 3267; 4127; V 1402 (Aquileia); V 184 = InscrIt X.1 306 (Pola, 2nd c.)
Clienta	4	CIL IX 2033 (Beneventum, 1–70); XII 4501 (Narbo, 1–50, liberta; conlibertus Cliens); Sartori & Zoia 2020, 28 (Mediolanum, 1st c.); InscrIt X.5 298 (Brixia)
Co(n)stans	4	CIL VI 8901 (14–29); VI 16370; VIII 5470 (Calama); XIV 5308,34 (Ostia)

Co(n)stantilla	4	All from Salona: CIL III 2275 (1–150); 8599 (4th c.); III 2469 (150–300); III 8967 (unless identical with the previous?)
Custa (=Costa?)	4	AE 1988, 638 (Carales, 3rd c.); CIL V 8652 (Iulium Carnicum, 50–100); XVI 61 (Carnuntum); ICUR 6634c (4th/5th c.; <i>Cus(t)a?</i> )
Dalmatia	4	All Christian: ILTun 847a; AE 1997, 1647 (Carthago); Prévot 1984, X.22 (Mactaris); AE 1965, 200 (Belgica)
Dextriana	4	CIL XIV 2719 (Tusculum); VIII 3104; 18395; 18421 (Lambaesis)
Dignilla	4	PFOS 317 (SEN.); CIL III 5527 (Noricum); XIII 6243 (Germ. sup.); X 593* (authentic, cf. Solin 1998, 213)
Domitiana	4	PIR <sup>2</sup> D 176 (SEN.?): AE 1997, 196 (Rome, late 1st c.; [ <i>D</i> ]/ <i>omitia Domitian[a]</i> ); CIL VIII 9680 (Maur. Caes.); ICUR 23421 (384)
Domnilla	4	Rev. Phil. 1912, p. 65 I (Δομνύλλα); ICUR 17021b (4th/5th c.); 23335f (290–325); 27063 (290–325)
F(o)edula	4	CIL XIII 3726 (Augusta Treverorum, 330–600); XII 483 (Massilia, Christ.); XII 2115 (386–389); ICUR 17842 (4th c.)
Favor	4	CIL VI 12840; 21924 (liberta); 39637 (liberta); V 3004 (liberta)
Favorina	4	CIL XIII 6143 (Germ. sup., 170–250); RIT 243 = AE 1956, 23 (Tarraco); AE 1999, 361 (Rome; <i>Fav(o)rin(a)e</i> ); ICUR 25149 (290–325)
Flava	4	ILAlg I 3850; 3x from Spain: AE 1977, 479 ( <i>Flavi filia</i> ); AE 2002, 798; CIL II 355
Floriana	4	CIL VIII 17178; ILTun 802; ILAlg I 1083; RIU VI 1430 = AE 1995, 1268 (Pann. inf., 222–235)
Florilla	4	AE 1991, 654 (Pisa, 50–100, liberta); IRPLéon 108 = ERPLéon 162 (Asturica Augusta); AE 1974, 296 = 1999, 544 (Velia, 20 BCE–50 CE); NSA 1922, p. 424 (Roma, liberta)
Fortis	4	AE 2014, 467 (Forum Livii, 230–270); CIL III 2001 (Salona, 150–250); XIV 997 (Ostia); XI 5523 (Asisium, 50–200, liberta)
Fortunatiana	4	AE 2001, 2070 (Afr. proc., 518); CIL VIII 2107 (Numidia, 170–200); VIII 11260 (Afr. proc.; <i>Fortuna[tia]na</i> ); RIT 585 (Tarraco)
Fructilla	4	AE 1999, 322 (Rome); CIL VI 26986; IX 1928 (Beneventum); II 1893 (Gades)

Gabilla	4	CIL VIII 16288; Γάβιλλα in: SEG XLVIII 1467 (Lydia); XL 1089; IKyzikos 13 (though some of the Greek cases could also be <i>Gavilla</i> (< <i>Gavius</i> + <i>-illa</i> )).
Gaditana	4	All in/near Gades: IRPCad 392; 414; 457; CIL II 2277
Gallica	4	AE 1995, 847 (Baetica, 170–230); ILAlg II.2 4271 (Numidia); CIL VIII 3988 (Lambaesis; mother and daughter)
Germulla	4	CIL VI 14052; IX 3241 (Corfinium, liberta); AE 2014, 704 (Hisp. cit.); ILAlg II.3 10011 (Castellum Elefantum)
Granilla	4	CIL VIII 19797 (Celtianis); X 7644 (Carales, 150–250); X 7292 (Sicilia); XV 8584 (SEN.)
Hibera	4	CIL II 3491 (Carthago Nova; mother and daughter); AE 1982, 601 (Valeria, 1st c.); 1991, 179 (Rome, 2nd c.)
Hiberna	4	ILTG 353 (Belgica, 150–250); RIB I 377 (Britannia, 2nd c.); IL.8 2503,273 (ibid.); CIL VIII 18541 (Numidia)
Hispulla	4	PFOS 268; 418; 756 = PIR <sup>2</sup> T 105 (3x SEN.); Plin. <i>epist.</i> 4,19; 8,11.
Iucundissima	4	CIL X 4389 (Capua, 1st/2nd c.; <i>Iucundiss[ima]</i> ); IX 5540 (Urbs Salvia, 75–150); AE 1982, 106 (Rome, 3rd c.; <i>Iucundis[sim]a</i> ); BCAR 1940, p. 184 (Rome, 70–130)
Iulina	4	CIL XI 162 (Ravenna); XII 5105 (Narbo); III 13373 (Aquincum, 130–200; <i>Iulia Iul-</i> ); AE 1971, 160 (Baetica)
Leonia	4	CIL VIII 12113 (Afr. proc.); XII 2119 (Vienna, 450–500); RICG I 69 (Augusta Treverorum); ICUR 3168 (364–426)
Leonina	4	CIL II 6300 (Hisp. cit.; [ <i>L]eonina</i> ); CIL X 4518 (Capua, 574); ICUR 24020 (390–425 CE); 12680 (4th/5th c.)
Licinilla	4	CIL II 5378 (Italica; <i>Licinia Lic-</i> ); XII 3368 (Nemausus; mother Licinia); ILGN 526 (ibid.); XII 5154 (Narbo)
Lucias	4	CIL VI 10931; 11155; 12024; 26841
Luxuria	4	CIL III 8591 (Salona, 3rd c.); X 3107 (Puteoli, 360–380); V 8418 = IAquil III 3118 (Aquileia); ILSard 363 (300–500)
Maiana	4	CIL VIII 12450; XIII 4007 (Belgica, 170–300); 2182 (Lugdunum); 11276 (Lutetia)
Mammula	4	CIL VI 21910; NSA 1922, p. 487 (Nuceria); ICUR 19642 (4th c.); ECCConcordia 18 = Zettler 2001, p. 191 (Concordia)
Manliana	4	AE 1971, 182 (Corduba, 70–130); CIL II 3958 (Saguntum, 2nd c.); VIII 2953 (Lambaesis, 3rd c.); 21845 (Volubilis)



Marciola	4	PFOS 245 (SEN.); CIL XIII 1594 (Aquitania; daughter Iul. Marcia); III 15172 (Ulcisia, 100–150); AE 1957, 190 (Tomi, 3rd c.)
Mater	4	Kajanto 1965, 303
Maurentia	4	CIL III 14524 (Viminacium, 100–300); VI 31980 (300–350); ICUR 8592 (4th c.); 17086 (5th c.)
Maurina	4	CIL II 2013 (Baetica, 2nd c.); II 5765 (Pallantia); III 817 (Dacia, 150–270); AE 2003, 727 (Transpadana, 1st/2nd c.)
Memoria	4	ILJug II 692 (Salona, 150–300); CIL VIII 11575 (Ammaedara, 2nd/3rd c.); NSA 1951, 12 (Tarvisium, liberta); IRT 1294 (Afr. proc., 4th/5th.; unless an appellative).
Minor	4	CIL XI 2957 (Tuscan); XI 6869 (Bononia, 1st c., liberta; [ <i>Mi</i> ]nor); XIV 3237 = I <sup>2</sup> 271 (Praeneste, ante 82 BCE); VIII 12777 (Carthago, 2nd c.)
Murilla	4	ILAlg II.1 2197; 2927 (Celtianis); BCAR 54 (1926), 243; IGLLipari 774
Murra	4	All <i>libertae</i> : BCAR 1922, p. 73; CIL V 2530 (Ateste); 2253 (Altinum); 3162 (Vicetia)
Musc(u)la	4	ILAlg II.1 2189 (Celtianis); CIL VI 32723 (cf. ICUR 2251); ICUR 3673 (300–350); 6031 (371)
Nardina	4	IL Afr 588,62 (Thugga; <i>Nardi[na]</i> ); ILLPRON 779 (Virunum, 70–130); AE 1941, 44 (Lambaesis); ILAlg II.2 5481 (Thibilis)
Navigia	4	All Christian: CIL XI 2834 = ILCV 365 (Volsinii, 376); ICUR 3159 (336); 18491 (4th c.); 21917 (4th/5th c.)
Nundinaria	4	All in Africa: CIL VIII 15702; 28033; ILAlg II.1 2238; 2531
Nuptialis	4	CIL XIV 3818 = InscrIt IV.1 414 (Tibur); ILAlg II.1 2273; 2464 (Celtianis); II.3 7339 (Numidia)
Oppidana	4	CIL VI 36282; XIII 506 (Aquitania, 176); III 3864 (Emona, dubious); ILLPRON 1862 (Celeia, 130–170)
Paculla	4	PFOS 597 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 45 (SEN.); VI 11158; XII 5218 (Narbo); AE 1994, 867 (Emerita)
Pastorina	4	Annona 2005, 124o (Noricum); CIL III 6010,168 (Noricum); V 6580 (Novaria, 70–130); ICUR 20131a (400–450)
Plebeia	4	CIL VI 10356; 34451; XI 689; XIII 2143 (Lugudunum). Could also be a gentilicium.

Pol(l)ina	4	AE 1987, 78 (Rome, 2nd c.); CIL VIII 3419 (Lambaesis); VIII 20543 (Maur. Caes.); XIII 1620 (Aquitania)
Principia	4	ICUR 10855 (407); 24107 (300–350); CIL V 5421 (Christ.); XIII 3592 (5th c.)
Privatula	4	All in Africa: CIL VIII 26975; 27149; 27370; ILTun 1519
Pulc(h)eria	4	All Christian: CIL XI 312 = ILCV 4811 (Ravenna, late 4th/5th c.); CIL X 7755 = ILCV 3063a (Carales, 5th c.); CIL VIII 13866; 13867
Quintia	4	From Quintus. cf. 2.4.7.1. In other cases probably N+N.
Reddita	4	CIL X 4726 (Forum Popilii, 186); III 2458 (Salona, liberta); VI 25382 (50–200); 38905
Respectilla	4	CIL III 10937 (Savaria, 100–150); III 6562 (Salona); ILJug III 2143 (Salona); CIL XI 1941 (Perusia, 70–100)
Sabella	4	CIL VI 22855; IX 6245; 6248; 2587 (all libertae)
Salsa	4	All from Africa: CIL VIII 20913 (250–300); ILAlg I 1941; II.1 1645; BCTH 1912, p. 496
Satula	4	AE 2006, 697 (Tarraco); 2002, 1703 (Maur. Caes., 2nd c.); ILAlg II.1 2450 (Celtianis); 3234 (ibid.)
Saturia	4	CIL X 428 (Volcei); II 1759 (Gades); 3589 (Dianium, liberta); HEp 2001, 178 (Gades). Could also be a gentilicium.
Seneca	4	CIL XII 3663 (Nemausus); III 11583 (Virunum, liberta); V 4126 = InscrIt X.5 928 (inversed cogn.); RIU III 890 (Pann. inf., 100–300)
Similis	4	CIL VI 12172; X 4697 (Cales, 1st c.); XIV 2997 (Praeneste, liberta); XIII 12068
Sisinnia	4	ICUR 9662c (4th/5th c.); 15067 (3rd c.; Σισιννία); 22089 (300–350; [ <i>Si</i> ]sinnia); 25642 (4th c., dubious)
Spana	4	CIL VI 34751 (250–300); ILAlg I 729; 730 (Afr. proc.); AE 1978, 376 (Sardinia, 1st c.)
Spanilla	4	CIL VI 27654 (2nd c.); BCTH 1938/40, p. 334 (Numidia; <i>Spania Span-</i> ); ILAlg II.3 9302/3 (Numidia); Ciprotti 1961, 68 (Ostia)
Speciosa	4	ILMalaga 62 (Corduba); ILJug III 2226; ICUR 17617 (526 CE); Ennod. <i>epist.</i> 48, 6
Spenica	4	CIL VI 23824 (3rd/4th c.); VIII 3577 (Lambaesis; <i>Spenika</i> ); 17405 (Hippo Regius; <i>Ispenica</i> ); AE 2011, 1747 (Carthago)
Stabilita(s)	4	CIL VI 16021; 20689; X 263 (Grumentum); 270 (ibid.; eadem?)

Sulpiciana	4	CIL XII 4652 (Narbo; <i>Sulpicia Sulpic-</i> ); IX 5100 (Picenum, 30–200); X 5085 (Atina); AE 1996, 119 (Rome, 150–300)
Taurilla	4	CIL VI 27275 (2nd/3rd c.); XIV 2931 (Praeneste, 150–200); XIII 11144 (Avaricum); AE 2009, 1252 (Dyrrachium, 1–150)
Tranquillina	4	PIR <sup>2</sup> F 587 (SEN.); ICUR 24190 (4th c.); 24191 (4th/5th c.); 3838 (3rd c.; <i>Trancullina</i> )
Trita	4	IREdeta 144 (Hisp.); CIL III 2780 (Dalmatia); VI 11406 (2nd c., serva); AE 2009, 895 (Haedui)
Tucciana	4	CIL VIII 17823 (Thamugadi) eadem VIII 2397-8; 17905; AE 1980, 956; AE 1987, 1072
Tulla	4	CIL III 10139 (Dalmatia); V 2177 (Altinum); AE 2006, 618 (Emerita); AE 2011, 854 (Raetia)
Urbanica	4	All in Africa: IALg II.3 9541; 9333; CIL VIII 7822; 19429
Urbanosa	4	All in Africa: CIL VIII 5430; IALg II.2 4936; 5094; 5765
Venusina	4	CIL VI 38351 (100–150 CE); IX 771 (Larinum); 7185 (Sulmo, 2nd c.); AE 2013, 2127 (Thugga)
Vettulla	4	PFOS 395 (SEN.); CIL IX 4606 (Nursia, liberta); IX 8573 (Nursia, [Ve]ttulla); IBeroeae 125 (Ὀβέρτυλλα)
Vetusta	4	CIL II 3785 eadem 6017 (Edeta); AE 1992, 1093 (Saguntum, 1st c.); CIL X 594 (Salernum, 50–150); HEp 2003/2004, 964 (Lusitania)
Viatrix	4	CIL XI 3229 (Nepi); XII 5189 (Narbo); ILTG 142; ICUR 4752a (490–525)
Vicaria	4	AE 2019, 910 (Hisp. cit., 170–230); CIL III 4974a (Virunum, 50–300); XI 4760 (2nd c.); XI 5792 (Umbria)
Victorilla	4	CIL VI 15649 (mother Victorina); AE 2013, 1968 (Ammaedara, 3rd c.); Mactaris III, 1; HEp 1994, 1101 (Olisipo; <i>Victoria Victor-</i> )
Victoriola	4	CIL VIII 23565 (Mactaris); VIII 3169 (Lambaesis; <i>Vi[ct]oriola</i> ); VIII 18307 (Lambaesis); IAltava 66 (Altava, 347)
Villana	4	AE 1997, 387 (Aeclanum, 3rd c.); CIL II 6029 (Saguntum, 70–200); II 6066; XIII 8418 (Col. Claud. Ara Agripp.)
Villatica	4	All in Africa: CIL VIII 5104; 5107; 11128 = ILCV 3139; IALg I 2435
Vit(i)osa	4	CIL VIII 7801; 18912; IALg. I 592; II.2 5507 (Thibilis)
Vitella	4	CIL VI 18832 (1–50); VI 35265 (3rd c.); XII 4781/5185 (1–50); ICUR 16565 (300–350)
Acceptissima	3	ICUR 17673 (325–375); 18375 (350–400); Pais 799 (Comum, 3rd c.)

Adiuta	3	CIL III 1473 (Dacia, 170–200); 4071 (Pann. sup., 100–150); XI 4237 (Interamna Nahars, 70–200)
Aelias	3	CIL III 3299 (Pann. inf., 130–170); X 2559 (Puteoli, 3rd c.); X (Misenum, 150–250, serva)
Aeterna	3	cf. Kajanto 1965, 274
Amandina	3	CIL XIII 4440 (Divodurum, brother Amandus); AE 2015, 1007 (Germ. sup., <i>Amandia Amand-</i> ); CIL III 5974 (Raetia, 170–250; father Amandus, brother Amandinus)
Amatia	3	AE 2011, 1558 (Afr. proc.; Chr.); ICUR 4482 (4th c.); MAMA VIII 99 (Lycaonia; Ἀματία). In other cases probably a nomen.
Ancilla	3	CIL VIII 20742; 27481; AE 1993, 61 (Caesarea)
Anucella	3	CIL VIII 7694 (Cirta); VIII 2890 (Lambaesis); ICUR 14067 (300–350; agnomen)
Apronilla	3	CIL VI 18661; AE 1930, 134 (Dacia, 150–250); 2015, 228 (Ostia; [ <i>Ap</i> ]ronilla)
Arriana	3	PIR <sup>2</sup> C 1583 (SEN.); CIL V 3468 (Verona; Arriane); perhaps also VI 11734 (3rd c.; [ <i>A</i> ]rri[ana?])
Attiana	3	CIL X 3889 (Capua, 1–50); IX 2111 (Beneventum, 120–200; [ <i>At</i> ]tia Attiane); XV 4232 (if a cognomen)
Audentia	3	CIL XI 1728 = ILCV 175 (Florentia, 4th c., <i>c(larissima) f(femina)</i> ); CIL III 3485 (Aquincum, 230–270; father Audentius); 10357 (Aquincum, 3rd c.)
Augustilla	3	CIL XIII 2087 (Lugudunum, 2nd/3rd c.); TitHelv 665,1 (Augusta Raurica); ICUR 1490 (325–375)
Aula	3	CIL VI 17190 (sl/lib.); 27687; InscrIt I.1 76 (Salernum)
Aulina	3	CIL XIII 2096 (Lugudunum); VI 12929; IX 4881 (Trebula Mutuesca, 50–100; <i>A(uli) f.</i> )
Autumna	3	ILJug II 612 (Dalmatia, 170–300); CIL XIV 2693 (Tusculum, liberta); VI 22818 (1st c., liberta)
B(a)etica	3	CIL XII 4116 (Nemausus); RIB I 2115 (80–200); ICUR 18514 (4th c.)
Bellina	3	CIL XIII 11564 (Divio); XIII 8559 (Novaesium); ICUR 3053 (3rd c.)
Blandula	3	All in CIL XIII: 1213; 5676; 11655
Bolana	3	Unless N+N: CIL VI 21971 (1st c.); III 1462,1 (Narona, 150–300); ILAfr 176,6 (Ammaedara)
Bononia	3	CIL V 8575 (Aquileia); MAAR 1931, p. 96 no. 17 (Rome, 30–70); AE 2002, 1128 (Carnuntum)

Caesiana	3	AE 2001, 388 (Rome, 170–230); CIL II 3322 (Castulo); HEp 1989, 172 (Norba, serva)
Calena	3	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3449k (Carthago Nova, 1–30); VI 16789; IX 1621 (Beneventum, liberta)
Camerina	3	CIL VIII 20776 (Maur. Caes., 354); <i>Kamerina</i> : HEp 1989, 370 (Baetica, 2nd c.); CIL VIII 20808 (Maur. Caes.; 305)
Campanilla	3	PFOS 123 (SEN.); CIL XIII 10024,280 (Belgica); III 3535 (Aquincum; Canpanilia)
Cantabra	3	CIL VI 35958 (1–50); XI 3612 (Caere); AE 1995, 872 (Hisp. cit.)
Canusina	3	CIL VI 16597; XIV 3314 (Praeneste, 1st c., liberta); ICUR 15687 (300–350)
Capria	3	CIL VI 28586; XI 671 (Forum Cornelii, 3rd c.); ICUR 14464 (4th c.) Perhaps a nomen in some of the cases.
Castre(n)sis	3	CIL VI 18307 (70–150; <i>Castre[ens]is</i> ); VI 19781 (70–130; <i>Castre[nsi]</i> ); VI 36499 (2nd c.)
Celata	3	CIL IX 1228 (Placentia, liberta); ILLPRON 474 (Noricum, 200–230); AE 1974, 166 (Rome, liberta)
Celera	3	CIL II 4005 (Hisp. cit., 70–130); II 4253/4270/4276 eadem RIT 322 (Tarraco); AE 2013, 686 (Corsica; fragmentary)
Celsiana	3	CIL VIII 377 (Ammaedara); AE 2006, 1481 (Galatia); ICUR 12924 (250–300)
Celtica	3	CIL II 2902 (1st c.); AE 1997, 863; 873 (all in Spain)
Charitas	3	CIL VI 18677a (98–150); III 4087 (Pann. sup., 170–250; <i>Karita</i> ); PCM 2020, p. 181 no. 15 (Misenum)
Coeliana	3	CIL VI 26183; XI 1868 (Arretium); AE 2006, 683 (Carthago Nova, 214/215)
Colona	3	AE 2019, 751 (Emerita, 125–175); CIL VI 16005 (verna); ICUR 9422 (4th c.)
Constitutata	3	CIL VI 26824 (2nd c.); RIU V 1183 (Pann. inf., early 3rd c.); EE VIII.1 495 (Capua, 150–200)
Cubicularia (?)	3	3x Christian women, according Kajanto 1965 but it seems more likely that we are dealing with appellatives.
Cupida	3	CIL VI 15805 (1–50; inversed C); IX 5558 (Urbs Salvia, 75–150); X 4732 (Forum Popilii, 100–250)
Desiderata	3	CIL XIII 3993 (Belgica, 2nd/3rd c.); XIII 7269 (Mogontiacum; <i>Desiderat[ia] Desiderata s(tolata) f(emina)</i> ); perhaps also ICUR 20055 (4th c.)
Dianilla	3	CIL VIII 16158 (Sicca Veneria); AE 2007, 1214 (Ratiaria, 170–230); ICUR 3693 (325–375; <i>Dianila</i> )

Docilis	3	ILLPRON 1014 (Noricum, 130–170); CIL XI 4515a (Ameria, liberta; <i>Docili[s]</i> ); perhaps also CIL VI 30565,31
Exitiosa	3	All Christian/African: CIL VIII 25099; AE 1991, 1653; Duval 1976, p. 46 = Quattrocchi 2016, no. 149
F(o)edosa	3	All from Africa: BCTH 1930/1931, p. 253; Prévot 1984, no. 48; CIL VIII 19183 = IALg II.2 6775
Fabiola	3	CIL VIII 9297 (Tipasa); VI 31974 (452; <i>c(larissima) f(femina)</i> ); ICUR 6228 (350–400)
Fasta	3	(= <i>Fausta</i> ?) CIL VI 21483; 30428,4 (liberta); VI 36218 (liberta)
Fatalis	3	CIL VI 18701; X 6132 (Formiae); VIII 19466 (Cirta)
Faustinula	3	IRPCad 339 (Gades); CIL II 4569 (Barcino, serva); XIII 3728 (Augusta Treverorum; <i>Faustinul[a?]</i> )
Fautina	3	ILAFr 38,36 (Thenae); ICUR 21771b (250–300); 23920 (4th c.)
Feliciosa	3	All from Africa: IALg II.3 9533; CIL VIII 6606; 6082
Festilla	3	All from Gaul/Germany: CIL XIII 5064/5094/5110 (70–100); XIII 5051 (Flavian); XIII 2064
Flaminina	3	CIL IX 6254 (Apulia); RIT 569 (Tarraco); Matz 1969, 201 (Roma)
Formiana	3	CIL VI 8607 (98–160 CE); XV 7592 (early 3rd c.); ICUR 13671 (4th/5th c.)
Frequens	3	AE 1989, 135 (Ulubrae, 70–130); CIL V 3785 (Verona, liberta); V 3182 (Vicetia, liberta)
Fructula	3	CIL III 2052 (Salona, 150–200); III 2488 (Salona, 150–300); AE 2008, 1053 (Spalatum, 3rd c.; mother Fructosa)
Fusciana	3	PLRE I, p. 375 (SEN.); CIL VI 28862; EpOst 474 (Ostia)
Gallicana	3	CIL XIII 736 (Burdigala, 180–192); VIII 3181 (Lambaesis, 2nd c.); VI 27126 (150–250)
Gallitana	3	CIL IX 955 (Aecae, 50–150); X 256 (Grumentum); AE 1999, 637 (Caere)
Gaudilla	3	CIL V 7306 (Segusio, 1st c.); XIII 1110 (Avaricum); XIII 3100,1a/b (100–250)
Gelliola	3	PFOS 345 (SEN.); AE 2000, 1061 = ILingons 263; CIL VIII 21570 = ILCV 1108 (422)
Geminiana	3	CIL XI 7065 (Florentia; Christ.); 7074 (Volaterrae); AE 1966, 589 (Sitifis)
Genetiva	3	CIL II 1817 (Gades); III 4026 (Pann. sup., 1–300); CAG 18, p. 63 (Aquitania)

Gentilla	3	AE 2011, 934 (Dalmatia, 150–230); ICUR 14311a (4th c.); 21075 (3rd c.)
Gratula	3	ChrAM 2022, p. 95 no. 57 (Thugga); CIL III 2992 (Dalmatia, 150–300); XII 2907 (prov. Narb.)
Gutta	3	CIL VI 5163 (1–50); ICVR VII 20084 (390–425); AE 2017, 327 (Aeclanum, 538)
Hilariana	3	CIL XIII 2699 (prov. Lugud., 170–230); ICUR 9607 (early 4th c.); 9907 (4th c.)
(H)ilarosa	3	CIL VIII 13725 (Carthago); VIII 18569 (Numidia); ICUR 15707 (4th/5th c.)
Hirpina	3	CIL IX 1218 (Aeclanum, 1st.); 1228 (Aeclanum, 1st c.; <i>Irpina</i> ); VI 24473 (2nd c.)
Homullina	3	CIL XII 3015 (Nemausus); II 5645 (Lucus Augusti); 3658 (Valentia, 1st c.; <i>Onullina</i> )
Ingentuina	3	RIB I 123 (50–300); CIL III 11652 (Noricum, 170–230); AE 1988, 917 (Noricum, early 3rd c.)
Iucundula	3	CIL X 7815 (Sardinia, 3rd c.); VIII 7804 (Cirta, 170–230); ILaIlg II.1 2658 (Celtianis, 2nd c.)
Iulianeta	3	CIL XIII 1529 (Arverni, 4th c.); AE 1996, 306 = 2006, 258 (Ostia, 3rd c.); Sc. Ostia XII-A 32
Iuncina	3	PIR <sup>2</sup> S 782 (SEN.); ILCV 3998ab (Hadrumetum); ILTun 201,75 (Hadrumetum)
Iustissima	3	ICUR 3573 (326–375); 27300 (376); JIWE II 319 (3rd/4th c.)
Iuvenilla	3	CIL IV 294 (Pompeii); VI 12534 (50–100); ICUR 3015 (325–375)
Laetilla	3	CIL XI 1735 (Etruria); III 10533 (Aquincum); V 5988 (Mediolanum, 50–200)
Lauricia	3	Cintas & Duval 1958, 21 (Afr. proc.); ICI-VII 45 (5th/6th c.); CIL V 5933 (Mediolanum, 3rd c.)
Lauris	3	CIL VI 12881/12882; V 1137 = IAquil I 943; ICUR 27047
Lecta	3	CIL VI 23242 (1–50); V 5131 (Bergomum, 1–125); 3500 (Verona, liberta)
Lentina	3	CIL XIII 141 (Aquitania); AE 1950, 225 (ibid.); CIL II 575 (Emerita)
Leonica	3	CIL II 5189 (Lusitania); CIL VI 21186; MNR I,8,1, p. 252 (Rome, 200–230)
Leporia	3	ICUR 14423 (4th/5th c.); 21152 (4th c.); 24720 (290–325)
Lucentina	3	CIL II 6285a (Gades; <i>Lucen[tina]</i> ); II 4379 (Tarraco); VIII 8580 (Sitifis)

Lucita	3	CIL III 14351 (Aquincum); III 5289 (Celeia; <i>Loucia</i> ); VIII 18617 (Numidia; <i>Lucitas</i> )
Lucrina	3	CIL VIII 16079 (Sicca Veneria); VIII 16117 (ibid.); ICUR 3615 (4th c.)
Lucris	3	CIL VI 35874 (liberta); X 5268 (Capua, liberta); XIV 3727 (Tibur, liberta)
Lupia	3	CIL II 2793 (Clunia, 2nd c., ancilla); AE 2014, 807 (Britannia, early 3rd c.); AE 1975, 591 (Avaricum)
Lupina	3	CIL VI 14194 (150–200); AE 2010, 724 (Hispania, 3rd c.); IRT 1640 (ostrakon; uncertain)
Macriana	3	CIL V 4043 (near Mantua); ICUR 25356 (290–325 CE); Caillet 1993, p. 91 = Zettler 2001, p. 251,5 (Vicetia, 4th c., mosaic)
Maiula	3	All in Africa: CIL VIII 26353; 15411; IALg II.1 1448
Mandata	3	HEp 1996, 83 (Emerita, liberta) eadem HEp 1996, 81; CIL IX 7613 (Samnium, 3rd c.); XI 4299 (Interamna Nahars, liberta)
Manliola	3	PFOS 4; 286 (2x SEN.); CIL II 128 (Lusitania)
Marcilla	3	(= <i>Marcella</i> ?) IRT 754u (Afr. proc.); ICERV 548 (Emerita); CIL X 8053,274 (Carales)
Martialis	3	AE 1915, 25 (Thuburbo Maius); CIL II 385 (Conimbriga); VIII 21269 (Caesarea)
Martiana	3	CIL IX 1900 (Beneventum); AE 1997, 1647 (Carthago, Christ.); ICUR 351 (325–375)
Martinula	3	CIL III 261 (Ancyra); XIII 6458; VI 9670 (50–200; <i>Martinu[la]</i> )
Mascellina	3	CIL XII 4392 (Narbo); IG XIV 2412 24 (Rome, 130–200 CE); AE 1973, 71 (Rome, 130–200 CE)
Matronula	3	All from Africa: CIL VIII 16137; 16304; IALg II.2 6163
Maurula	3	CIL II 4362 (Tarraco); CILA II.1 188 (Baetica, serva); ICUR 17585 (465 CE)
Maximosa	3	All in Africa: CIL VIII 18010/18011; VIII 4276; AntAfr 1981, p. 185 no. 42
Memorina	3	CIL XIII 5183 (Germ. sup.); RIU IV 969 (Pann. inf., 2nd/3rd c.); AE 1982, 662 (Britannia, 3rd c.)
Merul(l)ina	3	CIL VI 2903 (3rd c.); ICUR 3668 (3rd c.); 22970 (400)
Messiana	3	CIL V 6537 (Novaria, 2nd c.); AE 2015, 817 (prov. Narb., 2nd/3rd c.); ILJug III 2102 (Salona, early 3rd c.)



Minervina	3	InscrIt I.1 32 (Salernum, 130–200 CE); AE 1982, 664 (Britannia); IALuxembourg 9 (Treveri)
Moderatilla	3	CIL II 33 (Salacia); III 14354,21 (Pann. sup., 100–230); III 3911 (ibid., 2nd/3rd c.)
Modestilla	3	CIL XIV 1364 (Portus, 150–250); XIII 2745 (Haedui); NSA 1899, 65 (near Beneventum)
Munda	3	CIL VIII 5012; XII 4258/4576 (liberta); VI 38026a (liberta)
Nativa	3	ILAlg I 2308 (Madaurus); CIL XIII 8234 (Col. Claud. Ara Agripp.); AE 2018, 1255 (Noricum, 117–217 CE)
Nerulla	3	PFOS 540 (SEN.); CIL VI 3510 (1–50); IX 1074 (3rd c.)
Nonnica	3	CIL V 7274 (Segusio, 150–250); XI 941 (Mutina, 570); VIII 9255 (Maur. Caes., Christ.)
Norbana	3	CIL VI 23940 (liberta); CIL II 149 (unless a nomen); AE 1980, 543 (Lusitania)
Numisilla	3	CIL VI 27349; IX 3018 (Teate Marrucinorum, 30–70); IX 2614 (Terwentum, 2nd c.)
Obsequens	3	CIL V 6061 (Mediolanum, liberta); <i>Opsequens</i> : CIL VI 15526 (liberta); AE 1993, 176 (Rome, liberta)
Optatilla	3	CIL VI 13364; V 5658 (Comum, 70–200); ILAlg II.2 6955 (Numidia)
Pacatil(l)a	3	CIL XIV 2660 (Tusculum, 2nd/3rd c.); IX 2615 (Terwentum, 100–250); BCTH 1946/49, p. 350 (Sitifis)
Palmula	3	ILAlg I 2702 (Madaurus); CIL VIII 15620 (Mustis); AE 1989, 803 (Afr. proc.)
Palumba	3	Kajanto 1965, 331
Pannonia	3	CIL VIII 3588; 3799; 4277
Papianilla	3	PLRE II, p. 830 (3x): 1) c.f., wife of Tonantius Ferreolus; 2) wife of Sidonius Apollinaris; 3) wife of Parthenius
Pascentia	3	RIB II.2 2420,34 (Britannia); ICUR 21640 (325–375); ICatania 547
Passerina/ Passarina	3	CIL VI 14482 (liberta); IV 1417 (Pompeii); ICUR 17566 (440)
Paterniana	3	CIL VI 1601 (3rd c.); CIL XIII 1854 (Lugudunum, early 3rd c., Paternia Paterniana); CAG 57-2, p. 193 (Divodurum)
Petroniana	3	CIL XIII 2455 (Ambarri); AE 1909, 156 (Thamagudi); ICUR 6285 (4th/5th c.)
Placentina	3	CIL III 1229 (Apulum, 170–270); ILGN 335 (Vienna, 150–200); AE 2001, 568 (Rome, 2nd c.; father Placentinus)

Pomponiana	3	AE 1987, 270 (Canusium, 2nd c.); CIL V 5892 (Mediolanum, 117–268); XI 4699 (Umbria, 2nd/3rd c.)
Porcella	3	ILAFr 174,19 (Ammaedara); ICUR 20145 (400–450); 9085 (4th c.; <i>Porcilla</i> )
Postumiana	3	AE 1919, 37 (Madaurus, 200–250); CIL II 3781 (Valentia, 2nd c.); CIL XIV 1990 = XV 7755 (Ostia)
Pr(a)esentilla	3	CIL VI 24909; III 2485 (Salona, 150–300; Presentilla); VIII 25919 (?)
Primana	3	CIL VI 24929; 29143 (100–300); RAC 1934, p. 227
Primogenia (?)	3	CIL VI 16177 (liberta); XI 1253 (liberta); AE 1985, 906 (liberta)
Priscula	3	CIL VIII 3676 (Lambaesis); 3803 (ibid.); V 4693 = InscrIt X.5 504 (Brixia)
Privigna	3	PFOS 290 (SEN.); VI 14367; VI 21934
Propinqua	3	CIL VI 19585 (50–130); II 3635 (Saetabis, 2nd c.); 3847 (Saguntum, 70–130). Four cases, according to Kajanto 1965, but in at least one of them we seem to be dealing with an appellative.
Prospera	3	CIL II 5271 (Emerita); VIII 27153 (Thugga); PIR <sup>2</sup> A 308 (SEN.)
Pupiana	3	Mourir à Dougga 643; CIL X 5994 (Signia, 1st c., liberta); ICUR 23257 (350–400)
Pupilla	3	CIL IX 4122 (Tiberian); XIII 3386 (100–150); VI 38690
Pupula	3	CIL VI 2760 (3rd c.); III 804 (Dacia, 170–250); XIII 5836
Quadragesima	3	ICUR 6082 (431); 6083 (432); 13670 (425–475; dubious)
Quadrata	3	CIL X 8043,97 eadem XV 1886; VI 25256 (2nd c.); ICUR 14580 (4th c.)
Quadratiana	3	Epigraphica 73 (2011), 319 = AE 2011, 179 (SEN.); Κοδρατιανή in IKSide 92 & IvP III 48
Quintana	3	CIL VIII 16309; ILAFr 603,29 (Afr. proc.); AE 1974, 441 (Germ. sup., 2nd c.)
Quintiola	3	RIT 337 (Tarraco); Epigraphica 76 (2014), p. 337 (Pompelo); ICUR 4666 (4th c.)
Quintosa	3	AE 1984, 947 (3rd/4th c.); CIL VIII 6174; 8287/8288 (all in Africa)
Redita	3	CIL III 4853 (Virunum, 3rd c.); VIII 2265 (Numidia); RIU II 368 (Pann. sup., 170–300)
Regula	3	AE 2013, 2135 (Neapolis, 2nd/3rd c.); IKöln 512 (3rd/4th c.); CIL III 11968 (Raetia, 3rd c.)

Rosaria	3	CIL VIII 12812 (Carthago); VIII 14636 (Afr. proc.); ILAlg I 400 (Calama)
Rufinula	3	CIL VIII 22814 (Afr. proc.); ILAfr 162,15 (Ammaedara); AE 1988, 876 (Ambarri)
Rusticiana	3	CIL X 4614 (Caiatia, 554); VI 12016; VI 32042 = ICUR 3256 (538)
Sagittia	3	CIL VI 25762; ICUR 5898 (5th c.); 15470 (325–375)
Salvina	3	CIL IX 1392 (Aeclanum, 5th c.); II 515 (Emerita); Isola Sacra 59 (Portus)
Sanctula	3	CIL XI 3981 (Capena); XIII 3838 (Augusta Treverorum, Christ.); AE 2003, 221 (Rome, 402)
Scantilla	3	PFOS 520 (SEN.); CIL VI 22831; XIII 5567 = XII 2738
Secundio	3	CIL V 5196 (Clusone, 50–100); V 5376 (Comum); XII 903 (Arelate)
Senilla	3	HEp 1996, 617 = AE 1997, 944 (Baetica, 70–130; <i>Aug. sacerdos prima et perpetua</i> ); RIB I 1745 (Aesica, 3rd c.); NSA 1924, 50 (Rome)
Serica	3	ICUR 2915 (300–350 CE); 12007 (350–400); 17342b
Servula	3	<i>Serbula</i> : ICUR 8568 (4th/5th c.); 10967 (4th c.); 12038b (4th/5th c.)
Sexto	3	CIL III 2757 = 9817 (Salona); III 2754 (Salona, probably a woman); AE 1975, 680 (Dalmatia)
Sicula	3	CIL VI 32013 = ICUR 1040 (SEN./Christ., 5th c.); CIL VI 4651 (1–50); VI 24791 (liberta)
Silvanilla	3	CIL II 340 (Lusitania); VIII 6836 (Numidia); CIIP I.2 747 (Aelia Capitolina)
Silviola	3	CAG 57-2, p. 194 (Divodurum); RIB II.2 2420,40-41; ICUR 20604 (406 CE)
Siricia	3	ICUR 18047; 18960 (both 4th c.); ICERV 289 = CLE 1380 (Emerita, 549 CE)
Solutrix	3	CIL VIII 19013 (Thibilis); 25474 (Afr. proc.); XIV 3737 (Tibur)
Species	3	CIL X 5010 (Venafrum); VI 35249 (liberta; unless <i>Speciens</i> ); III 1973 (Salona, sex unclear)
Stabilis	3	CIL VI 15725 (liberta); XI 3973 (Capena, liberta); Camodeca 2021, p. 119–120 (Hirpinia, serva)
Statorina	3	BCAR 69 (1941), p. 187 (Rome, 2nd c.; <i>Statia Stator-</i> ); AE 1913, 194 (Rome, 30–70; mother Statoria); CIL IX 3867 (Supinum Vicus, 1st c., liberta?)

Stercorosa	3	All from Africa: CIL VIII 21151; 26292; IALg II.1 (170–230)
Strenua	3	AE 2000, 877 (Massilia, 70–200 CE); CIL XII 5205 (Narbo); X 2042 (Puteoli, 150–300 CE)
Superba	3	CIL VI 19159 (50–100); IV 10583b (Herculaneum); XIII 8424 (Köln, 100–270)
Telesilla	3	CIL VI 27141; IX 1171 (Aeclanum, 100–150); V 4662 = InscrIt X.5 463 (Brixia; father Telesinus)
Tempestiva	3	CIL II 3012 (Ilerda, 2nd c.) eadem (?) IRC II 3/6 (her daughter also Tempestiva); AE 1978, 436 (Edeta)
Terminalis	3	CIL VI 8935 (Flavian); VI 23955 (1st c.); Sartori & Zoia 2020, 20 (Mediolanum)
Tertina	3	CIL III 915 (Dacia, 150–270); XIII 1898 (Lugdunum, 250–300; <i>Tertinia Tertina</i> ); III 4986 (Virunum, 2nd/3rd c.; <i>Tertin[ia] Tertina</i> )
Tiberia	3	ICUR 9186 (4th/5th c.); CIL VI 15531 (perhaps N+N); VIII 2206 (Afr. proc.)
Tigrina	3	ICUR 4397 (4th c.); 8300ba (4th/5th c.); 11433b (4th c.)
Titullina	3	CIL XII 3242 (Nemausus); XIII 5135 (Germ. sup., 70–200); XIII 11412 (Divodurum, liberta)
Triaria	3	PFOS 746 = PIR <sup>2</sup> S 1036 (SEN.); CIL II 1241 (Hispalis); XI 1017 (Mutina, 330–370). In some cases perhaps N+N.
Tulliana	3	CIL VI 668; VIII 27980 (Numidia); ICUR 3268b (5th c.)
Turritana	3	Mourir à Dougga 667; IX 519 (Venusia, liberta, <i>Turritana</i> ); AE 2002, 634a (Turris Libisonis)
Tusculana	3	CIL VI 35293 (50–150); II 2264 (Corduba, 170–230); AE 1984, 135 (Rome, liberta)
Tutorina	3	CIL IX 351 (Canusium, 1–80); III 5225 (Celeia, 150–300); III 4084 (Pann. sup., 150–230)
Urtica	3	AE 2003, 1922 (Afr. proc., 3rd c.); CIL XII 4598 (Narbo); VI 22200 (50 BCE–50 CE, liberta)
Vegetina	3	CIL X 6383 (Tarracina, 2nd c.); EPSal 89 (Salamanca); AE 1985, 646 (Alpes Poeninae, 2nd c.)
Venantia	3	CIL XIII 884 (Burdigala, 193–235); AE 2016, 1216 (Dalmatia); AE 2015, 532 (Ebora, 543)
Veneranda	3	CIL VI 24984 (4th/5th c.); VI 27964; XI 655 (Faventia)
Venusia	3	IRT 750 (Lepcis Magna); AE 1974, 288 (Canusium, 3rd c.); AE 1965, 226a (Maur. Caes.). In some cases perhaps a nomen.

Venustilla	3	CIL XII 685 (Arelate); X 7809 (Sardinia, 2nd c.; <i>Benustilla</i> ); X 4537 (Capua, 5th/6th c.; <i>Benustille</i> )
Vesta	3	CIL IX 2748 (Aesernia, liberta); ILJug III 1258 = AE 1990, 883 (50–200 CE); IAquil I 1049 (Aquilaia, 1–50 CE)
Vetulla	3	CIL V 6917 (Augusta Taurinorum, 70–130); III 5105 (Celeia, 50–130); 5265 (ibid., 2nd c.; inversed cogn.)
Vetustina	3	AE 1993, 1184 (Aquitania); CILA II.4, 1134 (Baetica, 230–270 CE, liberta); CIL VIII 8903 (Maur. Caes.)
Vinosa	3	CIL VIII 7297; IALg II.1 3745; 3860
Vita	3	CIL VI 20729 (late 1st/2nd c.); AE 1996, 1278 (Apulum, 197–275); IALg II.2 4648 (Thibilis)
Abundiola	2	Duval 1975, 110; 115 (Ammaedara)
Acris	2	CIL VI 7059 (Augustus-Nero, liberta); VI 5252 (14–50)
Activa	2	CIL VIII 22658,4 (anulus); IX 6084,3 (anulus)
Acutilla	2	AE 2019, 581 (Augusta Praetoria, 150–200); CIL V 6093 (Mediolanum, 3rd/4th c.; father Acutus)
Adauctula	2	CIL X 1998 (Puteoli, 1st c.; if a gentilicium); VIII 500 (Ammaedara, 2nd/3rd c.)
Adventina	2	AE 1996, 1595 (Arabia); CIL VIII 3939 (Lambaesis)
Aelina	2	CIL XIV 2336 (Albanum, 100–150); ILAfr 174,21 (Ammaedara)
Aequitas	2	AE 1978, 181 (Brundisium, 50–100); CIL X 257 (Grumentum)
Aeternitas	2	CIL VIII 3244 (Lambaesis) eadem VIII 4158/4159?
Agilis	2	CIL VI 11254 (2nd c.); AE 1994, 866 (Emerita)
Albilla	2	CIL XIII 767 (Burdigala, 3rd c.); AE 1969/70, 221 (Lusitania)
Amans	2	CIL VI 13701 (liberta?); IX 1202 (Aeclanum, 2nd/3rd c.)
Amica	2	AE 1979, 369 (Valentia, liberta); CIL VI 20365 = ICUR 2904 (300–350)
Aminiana	2	CIL VI 37101 (3rd c.; two sisters)
Ammiana	2	CIL VIII 4054 (Lambaesis; father Ammianus); ICUR 23789 (4th/5th c.)
Ampiana	2	AE 1985, 191 (Ostia, 150–200); CIL XI 5939/5940 (Tifernum Tiberinum, 2nd c.; neptis Ampi Dextri)
Ampla	2	CIL VI 26761; VI 36472
Amullina	2	CIL III 2549 (150–300); III 8872 (both at Salona)
Anconitana	2	CIL IX 5910 (Ancona); V 1906 (Concordia, 70–130)

Angulata	2	CIL V 1633 (Aquileia); RIU V 1224 (Intercisa)
Annita	2	AE 1995, 718 (Baetica); ILGN 503 (Nemausus)
Antiqua	2	AE 1978, 437 (Hisp. cit., 2nd c.); CIL XIII 2522 (Ambarri)
Antistiana	2	CIL VI 33444 (1st c. BCE, liberta?); VI 37600
Antulliana	2	CIL VI 26963; ILAfr 113 (Cillium)
Anul(l)ina	2	CIL VI 12087 (2nd c.); II 951 = AE 2007, 741 (Baetica, Augustus-Tiberius)
Apilla	2	CIL XI 3853 (Prima Porta, 1st/2nd c.); VI 7441 (30 BCE–30 CE)
Apollinaria	2	CIL III 881 (Dacia, 180–270); ICUR 98 (390–425)
Apruncula	2	IRMusNav 41 (Hisp. cit.); HAE 1242 (Lusitania, 2nd c.)
Aquileia	2	CIL V 2831 (Ravenna, 170–230); VI 8395
Argentea	2	CIL VI 31103 (if a name); ICUR 18446 (4th c.)
Arrianilla	2	CIL VI 12404 (3rd c.; <i>Arria Arrian-</i> ); Plin. <i>ep.</i> 1,5,5 ( <i>Arrianilla</i> ; uncertain if a corrupt form of <i>Arrianilla</i> or a different name)
Asprilla	2	CIL III 651/652 (Philippi, 1st c.); IG X.2 1, 386a (Thessalonica, 2nd c.)
Auctina	2	AE 1983, 524 (Baetica, 70–150); CIL II 1497 (Astigi, 2nd c.)
Aufidiana	2	CIL VIII 23327 (Aufidia Lucilla Aufid-); CIL X 2125 (Puteoli, 130–200)
Auguriana	2	CIL VI 28559; ICVR I 1285 (4th c.; <i>Augurana</i> )
Augustana	2	CIL V 8945 (Augusta Praetoria, 2nd c.; son Augustanus); CAR II, p. 46 no. 52b (Rome)
Aurina	2	CIL X 51 (Hipponium, 2nd c.); V 2352 (Atria)
Auruncina	2	Philippi 222; 226 (=AE 1991, 1428)
Auspicata	2	Finke 1927, 43 (Augusta Treverorum); CIL VI 13423a
Barbaria	2	IGUR II 1046 (Βαρβαριε); Eugippius, <i>Sev.</i> 46, 1
Barbilla	2	AE 1982, 776 (Carnuntum, 150–200); CIL XI 6376 (Pisaurum, 170–250)
Beatilla	2	CIL X 4629 (Cubulteria, 5th/6th c.); VIII 9449 (Caesarea)
Beatrix	2	CIL VI 25146; ASLA 104 (martyr)
Bellicina	2	CIL III 5225 (Celeia, 150–300); AIJ 491 (Pann. inf., 3rd c.)
Bellosa	2	CIL VIII 15931 (Sicca Veneria); XIII 3510 (Belgica)
Bonitta	2	CIL VIII 2906 (Lambaesis); ILALg II.2 5160 (Thibilis)

Brocc(h)illa	2	PIR <sup>2</sup> V 234 (SEN.); CIL II 2064 (Baetica, 2nd c.)
Brocchina	2	CIL II 992 (Baetica; <i>Brocina</i> ); III 6361 (Narona)
Brutta	2	CIL III 5498 (Noricum, early 2nd c.); III 4966 (Virunum, 1st/2nd c.)
Bulla	2	CIL III 1818 (Narona, early 1st c.); XII 2934 (Nemausus)
Burritana	2	ILTun 1519 (Thugga); CIL VIII 26018 (Afr. proc.)
Caesiola	2	CIL II 491 (Emerita, 130–170); HEp 2013, 529 (incerta)
Caesita	2	CIL VIII 1915 (Theveste); VIII 4544/5 (Numidia)
Caiana (=Gaiana?)	2	ICUR 2957 (350–400); 19334 (4th/5th c.)
Calaviana	2	CIL V 8305 (Aquileia; mother Calavia); AE 1991, 1428 (Philippi)
Calpurniana	2	CIL V 3512 (Verona); BCH 10 (1886), 156,3 (Attaleia; Καλπουρνιανή)
Calumniosa	2	CIL XII 244; 2057 (Vienna; both Christ.)
Calva	2	CIL XIII 138 (Aquitania; perhaps a local name); TitHelv 54 (Germ. sup., 70–130; if a woman)
Campestra	2	CIL VI 16704 (1st c., liberta); VIII 12937 (Carthago, liberta)
Cana	2	ILAlg II.1 2008; Cic. Att. 13,41
Candidosa	2	CIL VIII 13541; 13542 (Carthago)
Capra	2	CIL XI 1218 (liberta); ICUR 8844 (4th c.)
Cardela	2	ILTun 374 (Sufetula); CIL VIII 3083 (Lambaesis)
Cariola	2	CIL VIII 8716 (Maur. Caes.; <i>Kariola</i> ); XIII 4167 (Belgica)
Carula	2	CIL III 10547 (Aquincum, 3rd c.); XII 4684 (Narbo)
Castilla	2	RIU II 554 (Brigetio); CIL III 11597 (Virunum)
Castimonialis (?)	2	CIL VIII 27914; AE 2007, 996b (perhaps an appellative in both cases)
Cat(t)ianilla	2	ICUR 20749 (290–325; Κατιανύλλη); PLRE I, p. 187 ( <i>(larissima) femina</i> )
Cattina	2	CIL VIII 20608 (Maur. Caes.); Gsell 1893, 147 (Numidia; <i>Cattin[a]</i> )
Catulina	2	MEFR 1898, 469 (Lambaesis); ICUR 6163b (390–425)
Cellaria	2	CIL II 554 (Emerita, 150–200); VIII 7478 (Cirta, Augustus-Trajan)
Celsula	2	CIL VIII 3144 (Lambaesis); ILAfr 162 (Ammaedara)

Celta	2	CIL XIII 800 (Burdigala, 50–100); VII 1336,285 (Londinium)
Censa	2	CIL XII 2374 (prov. Lugud.); ILGN 368 (Genava; <i>Censa[---]</i> )
Censilla	2	Nesselhauf & Lieb 1959, no. 17 (Treveri); CIL XII 1882–1888 (Vienna, father Censor)
Cerviola	2	ICUR 14121 (326–375); 27049 (300–350)
Cicada	2	CIL VIII 7249 (Cirta); AE 1992, 560 (HisPELLUM, liberta)
Civilis	2	CIL V 5849 (Mediolanum, 50–200); ILTG 153 (Aquitania)
Clamosa	2	AE 1996, 1095 (Augusta Treverorum, 293–310); CIL XIII 233 (Aquitania; <i>civis Trevera</i> )
Clariana	2	CIL VI 13423a (Ficulea); CIL XIII 2076 (Lugudunum)
Claudilla	2	PFOS 470 (SEN.); CIL III 4330 (Brigetio, 150–200)
Claudina	2	CIL XIII 6970 (Mogontiacum, early 3rd c.); IAquil III 3113 (Aquileia; [ <i>Clau</i> ]din(a)e)
Clivana	2	CIL II 964 (Baetica); AE 1983, 123 (Portus, 2nd c.)
Clodilla	2	CIL XII 1804 (Vienna; mother Clodia); V 7482 (Liguria, 100–150)
Cocca	2	CIL XII 1924 (Vienna, 70–130); RIB II.8 2503,230 (uncertain)
Cognita	2	AE 1980, 326 (Brundisium, 1–50); CIL VI 13803 (liberta)
Columbula	2	CIL XI 3299 (Sutrium, slave?); VIII 8566 (Sitifis)
Conniola	2	CIL XII 2212 (Vienna, <i>Connia Conn-</i> ); AE 2004, 896 (Vicus Augusti)
Conservata	2	CIL VIII 3921 (Lambaesis); II II.7 530 (Corduba, 70–130)
Copia	2	CIL X 7009 (Sicilia); perhaps also AE 1995, 1201 (Celeia)
Copiosa	2	CIL IX 501 (Venusia); 3527 (Furfo, serva);
Cordilla	2	CIL II 1542 (Baetica, 30–70); XI 6108 (Forum Sempronii, 2nd c.)
Corisilla	2	CIL XIII 5917 = ILingons 204; AE 1999, 1161 (both Germ. sup.)
Crassilla	2	CIL X 7697 (Carales); II 4010 (Hisp. cit.; <i>Crasilla</i> )
Cretula (?)	2	CIL VI 4556 (if a woman); I <sup>2</sup> 2796 (Ateste, dubious)
Crinita	2	CIL II 964 (Baetica); AE 1983, 123 (Portus, 2nd c.)
Crispiana	2	PIR <sup>2</sup> P 670a; CIL XII 1726 (prov. Narb.)
Cupido	2	CIL VI 5314; 36854
Dacia	2	CIL VI 28848a; V 3647 (Verona)



Dammula	2	CIL XIII 5720 (Germ. sup., 50–300); AE 1986, 198 (Canusium, 70–150, Dammu[la])
Dasumiana	2	Cod. Iust. 5,11,5; perhaps also CIL II 5391 ( <i>Dasu[miana]</i> )
Datilla	2	ILAlg II.1 3288 (Celtianis); ICUR 4921 (4th/5th c.)
Datina	2	CIL VIII 9122 (Maur. Caes.); VIII 2824 (Lambaesis)
Dativilla	2	Pais 496 (Ferrara, 150–200); perhaps also CIL VIII 3297 (Lambaesis, [ <i>Dativilla</i> ])
Decembrina	2	IRCP 418 (Romeira); ICUR 18644 (4th c.)
Decor	2	CIL VI 6059 (liberta); VI 29008 (1st/2nd c.)
Decumula (=Decimula)	2	ILAlg II.1 3220 (Celtianis); II.1 876 (Cirta)
Docta	2	CIL XI 7822 (Interamna Nahars, 1–50, liberta); CILA II.3 748 (Astigi, 170–230)
Domitina	2	CIL III 3376 (Aquincum); XII 4282 (prov. Narb.; <i>Domi[tina?]</i> )
Domitiola	2	CIL XII 1920 (Vienna, 200–250); XIII 1691 (Lugudunum)
Dorilla	2	CIL V 1356 (Aquileia, 50–1 BCE; liberta); XIII 3400 (Belgica, 100–150)
Dulceia (?)	2	RAC 1933, p. 37 (3rd/4th c.); dubious: ICUR 7033a (4th/5th c., [ <i>Dulceia</i> ])
Eburna	2	PFOS 350 (SEN.); HEp 1996, 720 = AE 1994, 954 (Hispan. cit., 3rd/4th c.)
Esquilina	2	CIL XI 3978 (Ad Vicesimum); NSA 1919, p. 41 (50–150)
Etruscilla	2	PIR <sup>2</sup> H 136 (SEN.); ICUR 10607 (300–350; Ἐτρούσκιλ[λη])
Eventia	2	ICUR 1985 (350–400); 14643 (300–350)
Faba (?)	2	CIL VIII 13651 (Carthago, dubious); 23306 (Afr. proc., dubious)
Fabianilla	2	ASRSP 1987, 10a (Rome, 3rd c.); ICUR 16193 (4th/5th c.)
Facundina	2	CIL II 3326 (Baetica); XIII 6348 (Germ. sup., 2nd c.)
Falconilla	2	PFOS 632 (SEN.); AE 1993, 828 (Sicilia; probably great-grandmother of the former)
Fastina	2	(=Faustina?) CIL XIII 867 (Burdigala); VIII 23496 (Mactaris)
Faustula	2	CIL XIV 1104 (Ostia, liberta, <i>Faustu[la]</i> ); AE 1967, 646 (Afr. proc., 4th c.)
Faventia	2	CIL XIII 3805 (Augusta Treverorum; Christ.); possibly also XIII 3827

Felica	2	CIL VIII 6228; 3867
Ferriola	2	IRC IV 163 = AE 1972, 301 (Barcino); ILCV 2736 (Liguria, 453; could also be read Eterriola)
Fervida	2	CIL VIII 11635 (Ammaedara); Corinth VIII 3, 287
Fidentina	2	CIL II 3373 (Baetica); HEp 1994, 478 = AE 1991, 1082 (Hisp. cit.)
Fides	2	ICUR 11220 (5th c.); also a 3rd-c. martyr from Aquitania (cf. Solin 1998, 3 n. 18)
Firmanilla	2	CIL II 3968 (Saguntum, 100–130); EPSal 89 (Salamanca)
Firmula	2	CIL XII 4422 (Narbo, 50–100, liberta?); V 4436 = InscrIt X.5 227 (Brixia, liberta)
Flaccinilla	2	PFOS 471 (SEN.); VIII 3296 (Lambaesis)
Flaviosa	2	CIL VIII 3971 (Lambaesis); BCTH 1910, CCI (300 CE)
Florens	2	CIL V 2246 (Altinum, 1st c., liberta); VI 12853 (signo Florenti)
Floria	2	ICUR 20423 (3rd c.); 9868 (4th c.)
Florica (?)	2	CIL II 4994 (Olisipo); IRCP 259 (Pax Iulia). Both uncertain, cf. n. 371.
Floscula	2	CIL VIII 12966 (Carthago); X 552 (Salernum)
Formica	2	CIL VI 18531; NEFAE 199 (Emerita, 565)
Fortissima	2	ICUR 17497 (389); 26989 (290–325)
Fortunalis	2	CIL II 3355 (Baetica, 170–230); possibly CIL VI 13478
Frontonia	2	CIL II 4261 (Tarraco); ICUR 8307 (4th c.) Could also be N+N
Frontulla	2	GR: JÖAI 6, 1903, Bbl. 4,5; Spomenik 77, 1934, 45,32 (both in Macedonia)
Fruventia	2	CIL VIII 16833 (Naraggara); AE 2013, 1875 (Ammaedara, 3rd c.)
Fulvilla	2	CIL XI 1524a = InscrIt VII.1 115 (Portus Pisanus); HEp 2000, 623 (Saguntum)
Furnilla	2	PFOS 77; 525 (SEN.)
Futura	2	CIL VI 16746 (1st c., liberta); ICUR 7370d (4th/5th c.)
Gabinilla	2	ILAlg I 2126 (Madaurus); AE 1995, 1740 (Theveste)
Galbilla	2	PIR <sup>2</sup> S 1030–1031 (SEN.); cf. also Kajava 2022, 83–84.
Gallaeca	2	HEp 1997, 941 (Hisp. cit.); ERAE 283 (Emerita)
Gallula	2	CIL II 1912 (Gades); II 1327 (Baetica, liberta)

Gavilla	2	CIL VI 28590 (3rd c.); AE 1978, 615 (Dalmatia, 1–50), cf. Gabilla
Gemma	2	CIL XIII 2975 (prov. Lugud.); Labruna 2013, 39 (Abellinum, 542)
Gemniana	2	CIL X 4345 (Capua, 170–300); CIL XIII 2975 (prov. Lugud.)
Gentiana	2	ICUR 14086 (4th c.); 23534 (4th c.)
Germaniciana	2	CIL VI 12158 (1st/2nd c.); Wibl� 2008, 282 (Alpes Poeninae)
Gloria	2	CIL III 3087; 15096 (Dalmatia)
Graccha	2	CIL VI 23317; XIII 1112 (Avaricum)
Graniola	2	AE 2002, 969 (Narbo; <i>Craniola</i> ); 1969/70, 715 (Numidia)
Grumentina	2	CIL X 449 = InscrIt III.1 11 (2nd c.); InscrIt III.1 174a (3rd c.) both cases near Grumentum
Gut(t)illa	2	Gasperini 1989, 17 (Etruria); AE 1906, 18 = ILJug III 2221. (Salona, 40–70, serva)
Herculana	2	CIL II 1859 (Gades); HEp 2001, 386 (Lusitania; [ <i>H</i> ] <i>ercul[an?]a</i> )
Hiberina	2	CIL XIII 874 (Burdigala); Iuv. 6, 54
Hilarilla	2	CIL III 14736 (Salona, 150–300); BCAR 51 (1923), p. 101 (Rome, 1st c.)
Hilaris	2	CIL VI 12445; 19272
Honoratiana	2	CIL VIII 11536 (=PIR <sup>2</sup> F 424, SEN.); AE 1993, 1727 (Afr. proc.; supernomen)
Hostiliana	2	CIL V 4428 = InscrIt X.5 223 (Brixia; <i>Hostilia Hostil-</i> ); VIII 2035 (Theveste)
Ianilla	2	CIL III 9031 (Salona, 1–150); ICUR 23983 (300–350)
Ilurica	2	(= <i>Illyrica?</i> ) CIL III 8441 (Dalmatia, 70–130); AE 1937, 212 (Aquincum, 2nd c.)
Importuna	2	ICUR 4291 (568); CIL IX 2437 (Allifae, 533)
Inclita/Incluta	2	CIL VI 38606 (2nd c., liberta); Suppl It 31, 344–345 no. 22
Insequentina	2	CIL III 4191 (Savaria, early 2nd c.); VI 20533 (father Insequens)
Itala	2	CIL VIII 5546 (Thibilis); IALg II.2 6804
Italicilla	2	CIL II 5474 (Baetica, 50–150); CILA II.2 471 (Italica)
Iula	2	IALg II.1 2067 (Numidia, 1st c.); CIL VIII 11839 (Mactaris)

Iunix	2	CIL IX 399 (Canusium, 125–250); AE 1980, 338 (Rudiae, 150–200)
Iustiana	2	CIL XIV 1571 (Ostia, 200–250); ICUR 8973
Iustilla	2	CIL II 2799 (Clunia, 2nd c.); III 1745 (Epidaurum, 130–170)
Iustula	2	CIL XIII 2293 (Lugudunum); ILAlg II.1 5761 (Thibilis)
Karthago	2	CIL XI 1695 (Florentia, 5th c. <i>Cartaco</i> ); perhaps also VIII 25813 (sex unclear)
Labicana	2	CIL VI 16868; 37852
Laena	2	CIL VI 16203 (liberta, Nero's time); VI 34924
Laetianiana	2	CIL VI 12542; 35651
Lauta	2	ILAfr 162,45 (Ammaedara); CIL VIII 4281 (Numidia)
Lentula	2	CIL VIII 26471 (Thugga); V 6030 (Mediolanum)
Lepidilla	2	CIL VI 15493 (1st/2nd c.); III 8786 (Salona, 1–50)
Libertas	2	CIL IX 750 (Larinum; <i>Liber[tas]</i> ); AE 1940, 94 (Ostia)
Ligurina	2	AE 1992, 1915 (Maur. Caes.); CIL III 4275 (Brigetio, 3rd c.)
Lucustina	2	CIL VIII 5032 (Thubursicu Numidarum); ILAlg I 1427(ibid.). According to Kajanto 1965, 333, there is also a third case, but I have not been able to verify this.
Luna	2	CIL XIII 6107 (Germ. sup.); XIII 11296 (Belgica, dubious)
Lusca	2	HEp 2013, 613 (Lusitania); ICUR 5390 (4th/5th c.)
Macrinula	2	CIL XII 2203 (Vienna); XIII 2520 (Ambarri)
Maeciana	2	CIL VI 25392 (70–130); V 3524 (Verona; mother Maecia)
Maiorina	2	ILTun 113 (Afr. proc.); ILAlg II.3 7469d (Numidia)
Manilla	2	CIL VIII 5795; 27454
Marcel(l)iana	2	CIL VI 4501 (1–50, liberta); AE 2015, 148 (Rome, 1st c.)
Mariola	2	CIL XIII 1650 (prov. Lugud.; <i>Maria Mar-</i> ); XIII 2864 (prov. Lugud.)
Martiniana	2	CIL II 1014 (Norba); ICUR 23613 (5th c.)
Massula	2	CIL XIII 7983; 8423 (Germ. inf.)
Materia	2	CIL III 4083 (Pann. sup., early 2nd c.); Cod. Iust. 9,9,19
Matuta	2	ILAlg II.1 2915/2916; 3165 (Celtianis)
Maurosa	2	CIL VIII 8833 (Maur. Caes.); Greg. Tur. <i>Mart.</i> 2,3 ( <i>Maurusa</i> )

Maximula	2	CIL VIII 12454 (Afr. proc.); ILAfr 588,151 (Thugga; <i>Maxsimula</i> )
Medullina	2	PFOS 500 (SEN.); AE 2007, 1040 (Germ. sup., 70–130)
Mentita	2	CIL III 11749 (Noricum, 2nd c.); AE 1990, 781 (ibid., 30–150)
Mercata	2	CIL XI 4113 (Umbria, 2nd c.); AE 2000, 419 (Reate, 1st c.)
Mercurialis	2	CIL II 596 (Emerita, 2nd/3rd c.); VI 20416 (70–130)
Meridiana	2	CIL VIII 4864 (Afr. proc.); ILAlg II.1 3944 (Numidia)
Mica	2	CIL VI 35259; VIII 9727 (Maur. Caes.); also VIII 20919 (Afr. proc.; sex unclear)
Mira	2	CIL III 5078 (Noricum; perhaps Myra?); RIU III 913 (Pann. inf., 130–200)
Modica	2	CIL VIII 2117 (Numidia); perhaps also AE 2006, 612 (Emerita, [ <i>M?</i> ]odica)
Mus	2	CIL VI 37891 (liberta); XII 4680 (Narbo, liberta)
Mustelica	2	CIL VIII 422 (Ammaedara, 2nd/3rd c.); Varone 2020, 257 (Stabiae)
Mustiosa	2	CIL VIII 6259 (Numidia) ILAlg II.3 9288 (ibid.)
Naevina	2	CIL VI 11055; AE 1974, 205 (same woman?)
Naevola	2	CIL VI 5608 (50–200); V 498 (Aegida, 50–100)
Narbullla	2	CIL VI 14060; 20431
Nardulla	2	CIL IV 1976 (Pompeii); AE 2010, 225 (Rome, 1st c.)
Natula	2	CIL VIII 16024 (Sicca Veneria); II 4346 (Tarraco)
Navina	2	CIL III 9871 (Dalmatia, 1st/early 2nd c.); II.7 60a (Baetica, 50–100)
Neclicta (=Neglicta?)	2	CIL XII 955 (Arelate); XII 1503 (Vasio; perhaps <i>Neclicia?</i> )
Nepotia	2	CIL VIII 4977 (Thubursicu Numidarum); ILTun 1147 (Carthago, dubious)
Novata	2	IRPCad 47 (Baelo, early 2nd c.); AE 1982, 528 (Baetica, 70–130 CE)
Nucerina	2	CIL X 8105 (Volcei, 150–250 CE); IV 10241 (Pompei)
Numantina	2	PFOS 535 (SEN.); IRC II 26/29 (Aeso)
Oc(u)latina	2	CIL III 3032 eadem ILJug III 2907 (Dalmatia, 50–150); ICUR 24071 (275–300)
Oculata	2	PFOS 16–17 (SEN.)

Oliva	2	ILAlg II.1 3138 (Celtianis, 2nd c.); CIL IX 412 (Canusium, 543–549)
Orbiana	2	PIR <sup>2</sup> S 101 (SEN.); RIT 35 (Hisp. cit.)
Pacina	2	CIL II 150 (Lusitania); ICUR 21934 (376–400 CE)
Pallina (=Paullina?)	2	CIL VI 15528 (50–150 CE); VIII 16984 (Afr. proc.)
Paratiana	2	CIL III 4389 (Pann. sup., 2nd c.); eadem?; III 4327 (Brigetio, 213)
Pardula	2	CIL XII 2684 (prov. Narb.); AE 1980, 153h (Rome, 170–230 CE)
Passaria	2	CIL VI 5960 (2nd c.); ILER 6744 (Hisp.). Could also be a nomen.
Paterc(u)la	2	CIL XII 983 (prov. Narb.); AE 1982, 680 = 2005, 1006 (Nemausus, 160–200 CE)
Patruina	2	PFOs 587 = PIR <sup>2</sup> O 155 (SEN.); CIL II 1758 (Gades)
Paul(l)iana	2	CIL VIII 11216 (Afr. proc.); II 5390 (Hispalis, <i>Paullia[na?]</i> )
Pauliniana	2	ICUR 3699; 21942 (both late 4th c.)
Paulinula	2	CIL XII 2264 (Cularo) eadem XII 2277
Pax	2	cf. Kajanto 1965, 262 (also uncertain sex in AE 1983, 415)
Pecuaria	2	CIL VIII 8618 (Sitifis); AE 1992, 1916 (Maur. Caes., <i>Pequaria</i> )
Perseverantia	2	ICUR 9070 (4th/5th c.); 21222 (4th c.; [ <i>Per</i> ]seberantie)
Picena	2	CIL X 8103 (Atina, 3rd c.); X 6260 (Fundis, 3rd c.)
Pientia	2	ICUR 23244 (350–400); CIL V 8591 (Aquileia, 4th c.); InscrIt X.5 716 (Brixia, late)
Pistrix	2	ILAlg II.1 3181 (Celtianis, 2nd c.); CIL VIII 2889 (Lambaesis)
Pitinnina	2	AE 2000, 1623 (Afr. proc.); ICUR 2980 (392 CE, <i>Pitzinnina</i> )
Pollentina	2	AE 1993, 719 (Parma); CIL II 5498 (Baetica, 2nd c.)
Pomponilla	2	ILAlg I 2056 (Madaurus); CIL III 12964 (Salona, 150–300)
Pomptilla	2	CIL X 7563 (Carales); X 7564 (ibid.)
Pompulla	2	CIL XII 3123 (Nemausus; <i>Pompeia Pomp-</i> ); AE 1909, 64 (Teaenum Sidicinum)
Pontina	2	CIL XI 1235 (Aeclanum, 2nd c.); AE 1994, 1344 (?) (Dalmatia, 150–300 CE)
Porcaria	2	CIL XIII 2359 (Lugdunum, 450–525); XIII 2417 (5th c.?)

Postumilla	2	CIL VI 38191 (30–70); AE 1988, 110 (Rome, 3rd c.; <i>Postumille</i> )
Pota	2	CIL VIII 7386 (Cirta); IALg II.2 5771 (Thibilis)
Potens	2	CIL XIV 3810 (Tibur, liberta); V 836 = IAquil I 362 (Aquileia)
Potentilla	2	CIL V 3836 (Verona); ICUR 11700 (300–350)
Potula	2	IALg II.1 2941 (Celtianis); CIL VIII 19066 (Thibilis; <i>Pottula</i> )
Pr(a)esidia	2	CIL XII 673 (Arelate); XIV 3793 (Tibur; unless N+N)
Praetoriana	2	CIL VIII 20164/Ikosim 2020, p. 57 (Cuicul, two sisters)
Praetorina	2	CIL XIV 500; 872 (Ostia, 2nd c.)
Primina	2	XI 4470 (Ameria); AE 1988, 82 (Rome)
Probanda	2	CIL VI 28255; V 3714 (Verona, liberta?)
Probantia	2	Two Christ. women, according to Kajanto 1965, 358; I have not been able to verify these.
Processina	2	CIL VIII 20576 (Maur. Caes.); VIII 3219 (Lambaesis)
Prosperitas	2	EE IX 716a (Tusculum); NBAC 1914, 132 (Rome, Christ.)
Prudentilla	2	IALg I 1732 (Afr. proc.); AE 1957, 280 (Moesia inf., 50–150)
Pudentiana	2	CIL VIII 7726 (Cirta); ICUR 20157 (425–475)
Pudentina	2	CIL V 6411 (Ticinum, 1st c.); VIII 20336 (Maur. Caes.)
Puella	2	AE 1971, 56a-b (Rome, 50 BCE–30 CE); CIL VIII 13865 (Carthago)
Pulla	2	CIL VIII 9752 (Maur. Caes., 439–350); ICUR 4519 (447). In other cases a gentilicium.
Punica	2	CIL III 4910 (Virunum, 170–230 CE); VIII 7694 (Cirta)
Qu(i)etina	2	CIL VIII 7516 (Cirta, 170–230 CE); ERAEmerita 404 (uncertain, Quie[ti?]na)
Qu(i)etosa	2	CIL VIII 19837 (Celtianis, 2nd c.); VIII 6812 (Numidia)
Quaesita	2	AE 2017, 1288 (Macedonia, 2nd c.); VIII 13075 (Carthago, 2nd c.)
Quintilliana	2	CIL II 1090 = AE 2014, 608 (Baetica, 2nd c.); VI 36241 (2nd c.); cf. Quintiliana
Quodvultdeus	2	CIL VIII 870 = ILCV 333 (Christ.); AE 1991, 338 (Ostia, 4th c.)
Reburra	2	IALg II.1 2612 (Celtianis, 2nd c.); HEp 2003/4, 55 (Avela)
Refrigeria	2	AE 1994, 289 (Rome, early 4th c.); ICUR 1886 (4th c.)

Remulla	2	CIL XII 2416 (Vicus Augusti); XII 3927 (Nemausus)
Res(ti)tutina	2	CIL VI 25406; VIII 4616 (Numidia)
Restutula	2	CIL VIII 11567; VIII 23265 (Ammaedara)
Reverentia	2	AE 2018, 440 (Monte Cassino; Christ. <i>Rever[entia ---?]</i> ); InscrIt X.2 62 (Parentium, 350–400)
Rogatia	2	CIL VIII 23686 (Afr. proc.); VIII 11965 (Afr. proc.). In other cases perhaps a nomen.
Romulensia	2	CIL II 1059 (Baetica, 170–230); ICUR 2027 (350–450; <i>Romuliesia</i> )
Rufiana	2	CIL XI 7557 (Forum Clodii, 50–150); XII 434 (Massilia); PFOS 648 = PIR <sup>2</sup> P 873 (SEN.)
Rufinilla	2	CIL VI 12009 (mother Rufina, brother Rufinus); AE 1976, 539 = 1995, 1249 (Pann. sup., 2nd/early 3rd c.)
Rusticana	2	CIL II 1952/1953 (Cartima); AE 1983, 842 (Dacia, 2nd c.)
Rutula	2	CIL VIII 23806 (Afr. proc.); ERAE 363 (Emerita)
Rutunda	2	CIL VIII 11622 (Ammaedara); VIII 25818 (Afr. proc., Christ.)
S(a)ecularis	2	CIL VI 15580; 23199
Salus	2	CIL XIV 551 (Ostia, serva); VI 33154 (liberta, uncertain: <i>SALV</i> )
Salvianilla	2	CIL VIII 1675 (Sicca Veneria); ICERV 158 (Baetica, 350–450)
Salviola	2	CIL II 3501 (Carthago Nova, 50–1 BCE); XIII 275 (Aquitania, liberta)
Sarmata	2	CIL X 4495 (Capua, 517); V 6739 (Vercellae, 500–550)
Secundia	2	CIL VI 18935 (unless N+N); ICUR 976 (325–375)
Secundosa	2	CIL VIII 14113; 14213 (Carthago)
Securitas	2	CIL VI 24648; VIII 13751 (Carthago, Christ.)
Sedatina	2	CIL VI 15088 (100–230); III 5065 (Noricum 100–130)
Semprulla	2	SEG XLIV 963 (Philadelphia, 50 BCE–50 CE); CIL V 2006 (Opitergium, 1–50)
Senecia	2	CIL III 4988 (Noricum, 1–50 CE); V 4746 (Brixia, <i>Saenecia</i> )
Senecilla	2	CIL V 950 (Aquileia, 103–150 CE); XV 7384 (Rome)
Sensuta	2	RICG I 144 (Augusta Treverorum); RIU V 1206 (Pann. inf.)
Septimiana	2	CIL VI 3424 (2nd c.; <i>Septimia Septim-</i> ); VIII 15336 (Afr. proc.; <i>Septimiaia</i> )



Sepulta (?)	2	CIL VI 26820 (1st c. BCE); IX 3758 (Marruvium). Perhaps an appellative
Sergiana	2	CIL II 1428 (Baetica, 100–170); XII 3904 (Nemausus; mother Sergia)
Seriola	2	CIL XIII 3833 (Augusta Treverorum); 10026,64 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)
Serpentia	2	ICUR 9145; 12757 (290–325)
Sertoriana	2	PFOS 147 (SEN.); AE 1986, 348 (Baetica, 150–250 CE)
Serva	2	CIL VI 7435 (30 BCE–30 CE); II 1451 (Baetica, 170–200; <i>Ap. L. f. Serva</i> (?))
Sestula (=Sextula?)	2	CIL XII 2872 (prov. Narb.); St. Pont. III 125 (Amaseia) Σηστυλα
Severiola	2	CIL XII 1700 (prov. Narb.); XIII 1650 (prov. Lugud.)
Sextiola	2	CIL XII 1455 (prov. Narb.); XIII 2079 (Lugudunum)
Siliqua	2	AE 1966, 579 (Sitifis; agnomen); IALg II.3 8113 (Cuicul)
Siloniana	2	HEp 1990, 70 = AE 1987, 723 (Barcino); ICUR 7813 (4th c.)
Simpliciana	2	ICUR 7817a (4th/5th c.); 8574 (390–425 CE)
Sincera	2	CIL II.13 7 (Hisp. cit., 2nd c.); AE 2006, 592 (Emerita, [ <i>S?</i> ] <i>incera</i> )
Sissina	2	CIL VIII 11882 (Mactaris); VI 10192 (100–150; slave?)
Sittiola	2	CIL VIII 7534 (Cirta, 170–230); IALg II.1 1818 (Cirta, 170–230; dubious: <i>Sittoria?</i> )
Soluta	2	CIL VIII 23445 (Mactaris); ILTun 499,3 (Afr. proc.);
Soricina	2	CIL XII 1207 (prov. Narb.); AE 1975, 411p (Aquileia, early 5th c.)
Sospita	2	CIL VI 23685; IALg II.1 3317 (Celtianis, 2nd c.)
Speranda	2	CIL VI 18434 (290–325 CE); AE 1985, 861 (Carthago, 5th c.)
Sperantia	2	CIL VIII 8766 (Satafis, Christ.); ICUR 26654 (290–325; Ισπηραντια)
Speratilla	2	CIL III 3920 (Pann. sup., 2nd c.); VI 26677 (3rd c., mother Sperata)
Splendida	2	CIL VIII 16123 (Afr. proc.); XI 4335 (Interamna Nahrs, 503 CE)
Stataria	2	CIL III 13846 (Dalmatia, 1–300); ILJug III 2787 (Dalmatia)
Statianilla	2	PFOS 381; 705 = PIR <sup>2</sup> S 562 (2 SEN.)

Stativa	2	CIL XI 162 (Ravenna); IAquil III 3303
Stemma	2	CIL VI 20691; BCAR 69 (1941), 183 (Rome, Aug.–Tib.)
Suavilla	2	CIL XV 167 (Rome, <i>Suabilla</i> ), eadem Scavi di Ostia 122; AE 1966, 604 (Volubilis)
Suavola	2	AE 1993, 910; CIL II 533 (both cases Emerita, 150–200)
Succesina	2	CIL VI 38942; VIII 12830 (Carthago)
Superina	2	CIL XIII 8602 (Germ. inf.); XIII 11893 (Germ. sup.)
Tata	2	CIL XIII 6013 (Germ. sup.); III 5504 (Noricum, could also be e.g. [Spec]tata)
Tellus	2	CIL IX 4967 (Cures Sabini, 1st c.); VIII 6776 (Numidia)
Temporina	2	CIL XII 1666 (prov. Narb.); II 4000 (Hisp. cit., 1st c.)
Terentiana	2	ICUR 9178 (4th/5th c.); ICI XII 66 (Mediolanum, 4th c.)
Terentilla	2	AE 1983, 962 (Afr. proc., early 3rd c.); Suet. Aug. 69,2 (Terentia, wife of Maecenas)
Terina	2	CIL XI 7735 (Careiae, 138–192); ICUR 8580 (4th c.)
Tertul(l)ia	2	CIL XIV 2532 (Tusculum); XI 5752 (Sentinum, 2nd c.)
Trebulla	2	CIL X 6309 (Tarracina, 42–69); IX 6746 (Terventum, 70–130; <i>Trebia Treb-</i> )
Tributa	2	CIL VI 15619 (1st/2nd c.); XIII 2224 (Lugdunum)
Triumphalis	2	CIL VI 13665; XIV 3835 (Tibur)
Turrana	2	ICUR 2706 (326–375 CE); perhaps also CIL II 1015 (Lusitania, <i>Turran(iana?)</i> )
Tusidiana	2	AE 1932, 70 (Rome, 204)
Ulpiana	2	CIL VIII 9703 (Maur. Caes., Christ.); CILA II.4 1024 = ICERV 122 (Baetica, Christ.; <i>Uppiana</i> )
Valerosa	2	CIL III 14406 (Macedonia, 4th c., agnomen); VIII 2427 (Thamagudi)
Varronilla	2	CIL XI 163 (Ravenna, 170–250); PFOS 781 = PIR <sup>2</sup> V 291 (SEN.)
Vaticana	2	ICUR 4695 (4th/5th c.); 6203 (350–400; <i>Baticana</i> )
Venerata	2	CIL V 3066 (Patavium, 150–300 CE, liberta); AE 1986, 229 (Umbria)
Venuta	2	ILTun 1611,11 (Sicca Veneria); ICUR 2761 (300–350 CE)
Verecundina	2	CIL II 3276 (Castulo); VI 8884
Veritas	2	AE 1990, 301 (Firmum Picenum, 180–190); ICUR 10866 (4th c.)

Vernalis	2	CIL VIII 7359 (Numidia, 170–230 CE); XIII 5798 (150–230 CE, liberta)
Veronilla	2	CIL III 4730 (Noricum, 2nd c.); IX 1383 (Aeclanum, 517, SEN./Christ.; <i>Veronilia</i> )
Vestalis	2	CIL VI 8024 (50–100); IX 2253 (Telesia, 2nd c., liberta)
Vet(u)la	2	AE 1981, 497 (Mellaria); CIL V 7719 = InscrIt IX.1 85 (Augusta Bagiennorum, 1–50)
Viatica	2	CIL III 10926 (Savaria, 130–170 CE); AE 1991, 1315 (Carnuntum, 100–150 CE)
Victorica	2	CIL VIII 28071 (Afr. proc.); VII 3419 (Lambaesis)
Vindemiola	2	CIL XIII 3876 (Augusta Treverorum, Christ.)
Vindicia	2	CIL XIII 1905 (Lugdunum, 200–250; perhaps a nomen); ICUR 13949 (402)
Vindicil(l)la	2	CIL III 11297 (Pann. sup., 150–250); XIII 5869 (Germ. sup.)
Viriana	2	CIL V 5542; 5689 (both in Transpadana, 2nd/3rd c.)
Vitaliana	2	CIL VI 17054 (170–200); ICERV 485 (Lusitania, 522; <i>Vetaliana</i> )
Abiliana	1	CIL II 4149 (Tarraco)
Absens	1	CIL VIII 24784 (Carthago, 2nd c.)
Abundia	1	ICUR 3269 (326–327)
Acceptilla	1	CIL XII 2971 (prov. Narb.)
Acceptina	1	CIL XIII 3700 (Augusta Treverorum)
Acceptula	1	ILAFr 177,3 (Ammaedara)
Acta	1	Cod. Iust. 7,51,1
Actilla	1	IGLS VI 2957 (Syria)
Aculiana	1	IK Side 142 (Pamphylia; Ἀκυλιανή)
Acutula	1	ICUR 6524 (390–425)
Adiectula	1	CIL VI 13381
Adiuncta (?)	1	CIL III 14099 (Pann. sup., 219; [ <i>A</i> ]diun[ct]a)
Adiutorina	1	CIL III 5063 (Noreia, 100–150)
Adranela (=Hadrianilla?)	1	ICUR 17846 (350–450)
Aeditua	1	AE 2001, 757 (Tarracina, liberta)
Aeliola	1	CIL XIII 11363 (Divodurum)
Aeliosa	1	CIL VIII 9151 (Maur. Caes., <i>Aelia Aeli-</i> )

Aequiculana	1	CIL IX 4412 (Amiternum, 2nd c.)
Aesernina	1	PFOS 215 (SEN.)
Af(f)licta	1	CIL III 1612 (Dacia, 150–270; inversed C)
Africa (?)	1	ICERV 124 (Baetica)
Africaniana	1	PFOS 38 (SEN.)
Agerniana	1	BCAR 88 (1982/1983), p. 250
Agna (?)	1	CIL IV 740 (Pompeii)
Agrestia	1	CIL IX 1382 (Aeclanum, 515; <i>Acrestia</i> )
Agrippiana	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> T 278 (father Agrippa)
Agrippinilla	1	PFOS 625 (SEN.)
Albaniaca	1	CIL V 6116 (Mediolanum, 2nd/3rd c.)
Albanilla	1	CIL V 7676 (Liguria, 1st c.)
Albiniana	1	IAM II 645 (Volubilis; <i>Albinia[na]</i> )
Albinilla	1	CIL II 771 (Caurium, 70–200; Albini f.)
Albinula	1	ICUR 24926a (300–350)
Alboria	1	CIL VIII 25063 (Carthago)
Albuciana	1	CIL V 6530 (Novaria, 2nd c.)
Albucilla	1	Tac. <i>ann.</i> 6,48
Alenda	1	CIL V 5151 (Bergomum, liberta)
Alfiana	1	CIL XI 5727 (Umbria)
Alliola	1	CIL XII 1321 (Vasio)
Alma	1	RIU III 746 (Pannonia, 130–170)
Alpinula	1	CIL XIII 5233 (Germ. sup., 2nd c.; <i>Alpinia Alpin-</i> )
Altianilla	1	ICUR 21212 (4th/5th c.)
Altina	1	Duval 1975, 86 (Ammaedara, Christ.)
Alumna	1	ICUR 6548 <i>Alumnes</i>
Amandiana	1	CIL XI 7019 (Luna, 528; <i>Aman[di]ana</i> )
Amantilla	1	CIL III 9312 (Salona, 150–300)
Amantina	1	CIL X 1725 (Puteoli, liberta)
Amatrix	1	CIL XIII 2046 (Lugdunum)
Ambiana	1	CIL VI 11522
Ambitiosa	1	CIL VIII 26004 (Afr. proc.)
Amicissima	1	CIL X 185 (Potentia)

Amniana	1	Solin, Arctos 46, 194; 48, 350
Amoeniana	1	IMS II 72 (Viminacium, 150–230)
Ampliana	1	Solin, Arctos 39, 160 Ἀμπλιανή
Amplianda	1	Solin, Arctos 40, 132
Ampliatiana	1	CIL XIV 2062 (Vicus Augustanus Laurentium, 2nd c.)
Amurciana	1	CIL III 13863 (Dalmatia, 150–300)
Angina	1	CIL VIII 4987 (Afr. proc.)
Anguilla	1	Solin, Arctos 35, 190
Aniciana	1	CIL X 3729 (liberta, agnomen)
Anicilla	1	CIL II 3361 (Baetica, 2nd c.)
Anicula	1	AE 1978, 226 (Brundisium, 20 BCE - 30 CE)
Anilla	1	ILGN 52 (Aquae Sextiae)
Anim(a)equitas	1	CIL X 3594 (Misenum, 150–230)
Animosa	1	CIL VIII 22668 (Lepcis Magna)
Ansilla	1	AE 2007, 1122 (Dalmatia, 2nd/3rd c.)
Antiana	1	AE 2003, 951 (Hisp. cit.)
Antiquill(a)	1	CIL XII 3960 (Nemausus)
Antistita (?)	1	AE 1983, 711 (Divodurum, 2nd c.; dubious)
Antonias	1	AE 1927, 83 (Perinthus; Οὐαλερία Ἀντωνιάδι)
Antoniniana	1	IKlaudiu Polis 34 [--- Ἀν]τωνιανή γυνή
Aperta	1	Solin, Arctos 32, 236
Apiciola	1	CIL XIII 3799 (Augusta Treverorum)
Apollinia	1	CIL VIII 7211 (Cirta, 170–230)
Appianilla	1	IRT 579 (Lepcis Magna, 250–300)
Apriana	1	Solin, Arctos 37, 173; 48, 351
Apriliana	1	Solin, Arctos 46, 195; 48, 351
Aprilina	1	CIL VI 3573 = ICUR 23031 (290–325)
Apris	1	CIL VI 3177 (2nd c.; Greek suffix)
Apro	1	CIL VI 35979 (Augustan)
Apronias	1	IGUR II 363 (GR.)
Apstinens (=Abst-)	1	CIL V 4678 (Brixia)
Aptior	1	CIL VI 5276 (early 1st c.; liberta)

Aque(n)silla	1	CIL III 2185 (Salona, 150–300)
Aquileiensis	1	CIL V 1337 (Aquileia)
Aquiliana	1	CIL VI 30381
Araneola	1	Sid. <i>carm.</i> 15, 147
Arboria	1	HEp 1994, 181 (Baetica, 595)
Aricina	1	CIL XIV 2333 (Albanum)
Ariola	1	CIL XIII 4690 (Belgica)
Aristiana	1	CIL III 4423 (Carnuntum, 193–300)
Armentaria	1	CIL XII 2104 (Vienna, 450–500)
Arraniana	1	CIL VIII 15595 (Afr. proc.)
Articilla	1	CIL XII 3360 (prov. Narb.)
Ascia	1	CIL III 1603 (Dacia, 170–270)
Asciola	1	CIL IV 7497 (Pompeii)
Asellina	1	CIL IV 7863 eadem IV 7873 (Pompeii)
Asiciane	1	CIL VIII 26590/1 (Thugga, 202–205; mother Ascia)
Asinula	1	CIL XIII 5153 (Germ. sup., 70–300)
Aspidiosa	1	AE 1985, 89 (Rome, 2nd c.)
Aspra	1	CIL XIII 8151 (Germ. inf., 2nd/3rd c.)
Asprenatiana	1	ILAlg I 1976 (Afr. proc.)
Asprenilla	1	CIL VI 11265
Assuritana	1	Prévot 1984. XII.48 (Mactaris, Christ.)
Atacina	1	CIL II 4627 (Emporiae, 1st c.)
Atberbosa (?)	1	ICUR 6527 (4th c.)
Atediana	1	ILAfr 292,3 (Afr. proc.)
Atestia[na?]	1	CIL X 4453 (Capua)
Atiniana	1	CIL VIII 26340 (Uchi Maius)
Atratina	1	SEN., cf. n. 774.
Attianilla	1	CIL III 9766 (Dalmatia, 1–150)
Atticina	1	CIL XIII 7655a (Germ. sup., 170–200)
Atticula	1	CIL VI 7682
Auctorina	1	CIL V 5297 (Comum, 1st/2nd c.)
Auctoritas	1	CIL VI 12795 (3rd c.)
Audita	1	CIL VI 22672 (50–200)

Aufida	1	CIL VIII 23437 (Mactaris; <i>Iulia Aufida Quinti Aufidi filia</i> ; perhaps N+N?)
Augina	1	CIL VIII 25552 (Bulla Regia)
Auguriniāna	1	PLRE I, p. 125 ( <i>c(larissima) f(emina)</i> )
Aurea	1	ILTun 1233 (Afr. proc.)
Aurelias	1	ICUR 15275 (4th c.)
Auricomā	1	CIL VI 18006 (150–200)
Auspicia	1	CIL XIII 2191 (Lugdunum)
Auspiciola	1	Salv. Mass. 4, 1
Austina	1	ICUR 3322 (4th/5th c.)
Autumnina	1	CIL II 1074 (Baetica)
Auxiliaris	1	CIL IX 2246 (Telesia, 2nd c.)
Avara	1	CIL IX 3032 (Teate Marrucinatorum, 100–71 BCE)
Avidiana	1	IG II:2 7701 (Attica) Ἀβιδιανή
Axina	1	CIL XI 2231 (Clusium, 90–51 BCE)
Axungiosa	1	ICUR 20027 (300–350)
Babulla	1	CIL II 3767 (Valentia, 1st c.; <i>Baebia Bab-</i> )
Badiola	1	CIL II 1223 (Hispalis)
Baebilla	1	CIL VI 29115 (2nd/3rd c.)
Baiana	1	CIL VI 14214 (2nd c., liberta; <i>Baiiana</i> )
Barbarana (=Barbariana?)	1	ICUR 25018 (300–350; Latin epitaph carved in Greek letters)
Barbarula	1	CIL XII 3467 (Nemausus)
Barbatian[a?]	1	CIL VI 14003
Barbiana	1	CIL XIII 2049 (Lugdunum)
Basis	1	CIL VI 11127 (1–50 CE)
Bastula	1	AE 1951, 46 (Tingis)
Belliciola	1	CIL VI 34676 (natione Galla)
Belliosa	1	CIL XIII 2000 (Lugdunum)
Bellona (?)	1	CIL XII 5679,10 (dubious; probably not a human)
Bellula	1	CIJud 458 = JIWE II 196 (Rome, 3rd/4th c.)
Benivola	1	AE 2003, 507 = 1975, 228 (Venusia)
Beriola	1	CIL X 2000 (Puteoli, 150–250)
Bestia	1	CIL III 2378 (Salona, 150–300)

Bibicula	1	AE 1981, 613 (Cemenelum, 2nd c.)
Bibula	1	Iuv. 6, 142 (fictious?)
Bla[e]sina	1	CIL XII 3037 (prov. Narb., father Blaesus)
Blaesa	1	CIL XII 4074 (Nemausus)
Boia	1	CIL V 7359 (Clastidium, liberta)
Bonata	1	CIL III 3314 (Pann. inf., early 3rd c.)
Boniana	1	ICUR 11969 (350–400)
Bonica	1	CIL VIII 4560 (Numidia)
Bonilla	1	ILAFr 166,15 (Ammaedara)
Bonipedia	1	CIL V 1638 (Aquileia, 350–400)
Bonispera	1	CIL VIII 11895 (Mactaris, Christ.)
Bonosia	1	MAAL 1943, p. 149 (Rome, serva)
Bonosula	1	CIL VIII 25208 (Carthago)
Brittula	1	CIL XIII 497 (Aquitania; <i>[B]rittula</i> )
Bruttias	1	CIL VI 2621 <i>Villiae Bruttiadi</i>
Buca	1	CIL VIII 17806 (Numidia)
Buccaria	1	ICUR 24658 (290–325)
Buccilla	1	CIL VI 34691a (serva/liberta)
Buciana	1	CIL VIII 12450 (Afr. proc.)
Bulbita	1	ILJug III 1396 (Moes. sup., 2nd c.)
Burtian[a?]	1	NSA 1931, p. 321 (Rome)
C(a)elestis	1	CIL VIII 4866 (Afr. proc.)
C(a)esidina (?)	1	CIL III 2561 (Salona, 130–170; text unclear)
Cadilla	1	CIL II 971 (Baetica)
Caediana	1	CIL X 4885 (Venafrum)
Caelantia	1	ICUR 1010 (c. 400)
Caelinia	1	PLRE II, p. 248
Caepiana	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> C 1099
Caepil[ <i>l</i> ]a	1	AE 1966, 108 (Velia)
Caeseriana (?)	1	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 2813 (perhaps not a cognomen at all)
Caesernina	1	CIL IV 90 (Pompeii)
Caesilla	1	CIL X 7819 (Sardinia, 150–200)
Calabrica	1	CIL X 2201 (Puteoli, 2nd c.)



Calditana	1	CIL VIII 19388a (Numidia)
Caleda	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> V 958
Calediana	1	CIL VIII 26440 (Thugga)
Calpurnina	1	CIL II 2614 (Hisp. cit., 2nd c.)
Caltiliana	1	CIL XIV 5031 (Ostia, liberta)
Calvisiana	1	IRT 679 (Leptis Magna)
Calvula	1	ICUR 3369 (326–375; <i>Calbula</i> )
Cambilla	1	CIL VIII 19215 (Numidia)
Camene	1	CIL IX 845 (Luceria, 140–170)
Campanula	1	CIL VIII 12774 (Carthago, 54–96)
Campessa	1	ILTun 1147 (Carthago)
Cand[i]diola	1	CIL XIII 2305 (Lugudunum)
Candidilla	1	AE 1979, 242 (Arretium, 408)
Candidula (?)	1	CIL II 58 (Lusitania; often <i>Candiala/Candialla</i> , but judging by the picture of a squeeze provided in the EDCS, <i>Candidula</i> seems the most plausible option)
Caniana	1	ICUR 23860 (early 4th c.)
Cantianilla	1	Martyr in Aquileia (ILCV 1910a)
Cantine	1	RAC 1933, p. 199 no. 2 (Rome)
Canula	1	CIL II 3288 = CILA III.1 120 (Castulo)
Capelliana	1	CIL XIII 683 (Burdigala, 3rd c.; <i>Capellia[n](a)e</i> )
Capellina	1	CIL X 6793 (Aenaria, 1st c.)
Capiana	1	ICUR 16110b
Capitonia	1	Studia Pontica 3 (1910), 171 no. 158 (Amaseia; Καπιτωνεα, note also her son Καπιτων)
Capitonina	1	CIL XIII 10024,555 (gemma, unknown location; Καπιτωνινα)
Capitulla	1	TAM IV.1 375 (Nikomedeia; Καπιτυλλη)
Caplitana	1	ICUR 3378 (4th/5th c.)
Capraria	1	CIL II 5963 (Hisp. cit., 1st/2nd c.)
Caralitana	1	AE 1981, 183 (Nomentum, 2nd c.)
Carissima	1	CIL XII 5690,26 (Tolosa; hardly an epithet)
Carnuntilla	1	CIL VI 37271 (50–100)
Caronulla	1	ICKarth II 790 (Carthago)

Carpiana	1	CIL XIV 1397 (Ostia; <i>Carpiane</i> )
Cartorina	1	CIL X 8338a1 (tessera, Trebula Mutuesca)
Casanilla	1	ILTun 1147 (Carthago; not found in the EDCS)
Casaria	1	CIL XII 1045 (587 CE)
Cascelliana	1	CIL VI 3592 (serva, agnomen)
Cassica	1	ILTun 201,30 (Hadrumetum)
Cassiola	1	CIL XIII 3211 (prov. Lugud.)
Castel(l)iana	1	CIL VI 22572 (150–300)
Castinia	1	ICUR 16112 (early 4th c.)
Castre(n)s(i)a	1	ICUR 23864 (300–350; <i>Castresa Castresae filiae</i> )
Cat(t)io	1	CIL III 4928 (Virunum, 1–150)
Cat[i/t]osa	1	CIL VIII 17446 (Afr. proc.)
Catellis	1	CIL VI 18663 (70–200)
Catervaria	1	ILAlg II.1 426 (Numidia)
Catiana	1	AE 1936, 125 = ICVR V 14155 (SEN.)
Catilla	1	ICUR 17739 (326–375; possibly a variant of Catella)
Catina	1	ICUR 14604 (4th c.; <i>Katine</i> )
Caudina	1	CIL VI 8127 (1st c.; could also be N+N)
Cava	1	CIL XI 5477 (Asisium)
Cavilla	1	CIL VI 8089 (2nd c.)
Ceionilla	1	RAC 1968, p. 148 no. 8 (Rome)
Celerana	1	CIL VI 15377
Celeria	1	CIL VI 13297
Celeritas	1	CIL XIV 410 (Ostia, 100–135)
Celsinilla	1	PFOS 11 (SEN.)
Celsinio	1	ILLPRON 436 (Virunum, 2nd c.)
Censita	1	ILAlg II.1 905 (Cirta, 170–230)
Censonilla	1	PFOR 183 = AE 1978, 400 (Baetica, 180–200)
Censorinia (?)	1	ILBelg 102 = AE 1986, 497 (perhaps not a cognomen at all)
Censorinilla	1	CIL III 4191 (Savaria, early 2nd c.; father Censorinus)
Centilla (= <i>Gentilla</i> ?)	1	ICUR 6204 (350–400)
Ceres	1	CIL V 2746 (Ateste, serva?)

Ceriosa	1	ILAlg II.1 3037 (Celtianis, 100–150)
Certiana	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> E 38 (SEN.)
Certina	1	EpOst 1042 = AE 2018, 385 (Ostia)
Certula	1	CIL VIII 1051 (Carthago, 2nd/3rd c.)
Cervella	1	CILA II.1 143 (Hispalis, Christ.)
Cervia	1	CIL III 14827 (Salona; could be a nomen)
Cicadula	1	ICUR 8213b (4th/5th c.; [ <i>C</i> ]icadul[ <i>a</i> ])
Cicatrix (?)	1	CIL IV 3590 (Pompeii, dubious)
Cicercia	1	ICUR 23119b (390–425)
Ciloniana	1	CIL X 5604 (Fabrateria Nova)
Cimberis	1	I.Ephesos 1135 A 9
Cimina	1	CIL VI 16390 (150–200)
Cincinnata	1	CIL IX 5883 (Auximum)
Cirra	1	CIL XIII 5754 (Germ. sup.)
Civica	1	AE 1984, 134 (Rome, 70–100)
Claritas	1	Amm. 28, 1, 28 (SEN., died 368/370)
Clientilla (=Clientilla)	1	CIL V 7593 (Liguria, 2nd c.)
Cloatilla	1	Quint. <i>inst.</i> 8,5,16
Cocceiana	1	CIL VIII 2941 (Lambaesis; mother Cocceia)
Coelina	1	Hild, <i>Suppl.</i> 287 (Carnuntum, 3rd c.)
Cogilla	1	ILAlg II.2 6999 (Numidia)
Collecta	1	ILTun 1147 (Carthago)
Collina	1	CIL V 3776 (Verona, 50–100)
Colonilla	1	ICUR 16225 (326–375)
Columbalia	1	CIL VIII 16134 (Sicca Veneria)
Columna	1	ILAlg II.2 5578 (Thibilis)
Coma	1	CIL VI 27961 (Augustan; liberta)
Comatilla	1	CIL III 11705 (Celeia, 1st/2nd c.)
Comes (?)	1	CIL VIII 7154 (Cirra, 50–1 BCE; unclear if name or appellative)
Cominiana	1	CIL V 5228 (Transpadana, 250–300)
Comitas	1	AE 1976, 759 (Maur. Caes., <i>vernacula</i> )
Comitiana	1	CIL VI 29322 (150–230) eadem VI 29323

Comitilla	1	CIL XIII 7007 (Mogontiacum, 3rd c.)
Commendata	1	CIL X 470 = 591 (Leucosia)
Commodiana	1	CIL X 3506 (Misenum, 150–250)
Compedia	1	CIL II 5035 (Lusitania, 170–230)
Compedita	1	AE 1983, 637 (Britannia, 4th c.)
Compitaria	1	CIL VIII 21873 (Volubilis)
Condiana	1	Cod. Iust. 4,29,13 (290 CE)
Confinis	1	AE 1956, 165 (Belgica)
Confirmata	1	CIL IX 2677 (Aesernia, 1st/2nd c.)
Coniuga (?)	1	CIL VIII 1757 (Sicca Veneria)
Conservatrix (?)	1	CIL VIII 21300 (perhaps not an anthroponym at all)
Consortiana	1	PFOS 693 (SEN.)
Consortiola	1	CIL VIII 11096 (Afr. proc.)
Constantiola	1	CIL XII 1791 (Vienna, Christ.)
Consulta	1	AE 1974, 356 (Sardinia)
Contempta	1	CIL XIII 705 (Burdigala, 3rd c., <i>Contem(p)r(a)e</i> )
Conventa	1	CIL IX 1160/61 (Aeclanum, mid-2nd c.)
Copie(n)silla	1	CIL III 13903 (Salona, 1–150)
Corbula (?)	1	CIL IV 3081 (Pompeii, woman?)
Corneola	1	CIL XIII 647 (Burdigala)
Cornuta	1	CIL X 2832 (Cumae)
Cornutia	1	BCH 17 (1983), 256,35 eadem MAMA IV 154 (Phrygia; Κορνουτεία)
Corsiana	1	Cod. Iust. 7,16,31
Cosa	1	CIL V 4074 (Mantua, 1st c.)
Cossil[la] (?)	1	CIL XIII 7516a = AE 1903, 310 (Germ. sup.; possibly not even a female name)
Cossula	1	CIL XIII 4009 (Belgica, 150–250)
Covuldonia	1	ILTun 1147 (Carthago)
Credita (?)	1	CIL VIII 24107 (dubious)
Crementalis	1	CIL XI 7340 (Volsinii)
Creperulla	1	AE 1983, 168 (Tibur, 2nd c.)
Crispula	1	CIL II 6126 (Tarraco)
Critonilla	1	EE VIII.1 278 (Numistro, 50–150)

Crustina	1	CIL VI 39769
Cuculla	1	CIL IV 7841 (Pompeii, 76–78, woman?)
Cucuma	1	CIL II 3681 (Palma)
Cucumilla	1	CIL XIII 5454 (Germ. sup.)
Culciana	1	CIL VIII 15747 (Afr. proc., <i>Culcia[n]a</i> )
Culicina	1	CIL VI 1815 (42–50, liberta)
Culina	1	ICUR 3666 (3rd c.)
Culinaria	1	ICUR 798 (350–400)
Cumana	1	CIL VI 8362 = I <sup>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiana	1	CIL XIII 2506 (Ambarri)
Cupitina	1	CIL III 4733 (Noricum, 50–150)
Curata	1	CIL VIII 27470 (Afr. proc.)
Curritana	1	ICUR 6639 (4th/5th c.)
Curtilia[na]	1	CIL X 5904 (150–200)
Cusculia	1	Gimeno Pascual & Mayer i Olivé 2020 (in Gades)
Cusina	1	CIL VIII 8075 (Numidia)
Cutiula (?)	1	CIL III 7330 (Thessalonica; dubious)
Cuttula	1	ICUR 17465 (372)
Damiana	1	CIL X 456 (Blanda Iulia, 250–300, <i>Damianeti</i> )
Damma	1	CIL VIII 21165 (Caesarea; father Damianus)
Damnata	1	CIJud 475 = JIWE II 5 (Rome, 3rd/4th c.; <i>Δαμνατα</i> )
Danuvia (?)	1	CIL XI 1501 = InscrIt VII.1 102 (Pisae, <i>Danuvia[e? ---]</i> )
Dasumilla	1	CIL X 2407 (Puteoli, 100–250)
Datiana	1	CIL VIII 28023 (Afr. proc.)
Datula	1	ILAfr 588,14 (Thugga)
Dec(i)miola	1	CIL XIII 2577 eadem ILTG 309/310 (Ambarri, <i>Decmia Decmiola</i> )
Decembris	1	CIL VI 14840
Decentiana	1	CIL V 1609 (Aquileia, 579)
Decidiana	1	PFOS 322 (SEN.)
Decimiana	1	ICUR 3424 (4th c. <i>Decimianeti</i> )
Deciola	1	CIL VI 38281
Decora	1	CIL IX 3345 (Samnium, 1st/2nd c.)

Deigratia (?)	1	CIL III 9573 (Salona, dubious)
Delecta	1	CIL VIII 15997 (Sicca Veneria)
Delibria	1	Nesselhauff & Lieb 1959, no. 117 (Germ. sup.)
Delicia	1	CIL III 2161 (Salona, 1–150, liberta)
Dentilla	1	IGUR III 1152 (3rd c.; Δεντιλλη)
Dentonis (?)	1	CIL VI 34597 (dubious; perhaps husband's name rather than a cognomen)
Deodata	1	ICUR 20056b (3rd c.)
Desideria	1	CIL VI 13080 (3rd/4th c.)
Designata	1	CIL VIII 16572 (Theveste, 2nd/3rd c.)
Destinata	1	CIL VI 11067
Dextria	1	ICUR 5431 (4th/5th c.)
Dextrilina	1	AE 1976, 527 (Doclea, 3rd c.)
Diana (?)	1	CIL XI 3853 (Saxa Rubra; the stone is fragmented)
Diane(n)sis	1	ICUR 23887 (4th c.)
Dicata	1	ICUR 14183b (4th/5th c.)
Dignatia (?)	1	CIL XI 7006 (Luna, 150–300)
Digniola	1	RIU II 511 = AE 1971, 320 (Brigetio, 150–230)
Dignissima	1	CIL XIII 3816 (Augusta Treverorum, Christ.)
Dilecta	1	CIL VIII 7550 (Cirta)
Diligens	1	CIL XIV 1270 (Ostia, 2nd c.)
Diuturna	1	CIL XIII 3733/4 (Augusta Treverorum)
Diviniana	1	CIL VI 31968 = ICUR 5191 = PLRE II, p. 369 ( <i>clarissima puella</i> , 5th/6th c.)
Divitiosa	1	ILTG 441 = AE 1925, 37 (Germ. sup., 2nd c.)
Docilina	1	AE 1982, 661 (Aquae Sulis, 3rd c., mother Docilosa)
Docilosa	1	AE 1982, 661 (Aquae Sulis, 3rd c., daughter Docilina)
Dolabellina	1	PFOS 283 (SEN.)
Domigratia	1	CILA I 78 = AE 1969/70, 253 (Baetica)
Domita	1	IGUR II 287 = IG XIV 1334 (Rome; Δόμιτη)
Domnitta	1	Greg. Tur. <i>Mart.</i> 4,24
Donatiana (?)	1	ICUR 11236 (5th c. <i>Do[natia]n(a)e</i> )
Donatianilla	1	ILTun 86 (Thenae)
Donativa	1	CIL VIII 16572 (Theveste, 2nd/3rd c.)

Donosa	1	ILAlg II.1 2870 (Celtianis, 2nd c.)
Dotalis	1	CIL V 3001 (Patavium)
Dotata	1	CIL IX 7716 (Marruvium, 2nd c.)
Drusiana	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> F 419 (SEN.)
Ducatrix	1	CIL III 2252 (Salona, 130–200)
Ducentia	1	ICUR 18682 (4th c.)
Ducta (?)	1	CIL VIII 20129 (Numidia)
Dulc(i)osa	1	ILAlg II.1 4044 (Numidia)
Dulciola	1	AE 1992, 1237 (prov. Lugud., 2nd c.)
Dupliana	1	Cod. Iust. 8,46,7
Elvinia	1	CIL XIII 1115 (Aquitania)
Emerentiana	1	ICUR 12612 (4th/5th c.)
En(n)iana	1	CIL III 4284 = 10967 (Brigetio, 150–300)
Enata (?)	1	ICUR 25119 (4th/5th c.; dubious)
Equina (or [A]equina)	1	CIL III 15046,1 (Dalmatia, 1–150)
Equitiola	1	MEFR 1964, p. 163 = AE 1996, 579 (Sitifis, 393)
Erepta	1	AE 1929, 113 = 2015, 1019 (Germ. sup., 150–250)
Erucina	1	CIL XII 3217 (Nemausus)
Eterriola (?)	1	(cf. Ferriola)
Evasiana	1	ICUR 10893 (4th c.)
Eventa	1	AE 1938, 101 (Moes. sup., 150–250)
Excitata	1	CIL II 4063 (Dertosa, 150–230)
Exop[tata?]	1	CIL VIII 23935 (Afr. proc.)
Exoriens	1	CIL VI 34882
Exorn[ata]	1	CIL VIII 24977 (Carthago, 2nd c.)
Expedita	1	CIL VI 28462 (2nd c.)
Expetita	1	CIL VI 10855
Exquisita	1	CIL VI 16818
Exsitiōsa	1	AE 1991, 1653 (Afr. proc., Christ.)
F(o)eda	1	CIL VIII 8298 (Numidia; <i>Feda</i> )
Fabaria	1	ILAlg II.1 870 (Cirta; could also be N+N)
Fabata	1	CIL VI 11580 (liberta)

Fabr[i]cilla	1	CIL XIII 11362 (Belgica)
Fada	1	CIL VI 29569 (37–50)
Fadiana	1	CIL X 3374 (Misenum, 150–250)
Fadianilla	1	ILAfr 512 = AE 1912, 165 (Thibaris, 228)
Fadiliana	1	AE 1995, 1745/1756 (Theveste, Christ.)
Fadilliana	1	IPrusias ad Hypium 54 (Bithynia) Φαδιλλιανή
Fadiula (=Fadiola?)	1	PFOS 637 (SEN.)
Faenu[lla?]	1	ILAfr 66,8 = ILMS 36 (Hadrumentum)
Falerna	1	IAquil II 2793 (Aquileia)
Falisca	1	CIL VI 28476 (liberta)
Famosa	1	CIL XIII 5713 (Andematunum)
Fastidita	1	CIL XIV 631 (Ostia)
Fastil(l)a	1	CIL VIII 21087 (Caesarea, liberta, <i>Fastila</i> )
Fatalia	1	CIL VIII 22809 (Thenae)
Fatalina	1	ICUR 7574 (4th c.)
Fatibonia	1	CIL VIII 25321 (Carthago, Christ.)
Fatua (?)	1	Dubious. Possibly Tab. Vindol. III 694 and/or AE 1922, 92a ( <i>Fatue</i> ), but not in CIL II 141 recorded in Kajanto 1965.
Faustia	1	CIL VI 8016 (1–50)
Faustianilla (?)	1	ILTun 263 (Afr. proc., [ <i>Fau?</i> ]stianilla)
Faustinilla	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> F 126 (SEN.)
Favilla	1	ILAlg II.1 3131 (Celtianis, <i>Fa(u)illa</i> )
Favonilla	1	CIL XIV 2931 (Praeneste, 150–200)
Felicella	1	ICUR 15456 (early 4th c. ( <i>Felllicella</i> ))
Felicitosa	1	CIL XIV 761 (Ostia)
Fellica	1	CIL VI 9829 (70–150)
Feroica (?)	1	CIL VI 17890 (3rd c., perhaps <i>Feroc(i)a</i> )
Ferocia	1	CIL X 8135 (Stabiae, 4th c.)
Ferociana	1	AE 1953, 243 (Thrace, 3rd c.)
Ferocna (?)	1	CIL XIII 1580 (Aquitania, highly dubious)
Ferranda	1	AE 1972, 690 (Ammaedara, Christ.)
Ferreola	1	CIL XII 1725 (prov. Narb., Christ., 'Farreola' in Kajanto 1965)



Fessonia	1	ICUR 4192 (390–425)
Festel(l)a	1	RIT 969 = HEp 2002, 400 (Tarraco, 5th/6th c. <i>Festela</i> )
Fibulla	1	CIL II 1849 (Gades)
Fidelicu[l]a	1	CIL III 12654 (Moes. sup., 130–200)
Fidia[na]	1	PFOS 449 (SEN.)
Fidula	1	CIL XII 2067 (Lugudunum)
Figlina (?)	1	CIL XIII 1230 (Avaricum; reading dubious)
Firmiana	1	CIL XI 1025 (Brixellum, 2nd c.)
Firmiliana	1	CIL VI 26512 (2nd/3rd c.)
Firminilla	1	CIL III 14086 (Carnuntum, 150–300)
Fistula (or Festula)	1	CIL VIII 319 = 11498 (Ammaedara, 2nd/3rd c.)
Flaccella	1	CIL II 3622 (Saetabis, 1st c.)
Flaccil(l)iana	1	AE 2001, 301 (Roma)
Flaminica	1	CIL VIII 17183 (Afr. proc.)
Flammola	1	ICERV 511 (Hispan. cit., 600–900)
Flaviola	1	BCTH 1910, CCI (Maur. Caes., 300)
Flavola	1	PFOS 411 (SEN.)
Florentinia	1	CIL XIII 2633 (prov. Lugud., early 2nd c.) Could also be N+N
Flos	1	CIL VI 4738 (10–30)
Focaria	1	AE 1934, 36 (Numidia)
Fontinalis	1	CIL XI 6248 (Fanum Fortunae)
Fore(n)sia	1	CIL II 1455 (Baetica, serva)
Forentina	1	CIL XI 6727,1 (Etruria, serva?)
Formosa	1	ILAlg II.2 5125 (Thibilis)
Fortia	1	IGUR II 818 (could also be N+N)
Fortic(u)la	1	CIL VI 35377 = 37902
Fortica	1	ICUR 12637 (4th/5th c.; <i>Fortices</i> )
Fortio	1	CIL III 14370,1 (Raetia, 2nd c.; mostly a male name)
Fortitosa	1	AE 2013, 1873 (Ammaedara, 3rd c.)
Fortunatia	1	CIL VIII 11840 (Mactaris)
Fortunilla	1	RAC 36 (1960), p. 82 (Rome; not found in the EDCS)
Fortunissima	1	ICUR 8782 (4th c.)

Fregellana	1	CIL X 5515 (Aquinum)
Frequentilla	1	CIL III 1713 (Acruvium, early 2nd c.)
Frontasia	1	CIL V 4972 = InscrIt X.5 1215 (Brixia; father Fronto)
Frontiniana (?)	1	McCabe, <i>Aphrodisias</i> 441 [Φρον]τεινιων[ή] (?)
Frontoniana	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> C 1094 (SEN.)
Frontonil(l)a	1	CIL V 8143 = InscrIt X.1 618 (Pola, 3rd/4th c.)
Fruga	1	ILTun 1710,80 (Afr. proc., woman?)
Frutila	1	ILTun 1109,24 (Carthago, liberta)
Fucentia	1	CIL IX 3948 (Alba Fucens, early 2nd c.)
Fudina	1	CIL VIII 14444 (Afr. proc.)
Fugitiva	1	CIL V 5412 (Comum, 4th/5th c.)
Fulgentia	1	CIL IX 1380 (Aeclanum, 511)
Fulgentillia	1	ICUR 17489 (385)
Fulva	1	CIL VI 6180
Fulvianilla	1	CIL II 4522 = 4526 (Barcino, 130–200)
Fulvina	1	CIL IV 8306b (Pompeii)
Fundaniana	1	CIL II 5393 (Baetica) <i>Fundanianes</i>
Fuscianilla	1	AE 1981, 348 (Volsinii, 50–150)
Fusinica	1	CIL VIII 19796 (Celtianis, 2nd c.)
Futiana	1	CIL VI 5074 (14–50; brother Futianus)
Gaetica	1	CIL XIII 2206 (Lugdunum)
Gaianilla	1	ILAFr 412,41 (Carthago)
Gaina	1	CIL VI 28177 (1st/2nd c.)
Gaionilla	1	ERAE (Emerita) 239
Galliana	1	CIL VIII 16168 (Sicca Veneria)
Galliclara	1	ICUR 6719 (4th c.)
Gallinaria	1	CIL VI 18806 (liberta)
Gallitia	1	CIL III 3268 (Pann. inf., 170–250)
Gallitina	1	CIL VIII 3457 (Lambaesis)
Galosa (=Gallosa?)	1	ILAFr 166,6 (Ammaedara)
Gargiliana	1	CIL VIII 12304 eadem ILAlg II.3 7939
Gargonilla	1	PFOS 188 (SEN.)

Gaurana	1	CIL X 2229 (Puteoli, 2nd c.)
Gauriana	1	IG XIV 790 = I.Napoli II 128 Γαυριανή
Gaviana	1	PFOS 26 (SEN.)
Gelliana	1	IAM II.2 476 (Volubilis)
Gemenia	1	IGUR III 1180 (could also be a nomen, cf. IG II <sup>2</sup> 10992/3 Πόλλα Γεμενία)
Geminans	1	CIL XII 2375 (prov. Lugud.)
Geminiana	1	ICUR 16241e
Geminina	1	CIL XIII 3092 (Iuliomagus)
Gemmosa	1	CIL XIII 4394 (Belgica)
Gemmuniana	1	CIL II 1639 (Baetica, 2nd c.)
Gentilis	1	CIL XIII 5773 (Germ. sup., 70–130)
Germania	1	Pais 768 (Comum, 2nd c.)
Germaniola	1	CIL XIII 4060 (Belgica) <i>Germania German-</i>
Germanissa	1	CIL XIII 3183,17/18 (prov. Lugud.)
Gestiana	1	CIL XI 5175 (Umbria, early 2nd c.)
Gorsilla	1	CIL VI 3454 (3rd c.) <i>Gorsila</i>
Gracilla	1	CIL III 2870 (Dalmatia, 1st c.; father Gracilis)
Granniola	1	HEp 1997, 165a (Baetica)
Gratiana	1	CIL VIII 20143 (Cuicul)
Gratinula	1	CIL XII 2258 (Cularo; mother Gratina, sister Grata)
Gravata	1	ILGN 549 (prov. Narb.)
Gula	1	CIL VIII 7490 (Cirta, early imp.)
Gulosa	1	CIL VIII 13722 (Afr. proc.)
Habens	1	CIL III 3898 (Pann. sup., liberta)
Habulliana	1	ICUR 16253 (300–350)
Hadriana	1	CIL III 14214,10 (Moes. inf., 2nd c.)
Hadrumetina	1	BCTH 1908, CCVII (Afr. proc.)
Halaesina	1	CIL X 7408 (Sicilia)
Helleniola	1	AE 1946, 97 (Rome, 2nd c.) Hellenia Hellen-
Herc(u)liana	1	AE 1987, 672 (Toletum)
Herenniana	1	CIL II 1277a-b (Baetica)
Herenniola	1	CIL II 1820 (Gades; <i>Hereniola</i> )

Hilaricla/ Hilariola (?)	1	CIL XIII 5777 = ILingons 474 <i>D. M. HILARICLE</i> (or perhaps a local name?)
Hilarisia	1	CIL VIII 4141 (Numidia)
Hiluria (=Illyria?)	1	CIL III 14203 = IG IV 634 (Argos, liberta, <i>HILVRIA/ IAYPI[A]</i> )
Hinnula	1	AE 1966, 525 Ammaedara)
Hirpil(l)a	1	Gose 1958, 439 (Augusta Treverorum; <i>Hirpila</i> )
Hirundo	1	CIL II 3908 (Saguntum, liberta)
Hispaniensis	1	CIL VI 20888
Historia	1	CIL XIV 1144/1188 (Ostia; Greek loan)
Histria	1	CIL V 243 = InscrIt. X, 1, 166 (Pola, 3rd c.)
Histrica	1	CIL III 2580 (Salona, 150–300)
Histicilla	1	CIL X 4036 (Capua, 2nd c.)
Histrionica	1	CIL IV 5233 (Pompeii)
Honestilla	1	CIL V 7954 (Cemenelum; mother Honesta)
Honorilla	1	ILAlg II.1 1155 (Cirta)
Hospitalis	1	CIL VIII 8152 (Numidia)
Hospitilla	1	CIL VIII 7328 (Cirta)
Ianua	1	ICUR 6210 (350–400)
Ianuarina	1	ISyringes 468
Ianuariosa	1	ILAlg II.2 7063 (Sila)
Imperiosa	1	CIL VI 25484 (1st c.)
Improbata	1	AE 1978, 168 (Brundisium, 30 BCE - 20 CE)
Ingeniana	1	AE 1998, 244 (prov. unknown, 3rd c.; grandfather Ingenuus)
Ingens	1	CIL VIII 9685 (Maur. Caes.)
Ingenuilla	1	RIB I 133 (2nd/3rd c.)
Inquilina (?)	1	Cass. <i>var.</i> 4, 37 (if a woman)
Insidiola	1	CIL XIII 1404 (Aquitania; father Insidiator)
Insulana	1	CIL X 7678 (Sardinia, 2nd c.)
Interemnia	1	CIL X 4953 (Venafrum)
Intuma	1	CIL III 2083 (Salonae)
Inventiana (?)	1	CIL VI 14005 (250–300)
Invitilla	1	CIL III 8404 (Dalmatia, 30–150)

Ioviniana	1	AE 2014, 235 (Rome, 3rd c.)
Isporella	1	ILSard I 368 (5th c.)
Istatera (=Statera)	1	CIL VIII 3780 (Lambaesis)
Italiosa	1	ILAlg II.2 4972 (Thibilis)
Iucundiana	1	ICUR 23993; 26758 (both 4th c.)
Iucunditas	1	ILAlg II.1 951 (Cirta, 170–230)
Iuliana (?)	1	CIL III 5463 (Noricum, 170–230; often read Iulian(a)e but there seems to be an i, joined with e in a nexus)
Iulianodota	1	ICUR 18964e (4th c.)
Iuliola	1	AE 1938, 170 (Aquitania, 100 CE; Iulia Iul-)
Iuliona	1	RIB I 1252
Iunca	1	ILAlg II.1 1400 (Cirta)
Iunciana	1	Cod. Iust. 5,3,7 (or <i>Luciana</i> ?)
Iunicilla	1	CIL XII 2357 (prov. Narb.)
Iunula	1	ICUR 17880 (4th c.)
Iustiniana	1	CIL XIII 2944 (prov. Lugud.)
Iustinilla	1	AE 1934, 255 = SEG IX 176 (Cyrenae) Φλ. Ἰουστινίλλα
Iustiola	1	CIL XII 2369 (Vienna; father Iustus Iustinus)
Iuturna	1	CIL III 14359,22 (Carnuntum, 70–130)
Iuvenil(l)a	1	CIL IX 3584 (Samnium, 2nd c., <i>Iuvenila</i> )
Iuvencula	1	CIL XIII 4394 (Divodurum; <i>Iuvenalia Iuvencula</i> , father Iuvenalis)
Iuvenilia	1	CIL XIII 4179 (Belgica; <i>Iuvenilia</i> ; could also be Iuvenilla)
Iuvenilis	1	CIL XIII 6372 (Germ. sup.)
Iuvenis	1	CIL V 5959 (Mediolanum, verna)
Iuventas	1	CIL XI 1778 (Volterrae)
Kalendiola	1	CIL XIII 11632 (Germ. sup.)
Kartine	1	PCM 2020, p. 23 no. 25 (Puteoli, 170–250)
Kasariana	1	CIL VIII 6041 (Numidia; ethnonym?)
La[e]natiana	1	CIL VIII 26490 (Thugga; eadem VIII 26525; Epigraphica 2016, p. 91)
Labionilla	1	CIL XI 4522 (Ameria, 30–70)
Laboniana	1	CIL VIII 6808 (Numidia)
Labrosa	1	ICUR 6237 (350–400)

Labulla	1	Mart. 4,9
Lacerta	1	ICUR 5954 (350–400)
Lactilla	1	CIL V 5817 (Mediolanum)
Laetantia	1	ICUR 14388 (5th c.)
Laevina	1	CIL XIII 553 (Aquitania, 50–100)
Laietana	1	CIL II 6171 (Barcino)
Lal(l)iana	1	CIL IX 1002 (Abellinum/Montemarano; <i>Laliana</i> )
Lallina	1	CIL VIII 4705 (Madaurus)
Lamia	1	CIL III 2474 (Salona)
Lamilla	1	CIL VI 39736 (serva)
Lampadaria	1	CIL VI 16608 (Theveste, 150–200; supernomen)
Lamulla	1	Suppl It IX-A 53 = AE 1992, 397 (Amiternum)
Lanuvina	1	CIL VI 28123
Lare(n)sia	1	CIL VI 9071 <i>Laresia</i>
Lartilla	1	CIL VI 39061 (late 2nd/early 3rd c.)
Latiaria	1	PFOS 55 (SEN.)
Latona (?)	1	CIL VIII 1747 = 15845 (Sicca Veneria; <i>Latonna</i> )
Laurea	1	CIL V 7903 (Cemenelum, early 3rd c.)
Laurinia (?)	1	ICUR 24013 ( <i>Laurin{t}ia</i> ; perhaps more likely <i>Laurentia</i> )
Lauriola	1	RIT 632 (Tarraco)
Lausiana	1	ICUR 24014 (350–400)
Lautina	1	CIL VIII 8520 (Sitifis)
Laverna	1	CIL VI 20719
Laviana	1	CIL III 5840 (Augusta Vindelicorum)
Laxa (?)	1	CIL IV 9120 (dubious; sex unclear)
Lectrix (?)	1	CIL VI 8786 (more likely an appellative though)
Lena	1	CIL III 7305 (Achaia)
Lenilla	1	Cod. Iust. 7,71,3
Lenula (?)	1	CIL XIII 7049 (Mogontiacum, sex unclear)
Leoniana	1	cf. Kajanto 1965, 327 (not verified)
Leporica	1	ICUR 2311 (290–325)
Leunilla (=Leonilla)	1	ICUR 7679 (4th c.)

Libaria	1	Libyca 1953, 221 (Hippo Regius)
Liberitas	1	CIL X 2151 (Puteoli, 3rd c.)
Liberosa	1	ILAlg II.2 5466 (Thibilis)
Liberta	1	CIL VI 23973 (early 1st c., liberta)
Libulla	1	ILAlg II.2 4932/3 (Thibilis)
Licentina	1	CIL III 2584 (Salona, 150–300)
Licentiosa	1	(= <i>Licentiosa</i> ) CIL XIII 1608 (Aquitania)
Liguriana	1	REG 15 (1902) 313,6 (Pontus; Λιγυριανή)
Ligustina	1	CIL X 2716 (Puteoli, 1st c.)
Lima (?)	1	CIL III 12014,326 (Raetia, sex unclear)
Liviana	1	PFOS 190 (SEN.) (Veii)
Livilitta (?) (or Iulitta)	1	CIL VIII 6777 (perhaps <i>Iu{i}litta</i> rather than [ <i>Li</i> ]vilitta)
Livittiana	1	CIL VI 9494 (2nd c.)
Lixitana	1	CIL VI 2197
Longella	1	ILTun 201,80 (Afr. proc.)
Longinilla	1	ILJug III 1319 (Moes. sup., 130–200)
Longul[a] (?)	1	ICUR 22538 (326–375 CE, <i>Longul[ae? ---] filiae</i> )
Lubentia	1	ICUR 12687 (4th/5th c.)
Lucerina	1	CIL IX 3110 (Sulmo, 70–130)
Lucillana	1	AE 1993, 197 (Rome, 30–70)
Lucillina (?)	1	CIL XIII 5825 = ILingons 520 (Germ. sup., 70–130, [ <i>Lu</i> ]cillina)
Lucinula	1	CIL XII 1390 (prov. Narb.)
Lucretiana	1	CIL X 1138 (Abellinum, 2nd c.)
Lucria	1	CIL III 5068 (Noricum, 2nd c.)
Luct(u)osa	1	CIL VIII 6006 (Numidia; <i>Luctoosa</i> )
Luculina	1	CIL VIII 5808 (Numidia)
Ludula	1	CIL XIII 3787 (Augusta Treverorum, 4th/5th c.)
Luminaris	1	CIL VI 14192 [ <i>L</i> ]uminaris
Luminosa	1	ICUR 19047 (4th c.)
Lupantia	1	CIL XIII 3855 (Augusta Treverorum)
Lupensia	1	CIL VI 21674 (30–70)
Luperciana	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> P 770 (SEN.)

Luscina	1	CIL VIII 12921 (Carthago, 2nd c.)
M(a)ecenatia	1	CIL III 8967 (Salona, 150–300 CE) Could also be a nomen
Macerina	1	LLPRON 1957 = RICeleia 454 (2nd/3rd c., <i>Maceri[n]a</i> )
Maconiana	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> M 20 = PLRE I 828 (SEN.)
Macra	1	CIL III 4490 (Carnuntum, 2nd/3rd c.)
Macrinilla	1	CIL III 5974 (Raetia, father Macrinus)
Maecenatiana	1	CIL VI 4095 (serva, agnomen)
Magiana	1	CIL V 5840 (Mediolanum, 3rd c.)
Magnina	1	ICUR 24725 (290–325 CE)
Maiaria	1	CIL VI 13770 = 37073 (liberta)
Maioriana	1	CIL VIII 10670 (Numidia, 193–235)
Maiosa	1	CIL VIII 20453 (Maur. Caes.)
Mala	1	ICUR 4173 (432 CE)
Malificia	1	ICUR 16150 (4th c.)
Mallina	1	CIL VIII 426/11515 (Ammaedara)
Malliola	1	(= <i>Manliola</i> ?) CIL XII 5678,8/XV 281,1–6/Bloch 62 (Genava/Roma/Ostia)
Mam(a)iana	1	IG XIV 1833 Μαμμαϊανή
Mammata	1	AE 1965, 50 = 1967, 377 (Aquincum, 270–300)
Mammatia	1	CIL VI 21909 ancilla
Mammiola	1	RIB III 3209 (near Eburicum, 2nd/3rd c.)
Mammosa	1	ILAlg I 2242 (Madaurus)
Maniosa	1	VIII 5865 (Numidia)
Mansuetina	1	CIL VI 22013 (50–150)
Mantina	1	ILAlg II.2 4242 (Castellum Fabatianum)
Mantua (?)	1	CIL II 5321 (Lusitania; sex unclear)
Mapalia	1	CIL II 5537 (Corduba, 170–200)
Mapalica	1	CIL VIII 3224 (Lambaesis, 193–235)
Marca	1	CIL III 12969 (Salona, 150–300)
Marcula	1	CIL XII 2252 (Cularo, 250–300; father Marcus)
Marculla	1	Zappasodi 1908, p. 60 (Anagnia)
Marilla	1	AE 1993, 1195 (prov. Lugud., 2nd/3rd c.)
Marinia	1	CIL XIII 1252 (Aquitania)



Maritumola (?)	1	CIL II 6005 = AE 1995, 968 (Valentia, dubious)
Marmoris	1	CIL IX 887 (Luceria, 1st c., liberta)
Marra	1	CIL XII 2688 (prov. Narb.)
Marsiana	1	ILAlg II.1 3429 (Numidia, 2nd c.)
Marsiola	1	CIL XII 950 (Arelate, Chr.)
Marsulla	1	SEG VI 420 (Iconium)
Martianilla	1	Tab. Albertini 23 (495 CE)
Martiliana	1	CIL VIII 27915 (Afr. proc.; Chr.)
Martiosa	1	EE IX 929 (Latium)
Materilla	1	CIL XII 4152 (Nemausus)
Matidiana	1	CIL VI 28804 (liberta)
Matina	1	CIL III 12014,368 (Castra Regina)
Matrina	1	CIL III 14214,20 (Moes. inf., 150–200)
Matronata (?)	1	ICUR 1692 (326–375; perhaps not a name)
Matronia	1	Cod. Iust. 6,23,12
Matrulla	1	CIL XVI 55 (Raetia, 107 CE)
Maturina	1	CIL VI 38889 (2nd/3rd c.)
Mauricia	1	Terrien 2007, 39 (Germ. sup., 6th c.)
Mauriculosa (?)	1	ICUR 17903 ( <i>Moriclosa</i> ; cf. Solin 2000, 160)
Maximasia	1	ICUR 2102 (390 CE)
Maximinia	1	CIL III 850 (Dacia, <i>Maximimia</i> )
Maximiola	1	CIL XIII 4390 (Belgica)
Maximucia (?)	1	BAC 4 (1885), 67 no. 1 (Rome, dubious)
Melina	1	CIL II 1955 (Baetica; <i>Mel[ina]</i> , son Melinus)
Melior	1	CIL XI 4472 (Ameria, liberta)
Mellitita	1	ICUR 6826 (early 4th c.)
Mellitissima	1	CIL VI 28120
Memor	1	CIL VI 7700 (liberta)
Menda	1	CIL V 381 (Eraclea Veneta, early 1st c.); also two dubious cases (CIL III 3144; CAG 59-2, 318)
Mercuras	1	IRT 1272 (Afr. proc., 4th c.; in the EDCS, the name is <i>Mercura[s]</i> , but the enendation may not be necessary)
Merentina	1	ICUR 19117 (4th c.)
Meritoria	1	CIL VI 6952–61 (early 1st c.)

Metiliana	1	CIL VIII 2907 (Lambaesis)
Mimmiana	1	CIL VI 8094 (verna)
Minerva	1	AE 2019, 754 (Emerita, 1st c., liberta)
Minervia	1	ICUR 19119 (4th c.)
Miniciana	1	CIL V 6541 (Novaria, 2nd c.)
Minorica	1	CIL VIII 3814 (Lambaesis)
Minosa	1	CIL VIII 19610 (Cirta, 170–230)
Misena	1	CIL X 2104 (Puteoli, 150–200)
Misericordia	1	CIL VI 10802 (Hadrian's time?). Probably a name rather than an appellative
Missiva	1	CIL VIII 23355 (Thugga)
Mitella	1	CIL V 6472 (Ticinum)
Modestiana	1	CIL XIII 6806 (Mogontiacum, 170–200)
Modestiniana	1	CIL XIII 3695a (Augusta Treverorum)
Molendaria	1	CIL VIII 25260 (Carthago)
Molesta	1	ICUR 14493 (350–400)
Moneta	1	CIL XIII 1001 (Aquitania)
Moniana	1	CIL II 4975,23 (Matrice)
Montania	1	CIL XIII 34 (unless a nomen)
Montanina	1	ICUR 3146 (376–400 CE; <i>Montan{i}ina</i> )
Montica	1	ILGN 366 = ILN V.3 856 (Genava)
Monticla	1	IGUR I 160 (probably liberta)
Montiola	1	CIL XIII 2861 (prov. Lugud.)
Muccianilla	1	AE 1968, 196 (Aquileia, 4th c.)
Mucianilla	1	ICUR 8785 (290–325 CE)
Mucilla	1	JHS 22 (1902), 344,73 (Iconium) Μουκιλλη
Munatiana	1	CIL VI 38776
Mundilla (?)	1	CIL V 3183 (Vicetia)
Munilla	1	CIL II 117 (Ebora)
Munita	1	CIL VIII 24452/3 (Afr. proc.)
Murenilla	1	CIL IX 5405 (Firmum Picenum, 1st c.)
Murinilla	1	AE 1905, 240 (Carnuntum, 150–200)
Muscella	1	CIL III 6010,147 (Raetia)

Musellia	1	CIL XII 4720 (Narbo, liberta)
Muss(i)osa	1	CIL VIII 19223 eadem VIII 6129 (Numidia)
Muta	1	CIL XII 3427 (Nemausus)
Naeviana	1	CIL VI 9894
Naeviola	1	CIL V 3413 (Verona, 1st c.) <i>Naevia Naeviola</i>
Napoca (?)	1	CIL VI 269 (213 CE) <i>NAPOPA</i>
Nautica	1	CIL VI 37323–4 (serva)
Neapolitana (?)	1	CIL IX 491 (Venusia)
Nectariola	1	PLRE II, p. 774
Negotatrix	1	CIL XIV 2465 (Castrimoenium, 2nd c.)
Nepesina	1	ICUR 14504 (326–375 CE)
Nepotis	1	CIL XIV 2327 (Albanum, dubious)
Nepotula	1	InscrIt IX.1 179 (Pollentia, early 1st c.)
Neptilla	1	CIL III 2875 (Dalmatia, 1st/early 2nd c.)
Neptunalis	1	CIL VI 15514
Neptunia	1	ICUR 2163
Nerviana	1	CIL VIII 20996 (Caesarea, 227 CE) = PIR <sup>2</sup> C 1109
Nigellina	1	CIL VIII 7986/7987 (Numidia)
Nigrinia	1	CIL XII 4090 (prov. Narb., <i>Nigrina Nigrinia</i> )
Nigrinilla	1	Mourir à Dougga 883 (Thugga)
Nigro	1	CIL VIII 2180 = 16735 (Afr. proc.)
Ninita	1	ICUR 8896 (4th c.)
Nivalis	1	CIL VIII 6406 (Numidia)
Nivata	1	CIL VIII 26050 (Afr. proc.)
Nivosa	1	CIL VIII 19170 (Numidia)
Nobiliana	1	CIL X 5980 (Signia, <i>Nobilianeti</i> )
Nobilina	1	CIL XIII 1263 (Aquitania)
Nomentina	1	ILAlg I 2438 (Madaurus)
Nonana	1	CIL VI 10944 = ICUR 2911 (350–400)
Noniana	1	CIL V 7763 (Genua)
Nonnula	1	CIL III 11900 (Raetia, 2nd/early 3rd c.)
Nortina	1	CIL VI 7923 (1st/2nd c.)
Notata	1	CIL XII 2822 = 3113 (prov. Narb.)

Novana	1	CIL VI 3300 (also attested as a nomen)
Nubilis	1	CIL III 4569 (Vindobona, 150–200)
Numeriana	1	CIL XIV 3313 (Praeneste, 2nd/early 3rd c.)
Numisina (?)	1	CIL IX 3107 (Sulmo, 2nd/3rd c.) [ <i>N?</i> ] <i>umisina</i>
Nuptialica	1	CIL VIII 12400 eadem VIII 24037 (Neferis)
Nutrix	1	CIL XII 4742 (Narbo, liberta)
Obsecratio	1	CIL VI 11931
Ocelliana	1	IG XII.2 110 (Thessalonica)
Ocellina	1	PFOS 501
Ocratiana	1	CIL VIII 21842 (Volubilis) Ocratiana Ocrati f(ilia) (‘Ocratina’ in Kajanto 1965, 162)
Octava	1	CIL VI 24669
Octavianilla	1	ILAFr 162,36 (Ammaedara)
Octaviola	1	XIII 2079 (Lugudunum, father’s cognomen <i>Octavius</i> )
Ofentina	1	AE 1940, 25 (Narbo; unless not a cognomen)
Officiosa	1	CIL XI 753 (Bononia, liberta)
Ofilla (?)	1	CIL XII 1191 (50–100 CE; [---?] <i>ofilla</i> )
Oliola	1	AE 1979, 281 (Opitergium, 2nd c.)
Olivula	1	ICUR 23583 (350–400, Olibula)
Opera	1	CIL VI 23494 (if a woman)
Operata	1	CIL XV 680 (123 CE)
Opilionica	1	ICUR 5405 (4th/5th c.)
Optatiana	1	One woman, according to Kajanto 1965, 296.
Or(i)entilla	1	CIL IX 3106 (Sulmo, 1st c., inversed cg.)
Orata	1	AE 2005, 388 (Apulia)
Orbiola	1	AE 1976, 431 (Lugudunum mother Orbia)
Orcina	1	Cod. Iust. 10,32,2
Orienda	1	VI 28580 (liberta)
Ornata	1	CIL VIII 612 (Afr. proc.)
Ossucula (?)	1	CIL X 8197 (Puteoli; possibly <i>Os(sa) Sucul(a)e</i> , cf. 2.3.2.1 D.
Ostia	1	(=Hostia?) AE 1981, 485 = 1988, 663 (Sardinia, 350–500 CE)
Ostiensia	1	CIL VI 29630 (1st c.)

Ostiensis	1	AE 2001, 759 (Tarracina, 50–150)
Ovina	1	HEp 1996, 889 (Hisp. cit.)
P[lan]cilla	1	PFOS 611 (SEN.)
Pacana (=Pagana)	1	CIL VI 33616 (early 1st c.)
Pacatula	1	PLRE II, p. 816
Pactilla	1	ICUR 8546a (4th/5th c.)
Padana	1	CIL V 3732 (Verona)
Padula	1	CIL XIII 4704 (Belgica)
Palent(ina) (?)	1	CIL II 6115 = ICERV 4 (Tarraco)
Palmatia	1	PLRE II, p. 824
Papiana	1	CIL XIV 2827 (Praeneste, 50–150 CE)
Papiniana	1	Cod. Iust. 3,29,1
Parilla	1	CIL VI 27855 (late 1st/2nd c.)
Parra	1	CIL V 1130 (Aquileia, 1st c. BCE, liberta)
Parrula	1	ICUR 8889 (4th c.)
Partilla	1	CIL XIII 1145 (Aquitania)
Parvula	1	CIL V 6205 (Mediolanum)
Passeniana	1	CIL VIII 11342 (Afr. proc.)
Passerilla	1	CIL VI 4228 (126 CE)
Passienil[la]	1	CIL VIII 23156 (Afr. proc.)
Pastora (?)	1	ICUR 2351 (350–400; <i>PASTOBES</i> )
Pastorilla	1	CIL III 2467 (Salona)
Paternia	1	CIL II 4419 (Tarraco)
Paternilla	1	CIL XII 1629 (prov. Narb.)
Patrina	1	AE 1983, 622 (Hisp. cit., 2nd c.)
Patrona	1	ICUR 115 (4th c.)
Patula	1	CIL XII 2734 (prov. Narb.)
Paulica	1	CIL VIII 22658,20 (Maur. Caes., gemma)
Paulosa (?)	1	CIL VIII 14505 (Bulla Regia, <i>PAVIOSA</i> )
Paupera	1	IRT 841 (Afr. proc., 5th–7th c.)
Pavolina	1	ICUR 12715a (4th/5th c.)
Pecoria	1	ICUR 2717 (350–400)

Peculia	1	CIL XIII 627 (Burdigala)
Peculio	1	CIL II 1746 (Baetica)
Peculium	1	CIL X 4004 (Capua, liberta)
Pedana	1	CIL VI 17050
Pedulla	1	CIL XII 3850 (Nemausus)
Pedullina	1	CIL XII 4061 (prov. Narb.)
Pensata	1	CIL VI 34865a-b (liberta)
Peregriana	1	CIL VIII 11829 (Mactaris, liberta); XV 7687
Periculosa	1	Ven. Fort. <i>virt. Hil. 6</i>
Persina	1	CIL II 4265 (Tarraco)
Perusilla	1	CIL VI 21121 (1st c.)
Pescenniana (?)	1	CIL VIII 4933 (fragmentary)
Petelina	1	ICUR 12325 (350–400 CE)
Peticianilla	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> V 396 (SEN.)
Petita	1	CIL VIII 20132 (Numidia)
Petrulla	1	CIL IV 4562 (Pompeii; <i>Pet{e}rul(l)a</i> )
Pexsa	1	CIL IX 3318 (Superaequum, 30–1 BCE)
Picata	1	ICUR 2361 (326–375 CE)
Pictorina	1	ICUR 17167 (4th/5th c.)
Piculla	1	IRMN <sup>a</sup> 41 (Hisp. cit.)
Pientissima (?)	1	CIL XI 20 (Classis)
Pinariana	1	CIL VIII 26186 (Afr. proc.)
Piniana	1	ICUR 6490 (350–400)
Pinna	1	CIL XI 7180b (Clusium)
Piper	1	CIL VIII 17788 (Numidia)
Piperc(u)la	1	CIL VI 24212 <i>Pipercla</i>
Piperosa	1	ICUR 20908 (350–400)
Piperus	1	CIL VIII 3412 (Lambaesis) eadem VIII 3526
Piscarose (=Piscariosa?)	1	ICUR 1666 (326–375 CE)
Piscenila (=Piscinilla?)	1	CIL VIII 11587 (Ammaedara, 2nd/3rd c.)
Piscina	1	ICUR 3685 (350–400)
Piscinissa	1	ICUR 16427 (290–325 CE)

Pisonis	1	CIL VI 37122 = ICUR 1930 (SEN., b. 316, d. 346 CE)
Pitiana	1	ILJug III 2714 (Salona, 150–300 CE)
Platorina	1	PFOS 744 = PIR <sup>2</sup> S 1033 (SEN.)
Plautiana	1	CIL V 408 = InscrIt X.2 239 (Parentium)
Plautina	1	EE VIII Hisp. 162
Pleps (=Plebs)	1	CIL VI 16524 (liberta)
Plotiana	1	BCAR 90 (1985), 311 (Rome)
Plotiniana	1	CIL V 7594a = InscrIt IX.1 149 (Pollentia, early 3rd c.)
Po[m]posa	1	CIL VIII 1983 (Numidia)
Poenica	1	AE 1976, 134 = 1983, 177 (Tusculum, Augustan, liberta)
Pol(l)ionilla	1	ILM 122 (Volubilis)
Politoria	1	ARW 12 (1909), 40 (cf. Solin & Salomies, <i>Repertorium</i> , 380), though I have not been able to verify this one.
Pollecla	1	ICUR 7751 (326–375 CE)
Pollens	1	CIL V 7271 (Segusio, 2nd/3rd c.)
Pollex	1	CIL VIII 22781 (Afr. proc.)
Pompullina	1	CIL XII 1373 (Vasio)
Pontianilla	1	Cod. Iust. 6,53,3
Popilla (?)	1	CIL XIII 2237 (Lugudunum; perhaps more probably Popilia)
Populonia	1	ILGN 342 (Cularo, 593–623 CE)
Porciola	1	CIL II 6175 (Barcino, 170–230 CE)
Porte(n)sia	1	CIL XIV 1422 (Ostia, late 2nd/early 3rd c.)
Possessa	1	CIL VI 24841
Postina	1	CIL IX 1759 (Beneventum)
Postuminula	1	CIL XIII 1540 (Aquitania)
Potentia	1	CIL II 4313 (Tarraco)
Potissuma	1	ILGN 87 (Aquae Sextiae)
Potitiana	1	PFOS 706 = PIR <sup>2</sup> S 563 (SEN.)
Potosa	1	CIL VIII 3936/4121 (Lambaesis)
Praeconina	1	CIL XI 6846 (Bononia)
Praefecta	1	CIL VIII 5497 (Numidia)
Praesens	1	CIL VI 13879
Praesentia	1	CIL III 5568 (Noricum, 2nd c., son Praesentinus)

Praetoria	1	CIL X 6423 (Circeii)
Praetuttiana	1	EE VIII.1 209 (Interamnia Praetuttiorum)
Primariola	1	ICUR 18874 (4th c.)
Primas	1	(f.) IG XIV 1328 = IGUR II.1 280 (Rome, 120–170)
Primella	1	CIL XII 1418 (prov. Narb.)
Primiana	1	ICUR 14574 (4th c.)
Primigenivola	1	InscrIt X.3 2* (Dalmatia, 170–300)
Primulica	1	CIL VIII 3802 (Lambaesis)
Primullia	1	ILGN 487 (Nemausus)
Principina	1	CIL VIII 12183 (Afr. proc.)
Priscia	1	CIL XII 4390 (Narbo, 50–100)
Priscit(ε)a	1	AE 1976, 460 = 2007, 979 (Belgica, 150–250) At a quick glance it looks like <i>Prisca</i> but there is a small ligature within the C.
Proballa	1	CIL III 11051 (Brigetio, 130–170 CE)
Probatiana	1	ICUR 9094 (290–325, father Probatius)
Probatula	1	CIL VIII 20165 (Numidia)
Probiana	1	CIL XIV 220 (Ostia, 100–130)
Probitatia	1	ICUR 5450 (4th/5th c.)
Procellina	1	IGBulg I:2 2 (Moes. inf.) Προκελλεῖνη
Processiana	1	CIL VI 12410
Proclia	1	(=Proculia/Procilia?) CIL III 11291 (Carnuntum)
Proclodia	1	(=Proculodia?) ICUR 23820 (350–400)
Proculosa	1	CIL VIII 3556 (Lambaesis)
Professa	1	CIL XIII 2873 (Alesia)
Progenita	1	CIL V 2209 (Altinum)
Proma	1	CIL X 5602 (Fabrateria Nova)
Prosperata	1	CIL III 14373,31 (Raetia)
Proterva	1	CIL XI 4220 (Interamna Nahars, liberta)
Provictrix	1	CIL VI 22453
Proximilla	1	CIL VI 25108 (son Proximus)
Proximina	1	CIL III 11540 (Virunum, 1–300 CE)
Prudentia	1	CIL XIII 4180 (Belgica)
Publica	1	EE VIII Hisp. 266 (liberta)



Publil(l)a	1	CIL VIII 16263 (Afr. proc.)
Publiosa	1	ICUR 21308 (4th/5th c.)
Pulchella	1	CIL X 7407 (Sicilia)
Pulchriana	1	CIL XIV 1988 (Ostia)
Pullilla	1	ICUR 4603,2 (350–400; <i>Pulliles</i> )
Putilla	1	CIL VI 9630
Quadratia	1	CIL III 14263 (Dalmatia)
Quartinula	1	CIL VIII 1590 (Afr. proc., son Quartinus)
Quartua	1	CIL V 3419 (Verona)
Querula	1	CIL IX 2304 (Telesia, 50–100)
Quinquatralis	1	CIL VI 15928 (50–500)
Quintillia	1	ICUR 10122 (4th c.)
Quintulosa	1	CIL VIII 24973 (Carthago)
R(a)etina	1	ICUR 17124 (late)
Ravenna	1	AE 1978, 352 (Concordia, 250–300 CE)
Recta	1	CIL II 3203 (Valeria, 30–70 CE)
Redductula	1	CIL VIII 25670 (Afr. proc.)
Reginiana	1	CIL VI 20653 (50–100 CE)
Regiola	1	CIL XIII 2988 (prov. Lugud.)
Regulina	1	CIL X 6324 (Tarracina, 54–68 CE)
Rementiana	1	CIL VI 29101 <i>Rementianeti</i>
Remigia	1	ICUR 12543 (398/399 CE)
Remmiana	1	CIL VIII 27023 = 27352 (Afr. proc.)
Remula	1	CIL V 2300 (Altinum)
Renatul[a]	1	CIL VIII 19103 (Numidia)
Renovata	1	CIL X 7770 (Sardinia, 4th/5th c., <i>Renobata</i> )
Repulsa (?)	1	CIL VIII 13888 (Carthago)
Resecta (=Respecta?)	1	AE 1948, 236 (Noricum, 2nd c.)
Restiola	1	CIL XIII 2092 (Lugudunum)
Revecta	1	ICUR 15302 (4th c.)
Ricana	1	Cod. Iust. 3,34,2
Ridicula	1	CIL VI 38822a (liberta)

Riparia	1	CIL VIII 7216 (Cirta, 170–230 CE)
Rogatianilla	1	CIL VIII 23792 (Afr. proc.)
Roma	1	CIL VI 22065
Romilla	1	RECAM II 296 (Galatia, 1st c.)
Rosciana	1	CIL II 1341 (Baetica)
Rufinia	1	ICUR 20682 (4th c.)
Rulina	1	CIL XII 3840 (Nemausus), based on an old copy, perhaps <i>Rufina</i> (or <i>Rullina</i> , cf. <i>Rullinus</i> )?
Ruriciola	1	CIL XIII 3872 (Augusta Treverorum)
Rusilla	1	CIL VIII 22770 (Afr. proc.)
Rusticia	1	ICUR 5224 (390–425)
Rusticosa	1	ILAlg II.2 5865 (Thibilis)
Ruta	1	ICUR 23266 (350–400)
Rutundula (=Rot-)	1	ICUR 16446 (early 4th c.)
Sabinia	1	ICUR 12005 (4th c.) In earlier cases probably a nomen. The other case listed in Solin & Salomies 1994 seems to be simply <i>Sabina</i> .
Saccula	1	ICUR 21056 (375–400 CE)
Sacella	1	CIL XII 2810 (prov. Narb.)
Sacerdos	1	CIL X 4673 (Cales, 1st c.)
Sacerdotilla	1	ICUR 15878 (4th c.; Σακ[ε]ρδοτιλλα)
Saenias	1	ICUR 24139 (4th c.)
Sagata	1	CIL IV 756 (Pompeii, 75 CE)
Saguntia	1	ILAlg II.1 2321 (Celtianis, 2nd c.)
Saguntina	1	CIL II 3970 (Saguntum, 70–130 CE)
Sala	1	ILAlg I 2253 (Madaurus)
Saliana	1	CIL VI 25769 <i>Salia Saliana</i>
Sallentina	1	CIL VI 25330 (2nd c.; <i>Salentina</i> )
Sallustilla	1	ICUR 12919c (250–300 CE)
Salva	1	ILTun 1611,27 (Sicca Veneria)
Sana (?)	1	CIL XIII 10010,1715 (Germ.)
Sanctina	1	CIL VIII 3970 (Lambaesis)
Sapidia	1	AE 1987, 280 (Canusium, 4th c.)

Saputula	1	ILAfr 171 (Ammaedara)
Sardinia (?)	1	ICUR 19312 (4th c.) Σαρδινια Κατουλλινα (perhaps a nomen)
Saturniniana (?)	1	CIL XI 2446 (Clusium)
Savarina	1	CIL V 8336 (Aquileia, 2nd c.)
Scarbantilla	1	CIL III 10946 (Scarbantia, serva)
Scarbantina	1	CIL III 4201 (Savaria, 50–100)
Scaura	1	CIL VI 38711
Scauriana	1	CIL VI 26005 (2nd/3rd c.)
Scipionilla	1	CIL VIII 20965 (Caesarea)
Scopa	1	CIL IX 3122 (Sulmo, 1st/2nd c.)
Scotta (?)	1	CIL XII 4127 (Nemausus)
Scriboniana	1	CIL III 12149 (Comama)
Scurpillosa	1	CIL XII 2070 = RICG 15, 67, 524 (Vienna)
Sebosa	1	AE 1981, 944 (Caesarea)
Secundinia	1	CIL VIII 21569 (Maur. Caes.)
Secundiniana	1	CIL V 5616 (Sibrium, 150–300)
Secundinula	1	CIL XII 2333 (prov. Narb., 2nd c.) eadem XIII 2335
Sedula	1	CIL VIII 20583 (Maur. Caes.)
Sedulina	1	InscrIt I.1 223 (Salernum, 150–200)
Segetia	1	CIL VI 28266
Seiana	1	CIL VIII 2103 (Afr. proc., 1st c.)
Seiola	1	ILAlg II.2 5892 (Thibilis)
Selentiosa (=Sil-?)	1	CIL XIII 2351 (Lugudunum)
Sementiva	1	CIL VI 17720 (liberta)
Sempronilla	1	CIL II 5771 (Hisp. cit., mother Sempronia)
Seneciosa	1	CIL VIII 6013 (Numidia)
Senilis	1	cf. Kajanto 1965, 301
Senniola	1	CIL XIII 3407 (Durocortorum, 170–230)
Sententia	1	Cod. Iust. 2,22,6
Sentilla	1	CIL XIII 685 (Burdigala, 150–220)
Sequana	1	CIL V 2129 (Tarvisium 1st c.)
Sergilla	1	CIL II 3841–3842/3845–3847 (Saguntum)

Servandia	1	ICUR 22010 (250–300)
Sestuliana	1	MAMA V 67 (Phrygia)
Setina	1	ILAlg I 2241 (Madaurus)
Setoriana	1	CIL XI 3181 (Falerii)
Settiana	1	AE 1911, 91 (Emerita; perhaps not <i>Sitt-</i> )
Severantia	1	Arm. agn. 290 ( <i>Seb-</i> )
Severio	1	CIL III 5671 = 11814 (Noricum, 3rd c.)
Severula	1	CIL XIII 2568 (Ambarri)
Sica (?)	1	CIL II 169 (Lusitania, sex unclear)
Sicilia	1	CIL II 4014 (Hisp. cit., <i>serva</i> )
Siculina	1	CIL VI 26544
Signina	1	ICUR 1208 (4th/5th c.?)
Silania	1	CIL XIII 330 (Aquitania)
Silanilla	1	CIL VI 21921 (father Silanus)
Silentia	1	RICG I 160 (Augusta Treverorum)
Silex (?)	1	CIL XIII 11011 (Aquitania)
Siliana	1	CIL XIII 4567 (Belgica)
Siliciana	1	CIL III 2278 (Salona, 150–300)
Silonia	1	CIL XIII 7550b (Germ. sup.)
Silvanica	1	CIL VIII 91116 (Maur. Caes.)
Silveria	1	ICUR 22725r
Sivilla	1	CIL VI 39820 (30–70) eadem AE 1984, 107
Similina	1	RIB I 505 (Britannia, 3rd c.)
Simpliciola	1	Aug. <i>epist.</i> 212
Sincilla	1	ILTG 350 (Iuliobona)
Siricosa	1	ICUR 1767 (325–375)
Sirmia	1	AJ 591 (Pann. sup., 150–300)
Sisinius	1	ICUR 832 (4th c.)
Situllina	1	CIL II 5488 (Cartima)
Sobrina	1	ICUR 19393f (4th c.)
Soiana	1	CIL XIII 1290 (Avaricum)
Solana (?)	1	Cod. Iust. 2, 31, 2
Solanilla	1	ICUR 13843 (300–350; Σολανίλλα)

Solida	1	CIL V 1710 (Aquileia, 350–400)
Solutria	1	IL Afr 166,30 (Ammaedara)
Somnula	1	IL Alg. II.1 3316 (Celtianis, 2nd c.)
Sortita	1	CIL XI 470 (Ariminum)
Sparagina	1	ICUR 23029 (4th/5th c.)
Spectatilla	1	CIL III 4099 (Pann. sup.)
Speratula	1	ICUR 26444 (3rd c.)
Spesinilla	1	AE 1974, 704 (Madaurus, 4th/5th c.)
Splendonilla	1	CIL VIII 2035 (Numidia)
Spoletina	1	CIL XI 5294 (Hispellum, 2nd c.)
Sponsilla	1	EE IX 949 (Nomentum, 1st c.)
Sportula	1	ICUR 6211 (350–400)
Squama (?)	1	CIL VIII 7797 (Cirta, sex unclear)
Statiana	1	CIL XIII 2774 (Haedui; <i>Statilia Statiana</i> )
Statilla (?)	1	Cod. Iust. 3,28,22 (corrupt)
Statiola	1	CIL VIII 27980 (Numidia)
Statulla	1	CIL V 5663 (Transpadana, 14–41, Statia Statulla)
Staturina	1	ICUR 17510 (396 CE)
Stercorina	1	CIL III 2739 (Dalmatia)
Sterculia	1	CIL VIII 19640 (Numidia)
Stlaccilla	1	CIL VI 26852
Storacia	1	CIL V 4850 = InscrIt X.5 727 (Brixia)
Strabonilla	1	CIL IX 4030 (Alba Fucens, 130–170)
Studentia	1	ICUR 13101/2 (346/348 CE, same woman?)
Studiosa	1	CIL IX 1765 (Beneventum, father Studiosus)
Studium	1	CIL IX 2720 (Aesernia, 1st/2nd c.)
Suav(u)la	1	AE 1942/43, 44 (Tingis)
Suavina	1	IL Afr 417,5 (Thuburbo Minus)
Subatiana	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> S 939 (SEN.)
Subita	1	CIL VI 26896
Subulcinilla	1	CIL IX 5551 (Urbs Salvia, 70–150)
Successiana	1	CIL IX 5037 (Picenum, <i>Successianeti</i> )
Sucula	1	CIL IV 159 (Pompeii)

Sullina	1	CIL VI 28306
Sulpicilla	1	CIL XI 6052 (Umbria, 2nd c.)
Summanina	1	CIL X 4227 (Capua, 50 BCE–50 CE, liberta)
Summula	1	CIL XIII 7256 (Germ. sup.)
Superanda	1	AE 1974, 314 (Pisaurum, 2nd c.)
Superantia	1	CIL VI 2993 (Tiberian)
Superlata	1	Fr. Vat. 279.
Taberna	1	CIL VIII 8144 (Numidia)
Tauriana	1	ILAlg II.2 5323 (Thibilis)
Teanensis	1	CIL X 4804 (Teaenum Sidicinum)
Terentiniana	1	Bull ép 1983, 264 (Macedonia, 3rd c.)
Tergeste (?)	1	CIL V 100 = InscrIt X.1 176 (Pola, perhaps not an anthroponym)
Tertiana	1	CIL VIII 3337 (Lambaesis)
Tertias	1	BGU 1896,98 (Theadelphia, 166)
Tertulliana	1	CIL VI 29604
Tertullinia	1	CIL X 6420 (Tarracina, 345 CE)
Tessiana	1	CIL VI 27293 (2nd/3rd c., Tessia Tessiana)
Tetricilla	1	CIL XII 1979 (Vienna)
Tibullesia	1	<i>Tibullesia?</i> CIL X 7937 (Tibula, 2nd c.)
Tinca	1	ICUR 15339 (325–375 CE)
Tironilla	1	PFCR 74 (early 3rd c.)
Titita	1	CIL XIV 3428a (Praeneste, 4th c.)
Tito	1	CIL III 2757 = 9817 (Salona)
Titosa	1	CIL ILAlg II.1 2697 (Celtianis, 2nd c.)
Tonniana	1	CIL V 3393 = AE 1947, 60 (Verona, 1–50 CE)
Torquatiana	1	CIL VI 7290 = 27557 (30–70 CE)
Tragula (?)	1	CIL III 14033 (Dalmatia, sex unclear)
Traiana	1	CIL VI 23821 (2nd c.)
Tranquilliana	1	ICUR 9448b (3rd c.)
Transtiberina	1	CIL VI 25198
Trebiana	1	CIL III 12031 (Pann. inf.)
Trifolina	1	ICUR 24192 (4th c.)

Trio	1	CIL III 2735 (Dalmatia, 150–300 CE)
Triumphalica	1	CIL VIII 13976–7 (Carthago, <i>Triumphalica</i> )
Tudertina	1	CIL VI 12837
Tullina	1	ICUR 8582a (4th/5th c.)
Turbantia	1	ICUR 21598 (336 CE)
Turi[a]nilla	1	RIB I 1789 (Britannia, 122–300 CE)
Tusculina	1	CIL II 1395 = 5437 (Baetica)
Tutela	1	CIL XII 1897 (Vienna, 2nd c.) eadem XII 1901
Tutula (?)	1	CIL XVI 49 (Brigetio, indigenous?)
Ulpiola	1	AE 1984, 940 (Sitifis, 4th c.)
Ultrix	1	CIL VIII 12778 (Carthago, 2nd c.)
Urbania[na?]	1	CIL VIII 20276 (Satafis) Urbania[na]
Urb[ic]illa	1	CIL XII 1683 (Dea Augusta Vocontiarum)
Urbicana	1	Cod. Iust. 5,12,9
Urbigena	1	CIL V 4608 = InscrIt X.5 405 (Brixia, vernacula)
Urbilla	1	CIL VI 29583 = 34190b
Urbina	1	CIL XII 542 (Aquae Sextiae)
Urgulanilla	1	PFOS 619 (SEN.)
Urnia (?)	1	(= <i>Ur(a)nia</i> ?) CIL V 1696 (Aquileia)
Ursacina	1	CIL III 5420 (Noricum, 2nd c.)
Ursella	1	ICERV 17 (Emerita, 370–430 CE)
Ursenia (?)	1	ICUR 8970 (perhaps a nomen)
Ursia	1	AE 1913, 214 (Capua, 1–50, perhaps a nomen)
Ursiana	1	CAG 34.3 p. 279 (Sextantio)
Ursinia	1	CIL XIII 6343 (Germ. sup.)
Ursinula	1	CIL III 8316 (Dalmatia, 170–300 CE)
Ursulina	1	CIL III 11185 (Carnuntum, 170–300 CE)
Urticia	1	CIL XI 5455 (Asisium, liberta)
Urticula	1	CIL VI 29562
Uscilla (?)	1	CPR VIII 53 (Herakleopolites, 5th c., Οὔσκιλλα)
Usilla (?)	1	CIL XIII 3427 (Belgica). [ <i>P</i> ]usilla?
Utina (?)	1	CIL XV 5798
Valentiniana	1	IAquil III 3234 (Aquileia, 4th c.)

Valeric(u)la	1	AE 1974, 32 (Rome, 350–400)
Vallata	1	CIL II 1798 (Baetica)
Vara	1	CIL XIII 387 (Aquitania, 1–300); cf. Var(i)a
Varanilla	1	PFOS 397 (SEN.)
Varenilla	1	PFOS 254 (SEN.)
Varica	1	CIL VIII 14222 (Carthago)
Varinian(a)	1	RICeleia 308 (Celeia, 2nd c.)
Vasta	1	CIL VI 4288 (1–70)
Vebiosa (or Ulpiosa?)	1	ILAlg II.2 7051 (Numidia)
Vectina	1	ICUR 25043 (300–350)
Veientana	1	CIL VI 14014
Veientilla	1	CIL VI 14573
Venantium	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> A 30 = PLRE I 947 (SEN.)
Venerilla	1	CIL VIII 25684 (Afr. proc.)
Venerina	1	CIL XIV 4163 (Ostia, 150–250 CE)
Venula (?)	1	CIL VI 36513 (uncertain)
Venustinula	1	CIL VIII 27241 (Afr. proc.)
Verax	1	CIL VI 24872 (liberta)
Verginilla (?)	1	CIL V 5899 (Mediolanum, 50–200 CE) <i>Verginia Vergini[lla]</i>
Veriana	1	ICUR 20524 (3rd c.)
Vericia	1	CIL III 12377 (Moes. inf.)
Verinula	1	CIL XII 2272 (Cularo)
Vernantilla	1	ILJug III 2467 (Salona, 4th c.)
Vernilla	1	CIL III 2117 (Salona, 4th–6thc.)
Versa	1	CIL VI 7929 (1st c., liberta)
Verulla	1	EDR 131750 (Volsinii, 2nd/3rd c.; cf. Solin 2021, 249; Tamburini 2001, 165)
Vespula	1	BAC 1891, 140 (Verona)
Vestalica	1	CIL VIII 682 (Afr. proc.)
Vestilla	1	CIL IX 2867 (Histonium, 1st/2nd c.)
Vesuntina	1	ICUR 19473 (4th c.)
Vet(t)iola	1	IMS IV 89 = Ninković 2019, 47 (Moesia sup., 171–250)
Veterosa	1	CIL VIII 3300 (Numidia)



Vētranissa	1	CIL V 1678 (Aquileia) (= PLRE II, p. 1157)
Vettiana	1	CIL III 10188,26 (Dalmatia)
Vetuscula	1	CIL XII 990 (prov. Narb.)
Vetustilla	1	CIL VIII 1732 (Afr. proc.)
Vexilla	1	AE 1978, 599 (Carnuntum, 70–130 CE, liberta)
Viabula	1	ILAlg II.2 4501 (Numidia)
Viblina	1	CIL XIII 11052 (Vesunna)
Vicinia	1	CIL V 7695 (Augusta Bagiennorum, serva)
Vicinill[a?]	1	CIL XIV 4242 (Tibur, 100–125 CE)
Victulla	1	HEp 2000, 62 (Emerita)
Villa	1	AE 1957, 120 (Clipea, 5th c.)
Villiana	1	AE 1985, 317 (Potentia, 70–130)
Vindelica	1	CIL III 5780 (Raetia, 170–300 CE)
Vindemiana	1	ICUR 19524 (4th c., <i>Vindi-</i> )
Vindemitri[x/a?]	1	AE 1974, 45 (Rome, 100–250 CE)
Vindimiola	1	CIL XII 2075 (Vienna)
Vinilla	1	CIL XIII 5431 (Germ. sup.)
Vinusilla	1	CIL XIII 2517 (Ambarri)
Virginosa	1	CIL VIII 20792 (Maur. Caes.)
Virgula	1	CIL XIII 2873 (Alesia, mother Virgulina)
Virgulina	1	CIL XIII 2873 (Alesia, daughter Virgula)
Virilla	1	I GLS XXI.5, 149 (Syria)
Viriola	1	PIR <sup>2</sup> A n. 1370 (SEN.)
Vistulla	1	CIL IX 153 (Brundisium, 50–100)
Vitelliana	1	CIL X 3029 (Puteoli 130–230)
Vitilla	1	CIL III 12357 (Moesia inf.)
Vitiola	1	IBR 176b (Raetia)
Vittata	1	CIL XIII 3504 (Belgica)
Viviana	1	ICUR 19477a (325–375 CE)
Volitana	1	CIL VIII 24506 Bolitana
Volzca	1	CIL X 5496 (Aquinum)
Voltenniana (?)	1	CIL VI 17247 (unless a nomen, cf. n. 565)
Volumnilla	1	CIL X 7087 (Sicilia)

## Appendix 2: Senatorial women's cognomina in the first three centuries

The following catalogue records all known senatorial women's cognomina between the reigns of Augustus and Diocletian, excluding nomina used as cognomina as well as all cases in which the cognomen is too fragmentary for any reasonable analysis. The catalogue is divided in two parts: a) Latin (and comparable) cognomina and b) Greek and other clearly non-Latin cognomina. Each part is furthermore chronologically divided in three sections, which roughly correspond to the first three centuries. This will hopefully result in a better understanding of what kind of names senatorial women had in different time periods. In the case of some less-known women the dates are sometimes tentative, and it is possible that some of these women may in fact have lived in a later or an earlier period than the catalogue suggests. The amount of such cases, however, is low and will not affect the overall picture in any significant way.

### A. Latin cognomina

This category includes not only purely Latin cognomina but also Italic and Latinized Etruscan names. I have also included in this category some Latinized forms of Greek cognomina used by the Roman Republican aristocracy, e.g. *Orestilla*, *Achaica*. Genuine Greek cognomina, used mostly by the descendants of the Greek-speaking elite, are listed separately.

#### i) First century (from Augustus to Nerva)

AUGUSTUS – NERVA	
Achaica	Mummia Achaica ( <i>PFOS</i> 556)
Aemiliana	Herennia Helvidia Aemiliana ( <i>PFOS</i> 417) Cornelia Cethegilla Aemiliana Plancina ( <i>PFOS</i> 281; could also be later)
Aesernina	Claudia Aesernina ( <i>PFOS</i> 215)
Afra	Etri[lia] Afra ( <i>PFOS</i> 344)
Agrippina (7)	Asinia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 113) Iulia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 426) Iulia Agripp[i]na ( <i>PFOS</i> 427) Paconia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 592 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 30) Vipsania Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 811) (Vipsania) Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 812 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 682) Vibullia Alcia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 806 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 615)
Amb[ibula]	[Eggia?] Amb[ibula] ( <i>PFOS</i> 337)

AUGUSTUS – NERVA	
Attica	Attica ( <i>PFOS</i> 127)
Atticilla	Maria Atticilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 529) <sup>987</sup>
Balbina	Fabia Balbin[a] ( <i>PFOS</i> 349)
Bassa (2)	Bassa ( <i>PFOS</i> 141) Rubellia Bassa ( <i>PFOS</i> 667)
Brocchilla	Valeria Brocchilla (Raepsaet-Charlier 1993, p. 259)
Calvina (2)	Domitia Calvina ( <i>PFOS</i> 321) Iunia Calvina ( <i>PFOS</i> 469)
Camilla	Arruntia Camilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 103)
Catella	Aelia Catella ( <i>PFOS</i> 10)
Celerina (2)	Pompeia Celerina ( <i>PFOS</i> 626 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 670) (Pompeia?) Celerina ( <i>PFOS</i> 627)
Cethegilla (3)	Cornelia Cethegilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 280 (Cornelia) Cethegilla ( <i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 4232 = <i>SEG</i> XL 195; cf. n. 873) Cornelia Cethegilla Aemiliana Plancina ( <i>PFOS</i> 281; could also be later)
Clara	Norbana Clara ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 172) <sup>988</sup>
Claudilla	Iunia Claudilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 470)
Concess[a]	Iulia Concess[a] ( <i>PFOS</i> 434)
Cornuta	Servenia Cornuta ( <i>PFOS</i> 707 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 568)
Crispina (2)	(Caepionia) Crispina ( <i>PFOS</i> 166) (Vinia) Crispina ( <i>PFOS</i> 807 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 669)
Crispinilla	Calvia Crispinilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 184)
Decidiana	Domitia Decidiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 322)
Decmina	Clodia Decmina ( <i>PFOS</i> 258)
Dolabellina	(Cornelia) Dolabellina ( <i>PFOS</i> 283)
Domitilla (3)	Flaviae Domitillae ( <i>PFOS</i> 367–369)
Drusilla (2)	Iulia Drusilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 437) Iulia Drusilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 438)
Eburna	(Fabia?) Eburna ( <i>PFOS</i> 350)
Fabulla	(Fabia?) Fabulla Asiatica? ( <i>PFOS</i> 351; cf. Appendix 4a no. 7)

<sup>987</sup> Her exact status is uncertain. She is known from a Roman water pipe stamp (*CIL* XV 7491) that has been dated to the late first century.

<sup>988</sup> She is known from Hermopolis, where she owned estates (*Lond.* 1213–1215). The papyri are dated 65/66 CE. She may have been connected to the brothers C. Norbanus Flaccus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 168) and L. Norbanus Balbus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 165).

AUGUSTUS – NERVA	
Fadilla	Arria Fadilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 99)
Faustina	Rupilia Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> 674 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 218)
Flaccilla (2)	Artoria Flaccilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 107) Calvisia Flaccilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 185)
Frontina (2)	Caesia Frontina ( <i>PFOS</i> 170) Iulia Frontina ( <i>PFOS</i> 440)
Fundana	Galeria Fundana ( <i>PFOS</i> 399)
Furnilla (2)	Antonia Furnilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 77) Marcia Furnilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 525)
Gaetulica	Cornelia Gaetulica ( <i>PFOS</i> 284)
Galbilla (2)	Sulpiciae Galbillae ( <i>PFOS</i> 741 & 742)
Galla (6)	Caninia Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 187) Cottia Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 299) Didia Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 314) Pomponia Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 638 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 773) Satria (or Atria?) Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 686) <sup>989</sup> Sosia Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 720 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 781)
Gallitta (2)	Cosconia Gallitta ( <i>PFOS</i> 296) Gallitta ( <i>PFOS</i> 400)
Gemina	Verania Gemina ( <i>PFOS</i> 788 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 392)
Graecina	Pomponia Graecina ( <i>PFOS</i> 640 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 775)
Gratilla	Verulana Gratilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 790 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 424)
Hispulla (3)	Corellia P ( <i>PFOS</i> 268) Hispulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 418) Terentia Hispulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 756 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 105)
Isaurica	Iulia Quintilia Isaurica ( <i>PFOS</i> 457)
Iunilla	(Aelia) Iunilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 14)
Iusta	Apronia Iusta ( <i>PFOS</i> 88)
Laetilla (?)	Laetilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 482) <sup>990</sup>
Larga	[C]aecinia Larga ( <i>PFOS</i> 160)
Lepida (8)	Aemiliae Lepidae ( <i>PFOS</i> 28–32; cf. also n. 768 above) Domitia Lepida ( <i>PFOS</i> 326) Iunia Lepida ( <i>PFOS</i> 472)

<sup>989</sup> She is only known from Tac. *ann.* 15,59,5.

<sup>990</sup> Her name in *CIL* XI 1735 = *AE* 1983, 382 was initially read *Laetilia*, but according to H. Solin's reading (Solin 1998, 119), *Laetilla* is a more plausible choice.

AUGUSTUS – NERVA	
Livilla (2)	Iulia Livilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 443) Livia Livilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 439; <i>incerta</i> )
Longina (2)	(Cassia?) Longina ( <i>PFOS</i> 196) Domitia Longina ( <i>PFOS</i> 327)
Lucana (3)	Octaviae Lucanae ( <i>PFOS</i> 585; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> O 69) <sup>991</sup> Sallustia Lucana ( <i>PFOS</i> 680 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 105)
Lucilla	Domitia Lucilla maior ( <i>PFOS</i> 328)
Magna (2)	Licinia Magna ( <i>PFOS</i> 494) <sup>992</sup> Plancia Magna ( <i>PFOS</i> 609 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 444)
Marcella (3)	Claudia Arruntia Marcella ( <i>PFOS</i> 220) (Claudiae) Marcellae (maior & minor; <i>PFOS</i> 242; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1103)
Marcellina	Claudia Marcellina ( <i>PFOS</i> 243)
Marciana	(Ulpia) Marciana ( <i>PFOS</i> 824 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 877)
Marulli[na]	Pompeia Marulli[na] ( <i>PFOS</i> 629 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 676)
Maxima	Gavia Maxima ( <i>PFOS</i> 403)
Maximilla (2)	Baebia Fulvia Claudia Paulina Grattia Maximilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 140) Egnatia Maximilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 338)
Medullina	Livia Medullina ( <i>PFOS</i> 500)
Messal(l)ina (4)	Statiliae Messalinae ( <i>PFOS</i> 730–731 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 865–866) (Valeria) Messalina ( <i>PFOS</i> 773) Valeria Messalina ( <i>PFOS</i> 774 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 241)
Nepotilla	Caesia Nepotilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 774)
Nigrina	Mummia Nigrina ( <i>PFOS</i> 558)
Nobilis	Iulia Nobilis ( <i>PFOS</i> 451)
Novatilla	(Annaea) Novatilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 50)
Numantina	(Fabia) Numantina ( <i>PFOS</i> 353) <sup>993</sup>
Ocellina (2)	Cornelia Ocel[lina] ( <i>PFOS</i> 288) Livia Ocellina ( <i>PFOS</i> 501)
Octavilla	Verania Octavilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 789 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 393)
Oculata (2)	(Aeliae) Oculatae ( <i>PFOS</i> 16–17)

<sup>991</sup> In *PFOS* the two women are considered to be the same person. However, *AE* 1954, 68 records *M. f.*, whilst the woman of *CIL* II 3437 is *M. f.*

<sup>992</sup> There is also Licinia Ma[gna?] (*PFOS* 493), but the restoration of the cognomen is uncertain.

<sup>993</sup> F. Chausson 2017 has argued for the existence of two Fabiae Numantinae instead of one (cf. n. 651 above). For the sake of certainty I have, however, included only one case here.

AUGUSTUS – NERVA	
Orestina/Orestilla	Cornelia Orestina/Orestilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 285) <sup>994</sup>
Paculla	Paculla ( <i>PFOS</i> 597 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 45)
Paetina (2)	Aelia Paetina ( <i>PFOS</i> 18) Minicia Paetina ( <i>PFOS</i> 553)
Paulla	Calpurnia ( <i>not Sergia</i> ) Paulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 702; cf. <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 541)
Paul(l)ina (11)	(Aelia) Domitia Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 12) Baebia Fulvia Claudia Paulina Grattia Maximilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 140) Calpurnia Paulina (cf. <i>AE</i> 2013, 1621; <i>SEG</i> LXIII 1374) Domitia Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 330) Fulvia Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 389) Iulia Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 452) Lusia Paullina ( <i>PFOS</i> 512) Lollia Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 504) Pompeia Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 630 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 678) Sergia Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 703 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 542) Valeria Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 775 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 242) <sup>995</sup>
Plancina (2)	Munatia Plancina ( <i>PFOS</i> 562) Cornelia Cethegilla Aemiliana Plancina ( <i>PFOS</i> 281; could also be later)
Platorina	Sulpicia Platorina ( <i>PFOS</i> 744 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 1033)
Plautilla	Sergia Plautilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 704 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 543)
Plotina (2)	Pompeia Plotina ( <i>PFOS</i> 631 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 679) Ulpia Plotina ( <i>PFOS</i> 825 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> 879)
Polla (4)	Acerronia Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 2) Argentaria Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 90) Dasumia Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 308) Vettulena Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 792 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 507)
Pollitta	Antistia Pollitta ( <i>PFOS</i> 72)
Postuma	Anicia Postuma ( <i>PFOS</i> 47) Otacilia Postuma ( <i>PFOS</i> 589)
Praetextata (3)	Calpurnia Praetextata ( <i>PFOS</i> 180) (Licinia) Praetextata ( <i>PFOS</i> 495) Sulpicia Praetextata ( <i>PFOS</i> 745 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 1034)
Prima	[Alfia?] Prima ( <i>PFOS</i> 45)

<sup>994</sup> The manuscript tradition concerning her cognomen is rather ambiguous. For a thorough discussion, see Kajava 1984.

<sup>995</sup> Possibly from the early 2nd c.

AUGUSTUS – NERVA	
Prisca (2)	Prisca ( <i>PFOS</i> 655) Publilia ( <i>rather than Publia</i> ) Prisca ( <i>PFOS</i> 659 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 1063)
Priscilla (2)	[La]rcia Priscilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 485) Arria Plaria Vera Priscilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 101)
Procilla (2)	Boionia Procilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 148) Iulia Procilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 454)
Procu[l]ina	Iulia Procu[l]ina ( <i>PFOS</i> 456)
Procula (4)	Caepia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 167) Cilnia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 209) Helvia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 414) Orfidia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 586)
Pulchra <sup>996</sup>	Claudia Pulchra ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1116)
Quadratilla (3)	Ummidia Quadratilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 829 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 913) Ummidia Quadratilla Asconia Secunda ( <i>PFOS</i> 830 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 914; possibly also from a later period) Vettulena Quadratilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 794 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 509)
Quartilla	Annia Quartilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 65)
Quinta	Sab(inia?) Quinta ( <i>PFOS</i> 677 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 6)
Quintilla	Pedania Quintilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 604 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 206)
Quintina	Agedia Quintina ( <i>PFOS</i> 41)
Rectina	Rectina ( <i>PFOS</i> 655 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 34)
Rufilla	Vitellia Rufilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 818 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 758)
Rufina (2)	N[e]ratia Anteia Rufin[a] ( <i>PFOS</i> 568) Metilia Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 548)
Sabina (5)	Besia Sabina ( <i>PFOS</i> 145) Cornelia Sabina ( <i>PFOS</i> 292) Flavia Sabina ( <i>PFOS</i> 379) Poppaeae Sabinae ( <i>PFOS</i> 645–646 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 849–850) [F]ulcinia ( <i>rather than [V]olcinia</i> ) Sabina ( <i>PFOS</i> 831; cf. <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V p. 489)
Salonina	Salonina ( <i>PFOS</i> 682 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 111)
Saturnina	Lollia Saturnina ( <i>PFOS</i> 506)
Secunda	Ummidia Quadratilla Asconia Secunda ( <i>PFOS</i> 830 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 914; possibly also from a later period)
Severa	Appia Severa ( <i>PFOS</i> 84)
Severina	Iulia Severina ( <i>PFOS</i> 459)

<sup>996</sup> For Livia C. f. [Pu]lchra (*PFOS* 502), see 4.6.2 above.

AUGUSTUS – NERVA	
Silana	Iunia Silana ( <i>PFOS</i> 474)
Supera	Supera ( <i>PFOS</i> 747 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 1037)
Telesina	Luccia Telesina ( <i>PFOS</i> 508)
Tertulla (4)	Arrecina Tertulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 93) Iulia Tertulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 462) Lappia Tertulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 483) Tertulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 758 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 111)
Torquata (4)	Iunia Torquata ( <i>PFOS</i> 475) Licinia Cornelia Volusia Torquata ( <i>PFOS</i> 492 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 992; could also be from a later period) Torquata ( <i>PFOS</i> 762 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 293) Volusia Torquata ( <i>PFOS</i> 838 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 991)
Triaria	Sulpicia Triaria ( <i>PFOS</i> 746 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 1036) <sup>997</sup>
Urgulanilla	Plautia Urgulanilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 619 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 488)
Varilla (2)	Appuleia Varilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 85) (Nonia) Varilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 576)
Varronilla	Varronilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 781 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 291)
Vera (2)	Arria Plaria Vera Priscilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 101) Plaria Vera ( <i>PFOS</i> 612 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 447)
Vet(t)illa	Valeria Vetilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 778 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 247)
Vettulla	Funisulana Vettulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 395)
Violentilla	Violentilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 809 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 672)
Viriola	Attia Viriola ( <i>PFOS</i> 126)
( <i>Victrix?</i> )	Caedicia ( <i>Victrix?</i> ) <sup>998</sup>

<sup>997</sup> There is, to be sure, the gentilicium *Triarius* (cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*; also several senatorial *Triarii* on record). But the name also appears as a cognomen already in the Republican period (e.g. Valerius *Triarius*, friend of Cicero; *Brut.* 76,266), and besides has its origin in the military term *triarius*, i.e. an appellative. Our Sulpicia C. f. *Triaria* is only known from a Roman water pipe stamp (*CIL* XV 7550), and in lack of any further information it seems better to consider *Triaria* a real cognomen here (to be fair, we do not even know for sure if she was of senatorial status). Compare also the nomenclature of Sulpicia *Triaria*, daughter of C. Sulpicius Agatangelus and Vibia *Vibiana* and wife of L. Nonius Verus (*CIL* XI 1017; c. 330–370). In the case of Pomponia *Triaria* (*PFOS* 642), on the other hand, we seem to be dealing with a nomen used as a cognomen (see ‘Nomina used as cognomina’ above).

<sup>998</sup> H. Dessau has identified Caedicia, wife of Flavius Scaevinus (*Tac. ann.* 15,71), as the woman attested as *Caedicia M. f. Victrix* (*IG* XIV 722; *CIL* VIII 22637,23; X 6252). This, however, is far from certain.



## ii) Second century (from Trajan to Septimius Severus)

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Aciliana	Catinia Aciliana ( <i>PFOS</i> 200)
Aemiliana	Aemiliana ( <i>PFOS</i> 39)
Aequa	Ennia Aequa ( <i>PFOS</i> 342)
Africaniana	Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana ( <i>PFOS</i> 38)
Agrippiana	Gellia Agrippiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 405)
Agrippina (8)	Aemilia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 23) Antonia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 76) C[la]udia V[et]tia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 256) Fabia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 348) Plotia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 619bis = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 521) Stat(ia) Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 724 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 889) Sulpicia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 740 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 1027)
Agrippinilla	Pompeia Agrippinilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 625 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 667)
Albina	Canidia Albina ( <i>PFOS</i> 186)
Aprulla	Lucilia Aprulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 509)
Aquilina (2)	Memmia Aquilina ( <i>PFOS</i> 538) Rufia Aquilina ( <i>PFOS</i> 669 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 162)
Asiana	T[---]a Cornelia Asiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 749) <sup>999</sup>
Asiatica	[---] Seneciana Asiatica ( <i>PFOS</i> 696 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 379)
Atticilla	Tib. Claudia Eupatoris Mandane Atticilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 236)
Avita (2)	Caecilia Avita ( <i>PFOS</i> 155) Annia Maleca? Avita ( <i>PFOS</i> 63)
Balbilla	Atilia Balbilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 117)
Balbina (2)	Cl(audiae) Balbinae ( <i>PFOS</i> 225 & 226)
Bassa (2)	Avidia Secunda Prosia Bassa <sup>1000</sup> Geminia Bassa ( <i>PFOS</i> 407)
Bassiana (2)	Iallia Bassiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 420) Iulia Soaemias Bassiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 460)

<sup>999</sup> One of the *matronae senatoriae* in the *ludi* of 204. The gentilicia *T[arri]a* and *T[ampi]a* have been suggested, but other restorations are also possible

<sup>1000</sup> Recorded in honorific context at Tusculum as the wife of a Statilius Maximus and daughter of T. Avidius Quietus, both men labelled as *consulares* (*Epigraphica* 82 (2020), p. 423–436). The exact identification of the two men is not secure but the father was likely the suff. consul of 111 or his homonymous father, the younger brother of Avidius Nigrinus. For further discussion, see Mandatori & Pizzo 2020.

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Bassilla (4)	Bassilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 142) Gav[ia] [---] Bassilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 401) [P]obilicia Bas(s)illa Torquata ( <i>PFOS</i> 621 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 1044) Pomponia Bassil(l)a ( <i>PFOS</i> 636 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 768)
Bassula (3)	Cocceia Bassula Numisia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 264) Sertinia Bassula ( <i>PFOS</i> 734 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 914) <sup>1001</sup> Sertinia Cocceia Bassula Venecia Aeliana ( <i>PFOS</i> 735 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 915)
Blandiana (?)	Claudia Blandiana? ( <i>PFOS</i> 228) <sup>1002</sup>
Caeliana	Pullaiena Caeliana ( <i>PFOS</i> 661 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> 1079)
Calida	Volumnia Calida ( <i>PFOS</i> 833 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 958)
Calvina	Iulia Calvina ( <i>PFOS</i> 431)
Camilla (?)	Tib. Claudia Camilla? Alfidia Ceonia? ( <i>PFOS</i> 230) <sup>1003</sup>
Campanilla	Attia Campanilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 123)
Celerina (3)	Celerina ( <i>PFOS</i> 206) Fonteia Celerina ( <i>PFOS</i> 387) Numisia Celerina ( <i>PFOS</i> 579)
Celsina	Iulia Celsina ( <i>PFOS</i> 432)
Celsinilla	Aelia Celsinilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 11)
Cethegilla (3)	(Calpurnia) Cethegilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 178) Cl(audia) Cethegilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 232) (Gavia) Cornelia Cethegilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 402)
Clara (2)	Aemilia Clara ( <i>PFOS</i> 24) Didia Clara ( <i>PFOS</i> 312)
Claudiana	Terentia Claudiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 755 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 104)

<sup>1001</sup> Attested in suburban brick stamps (*CIL* XV 2201–2205). The possibility exists that she is identical with the polyonymous Sertinia Cocceia Bassula Venecia Aeliana (*PFOS* 735 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 915).

<sup>1002</sup> The reading of the cognomen (in *SEG* XX 66 = *Anatolian Studies* 12 (1962), 1943 no. 10) is uncertain. G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford in *Anatolian Studies* suggest the form *Biacliana* (Βιακλιανή). They, however, note that the letters are “very badly worn”, and moreover, the name \*Βιακλιῆς does not seem to be anywhere on record (0 hits in the *LGPN*). Perhaps the form *Blandiana* (cf. *PFOS* 228), is more plausible after all.

<sup>1003</sup> The cognomen might in fact be *Camilia*. The name *Ceonia*, in turn, has traditionally been read as *Celonis*, but this seems uncertain. Kajava 1994, 195 has suggested *Ceonia*, which I am willing to accept.

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Clementiana (2)	(Flavia) Clementiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 364) Fufidia Clementiana <sup>1004</sup>
Consortiana	Seia Potitia Consortiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 693 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 330)
Cornuta	Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia? Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna ( <i>PFOS</i> 708 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 569)
Crispina (5)	Asinia Crispina ( <i>PFOS</i> 114) Bruttia Crispina ( <i>PFOS</i> 14) Crispina ( <i>PFOS</i> 303) Laberia Mar[cia] Hostilia Crispina Moecia Cornelia ( <i>PFOS</i> 478) Novia Crispina ( <i>PFOS</i> 577)
Crispinilla (3)	Caedicia Luc[illa?] Crispinilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 162) Flavia Crispinilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 366) Marcia Crisp[inill]a ( <i>PFOS</i> 523)
Dignitas	Cominia Vipsania Dignitas ( <i>PFOS</i> 266)
Domna (2)	Iulia Domna ( <i>PFOS</i> 436) Servenia ... Domna ( <i>PFOS</i> 708 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 569)
Fadilla (4)	Aurelia Fadilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 137) Claudia Fadilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 237) Fadilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 356) Iulia Lupula Arria Fadilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 444)
Fadiula (=Fadiola?)	Pomponia Fadiula ( <i>PFOS</i> 637 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 771)
Falconilla	Pompeia Sosia Falconilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 632 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 681)
Faustilla	(Cornificia) Faustilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 295)
Faustina (12)	[Acilia] Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> 3) Annia Aurelia Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> ) Annia Cornificia Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> 57) Annia Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> 58) Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> 61) Anniae Galeriae Faustinae ( <i>PFOS</i> 62–63) Domitia Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> 323) [---] Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> 358) Fundania Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> 394) Ummidia Cornificia Faustina ( <i>PFOS</i> 827 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 911) Vitrasia Faustina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 771 = <i>PFOS</i> 820)
Favonilla	Marcia Favonilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 524)

<sup>1004</sup> Attested at Teanum Sidicinum in 166–170 CE as *c(larissima) p(uella)* (*AE* 2013, 316). The inscription also records her father L. Fufidius Pollio *c(larissimus) i(uvenis)* and grandfather L. Fufidius Pollio (*cos.* 166).

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Flaccilla	Domitia Flaccill[a] ( <i>PFOS</i> 324)
Flaccinilla	Iunia Flaccinilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 471)
Flavola	(Hedia) Terentia Flavola ( <i>PFOS</i> 411)
Frontina (2)	Sallustia Frontina ( <i>PFOS</i> 679 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 104) Sosia Frontina ( <i>PFOS</i> 719 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 780)
Fundana	Annia Fundana ( <i>PFOS</i> 59)
Fuscina	Matuccia Fuscina ( <i>PFOS</i> 534)
Galla (4)	Caelia Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 163) Cocceia Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 265) Laberia Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 477) Quintia Galla ( <i>PFOS</i> 662 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> Q 49)
Gargonilla	Caninia Gargonilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 188)
Gaviana	Ae(milia?) Gaviana ( <i>PFOS</i> 26)
Gelliola	Fabatia Polla Fabia Domitia Gelliola ( <i>PFOS</i> 345)
Gemellina	Aelia Gemellina ( <i>PFOS</i> 13)
Germanilla (2)	Caerellia Germanilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 168) [P]omponia Germanilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 639 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 774)
Gratilla	Veturia Gratilla Thais ( <i>PFOS</i> 795 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 520)
Hilaritas	Vibia Hilaritas ( <i>PFOS</i> 801 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 596)
Honorata	Aemilia Honorata ( <i>PFOS</i> 27)
Isaurica	Flavia Seia Isaurica ( <i>PFOS</i> 380)
Iucunda	Didia Iucunda ( <i>PFOS</i> 315)
Iuliana	Sextia Iuliana ( <i>PFOS</i> 714 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 686)
Iuncina	Sosia Iuncina ( <i>PFOS</i> 721 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 782)
Laenilla	Laenilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> L 61) <sup>1005</sup> Mummia Laenilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 557)
Laeta	[---]nia Laeta ( <i>PFOS</i> 694) <sup>1006</sup>
Lepida (2)	Calpurnia Lepida ( <i>PFOS</i> 179) Valeria Lepida ( <i>PFOS</i> 771 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 236)
Liviana	Carminia Liviana Diotima ( <i>PFOS</i> 190)

<sup>1005</sup> Nomen unknown. She is only known through the account of Aelian (*de nat. anim.* 7,15).

<sup>1006</sup> One of the *matronae senatoriae* in the *ludi* of 204 (cf. Pighi 1965, 14). Her nomen is restored in *PFOS* as [?Sempro]nia but a number of other restorations could also come into question (cf. Kajava 1988, 91).

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Lucilla (6)	Annia Aurelia Galeria Lucilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 54) Aur(elia) Lucilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 138) Domitia Lucilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 329) <sup>1007</sup> Manilia Lucilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 518) Pactumeia Lucilla? ( <i>PFOS</i> 593 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 41) <sup>1008</sup> Triaria Ignatia Lucilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 766 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 345)
Luciola	Salvia Luciola ( <i>PFOS</i> 684 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 156)
Luculla	Servenian ... Luculla Domna ( <i>PFOS</i> 708 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 569)
Lupula	Iulia Lupula Arria Fadilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 444)
Macrina (2)	Clodia Macrina ( <i>PFOS</i> 260) Memmia Macrina ( <i>PFOS</i> 539)
Maeciana	(Claudia) Maeciana Alexandra ( <i>PFOS</i> 241)
Maesa	Iulia Maesa ( <i>PFOS</i> 445)
Magna (2)	Pactumeia Magna ( <i>PFOS</i> 594 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 42) Plancia Magna Aquillia ( <i>PFOS</i> 610 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 445)
Magnilla	Iulia Magnilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 447)
Manliola (2)	Acilia Manliola ( <i>PFOS</i> 4) Cornelia Manliola ( <i>PFOS</i> 286)
Marcella (5)	Iulia Marcella Commagene ( <i>PFOS</i> 448) Lus(ia) Ruf(ia) Marcella ( <i>PFOS</i> 513) Minicia Marcella ( <i>PFOS</i> 552) Ruffia Marcella ( <i>PFOS</i> 670 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 163) Statoria Marcella ( <i>PFOS</i> 733 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 893)
Marcellina (4)	Antiae Marcellinae ( <i>PFOS</i> 70–71) Casconiae Marcellinae ( <i>PFOS</i> 190–192)
Marciana (7)	Aemilia Marciana [---] Pietas ( <i>PFOS</i> 33) Aemilia Tertulla Marciana ( <i>PFOS</i> 38) [C]assia Marcian[a] ( <i>PFOS</i> 197) Clodia Marciana ( <i>PFOS</i> 261) Flavia Polymnia Marciana ( <i>PFOS</i> 375) Iulia Valeria Marciana ( <i>PFOS</i> 463) Paccia Marciana ( <i>PFOS</i> 590 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 20) <sup>1009</sup>

<sup>1007</sup> The mother of the emperor Marcus Aurelius is also called *Domitia Calvilla* in one passage of the *Historia Augusta* (*Vita Marci* 1,3), but this name is nowhere else to be found and should be disregarded as an error (or unreliable at the very least).

<sup>1008</sup> She is recorded in a *fistula* found at the Aventine hill (*CIL* XV 7507). The cognomen may also be read *Lucilia*.

<sup>1009</sup> Her cognomen is *Marcia* in *HA, Vita Severi*, but epigraphic evidence from Africa shows that the

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Marciola	Claudia Marciola ( <i>PFOS</i> 245)
Marsilla	Tullia Marsilla Quentinia Rossia Rufina Rufia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 767 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 396)
Marullina (2)	Cor(nelia) Marullina ( <i>PFOS</i> 287) Neratia Marullina ( <i>PFOS</i> 569)
Materna	Caecilia Materna ( <i>PFOS</i> 156)
Maxima (7)	Aemilia Cornelia Scribonia Maxima ( <i>PFOS</i> 25) Aiacia Maxima ( <i>PFOS</i> 42) Caelia Maxima ( <i>PFOS</i> 164) Iuventia [---] Maxima ( <i>PFOS</i> 476) Seia Maxima ( <i>PFOS</i> 692 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 692) Sossia Maxima ( <i>PFOS</i> 722 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 793) Statiliae Maximae ( <i>PFOS</i> 728 & 729 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 862 & 863)
Maximilla	Numisia Maximilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 581)
Modesta	Oscia Modesta ... Patruina Publiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 587 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> O 155)
Modestiana	Modestiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 554)
Naevilla	Naevia Naevilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 565)
Nepotilla	Iulia Nepotilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 4509)
Nerulla	Memmia Nerulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 540)
Novella (2)	Papia Novella ( <i>PFOS</i> 598 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 125) Serv(a)ea Novella Rufina Poritiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 706 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 563)
Octavilla (2)	Fl(avia) Neratia Septim[ia] Octavilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 372) Septimia Octavilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 697 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 500)
Pacata	Prastinia Pacata ( <i>PFOS</i> 652 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 930)
Pacula	[Roscia?] Pacula ( <i>PFOS</i> 666 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 99)
Pansina	Varia Pansina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 288)
Papiana (2)	Fl(avia) Papiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 373) Vedia Papiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 783 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 326)
Patruina	Oscia... Patruina Publiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 587 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> O 155)
Paul(l)a (4)	Cl[audia] Paula ( <i>PFOS</i> 247) Paula ( <i>PFOS</i> 601 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 166) Postumia Paula ( <i>PFOS</i> 650 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 903) Tituleia Paula Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 761 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 283)

correct form is *Marciana* (*IRT* 410-411; *CIL* VIII 19494 = *ILS* 440 = *ILAlg* II.1 565).

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Paul(l)ina (5)	Arminia Paullina ( <i>PFOS</i> 91) Aemilia Paulina Asiatica ( <i>PFOS</i> 35) Arria Caesennia Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 97) Lollia Pauli[na] ( <i>PFOS</i> 505) Pontia Paulina ( <i>PFOS</i> 644 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 833)
Petroni[ana]	[Caecilia] Petroni[ana] ( <i>PFOS</i> 157)
Pia	Attia Pia ( <i>PFOS</i> 124)
Picentina	Antonia Picentina ( <i>PFOS</i> 79)
Pietas	Aemilia Marciana [---] Pietas ( <i>PFOS</i> 33)
Placida (2)	Cornelia Placida ( <i>PFOS</i> 289) Mulvia Placida ( <i>PFOS</i> 555)
Plotina (3)	Betitia Plotina ( <i>PFOS</i> 146) Desticia Plotina ( <i>PFOS</i> 310) Marcia Tarrja Plotina ( <i>PFOS</i> 750 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 27)
Polla (8)	Appia Annia Claudia Atilia Regilla Elpinice Agrippina Atria Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 56) Fabatia Polla Fabia Domitia Gelliola ( <i>PFOS</i> 345) Otacilia Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 588) Sextia Asinia Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 713 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 684) Sossia Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 723 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 784) Valeria Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 776 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 244) Vettulena Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 793 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 507) [---]ensia Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 622)
Pollitta (3)	Fl(avia) Pollitta ( <i>PFOS</i> 374) Fufidia Pollitta ( <i>PFOS</i> 388) Rutilia Pollitta ( <i>PFOS</i> 675 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 265)
Pompeiana	Laberia Pompeiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 479)
Postuma	Antonia Postuma ( <i>PFOS</i> 80)
Potitiana	Serv(a)ea Novella Rufina Potitiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 706 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 563)
Prisca (7)	Cassia Cornelia Prisca ( <i>PFOS</i> 195) (Caunia) Prisca ( <i>PFOS</i> 203) Cutia Prisca ( <i>PFOS</i> 307) Flavia Prisca ( <i>PFOS</i> 376) Fulvia Prisca ( <i>PFOS</i> 390) Memmia Prisca ( <i>PFOS</i> 541) Rutilia Prisca Sabiniana ( <i>PFOS</i> 676)
Priscilla	(Curtia Iulia?) Priscilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 304)
Privigna	Cornelia Privigna ( <i>PFOS</i> 290)

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Procilla (3)	[N]eratia Proci[lla] ( <i>PFOS</i> 571) Marcia Caelia Procilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 165) Servenia Cornuta ... Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna ( <i>PFOS</i> 708 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 569)
Procula (13)	Claudia Vilia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 257) Cocceia Bassula Numisia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 264) Cornelia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 291) (Egnatia?) Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 339) Flavia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 377) [G]avia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 404) Iunia Proc[ula] ( <i>PFOS</i> 473) Licinia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 496) Munatia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 563) Numisia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 582) Rufia Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 671 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 165) Tutulia Proc(u)la ( <i>PFOS</i> 768 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 441) Tullia ... Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 767 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 396) L. Fulvia Numisia Procula ( <i>CIL</i> VI 1629) <sup>1010</sup>
Publiana	Oscia Modesta ... Patruina Publiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 587 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> O 155)
Pudentilla	Manlia Pudentilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 519)
Quadratilla (2)	Asinia Quadratilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 115) Calpurnia Quadratilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 181)
Quartilla (2)	Neratia Quartilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 572) Titia Quartilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 760 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 276)
Quintina	Didia Quintina ( <i>PFOS</i> 316)
Regilla (3)	Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 66) Appia Annia Claudia Atilia Regilla Elpinice Agrippina Atria Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 56) Claudia Regilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 248)
Regina (2)	Domitia Regina ( <i>PFOS</i> 332) [Se]rgia Au[reli]a Regina ( <i>PFOS</i> 700 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 539)
Romana	Sempronia Romana ( <i>PFOS</i> 695 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 376)
Rufiana	Porcia Rufiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 648 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 873)

<sup>1010</sup> The inscription, also recording Publicius Reginus, *equus Romanus*, is only preserved through a 17th century manuscript. The reading *L(ucia) Fulvia Numisia Procula c(larissima) f(emina)* is proposed by M. Kajava 1999, but it is not certain; cf. *AE* 1999, 197. She could be the daughter of L. Fulvius Rusticus Aemilianus, who was consul towards the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius and who, according to a hypothesis by E. Groag, would have married Numisia Procula (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 557).



TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Rufilla (2)	Aem(ilia) Rufilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 36) Iulia Rufilla Augurina ( <i>PFOS</i> 458)
Rufina (12)	Annia Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 67) Atilia Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 120) Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana ( <i>PFOS</i> 38) Claudia Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 249) Flavia Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 378) Lusia Galeria Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 511) Macrinia Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 514) Maria Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 531) Serv(a)ea Novella Rufina Potitiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 706 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 563) Teia Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 752 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 53) Tituleia Paula Rufina ( <i>PFOS</i> 761 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 283) Tullia ... Rufina ... Procula ( <i>PFOS</i> 767 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 396)
Rustica	Vesia Rustica ( <i>PFOS</i> 791 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 434)
Sabina (5)	Arria Sabina ( <i>PFOS</i> 102) Calpurnia Sabina ( <i>PFOS</i> 182) Cl(audia) Ant(onia) Sabina ( <i>PFOS</i> 218) Larcia Sabina ( <i>PFOS</i> 486) Vibia Aurelia Sabina ( <i>PFOS</i> 800 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 592)
Sabiniana	Rutilia Prisca Sabiniana ( <i>PFOS</i> 676)
Sacrata	Artia Sacrata ( <i>PFOS</i> 125)
Saturnina (2)	Antonia Saturnina ( <i>PFOS</i> 81) Fulvia Saturnina ( <i>PFOS</i> 392)
Scantilla	Manlia Scantilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 520)
Secunda (4)	Avidia Secunda Prosia Bassa (cf. n. 1000). Calpurnia Secunda ( <i>PFOS</i> 183) <sup>1011</sup> [---] Secunda ( <i>PFOS</i> 690, cf. n. 120) Secunda ( <i>PFOS</i> 691, cf. n. 120)
Secundilla (3)	Mundicia Secundilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 564) Rufria Secundilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 673 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 178) [Triar?]ria Magia Secundil[la] ( <i>PFOS</i> 100 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 346) <sup>1012</sup>
Seneciana	[---] Seneciana Asiatica ( <i>PFOS</i> 696 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 379)
Senecilla	Aninia Senecilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 48)

<sup>1011</sup> Status unclear. She is only known as the owner of *figlinae Tempesinae* in the early 2nd century (*CIL* XV 610-611; *LSO* 521-522; Setälä 1977, 85).

<sup>1012</sup> The restoration of the nomen is not certain. [*Ar*]ria has also been suggested (cf. the entry in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> T).

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Sertoriana	Betutia Sertoriana ( <i>PFOS</i> 147)
Servianilla	Cornelia Servianilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 293)
Servilla	Plautia Servilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 618 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 487)
Severa (3)	Aemilia Severa ( <i>PFOS</i> 37) Catilia Severa ( <i>PFOS</i> 199) Cl(audia) Severa ( <i>PFOS</i> 250)
Sextilla	Aurellia Sextilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 139)
Statianilla (2)	Fl(avia) Statianilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 381) Servaea Fl[avia] Statianilla Valeriana ( <i>PFOS</i> 705 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 562)
Tertulla (4)	Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana ( <i>PFOS</i> 38) Decia Tertulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 309) Grania Tertull[a] ( <i>PFOS</i> 409) Trebicia Tertulla ( <i>PFOS</i> 763 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 318)
Tiberina	Fla(via) Tiberina ( <i>PFOS</i> 382)
Titiana (4)	Claudia Titiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 252) Fabia Titiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 355) Flavia Titiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 383) Maesia Fabia Titiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 515)
Torquata (3)	Metilia Torquata ( <i>PFOS</i> 549) [P]oblicia Basilla Torquata ( <i>PFOS</i> 621 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 1044) Sextia Torquata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 689)
Urbana	Lucia Licinia Urbana ( <i>PFOS</i> 498)
Urbica	Valeria Urbica ( <i>PFOS</i> 779 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 248)
Valentilla	Curtia Iulia Valentilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 305)
Valeriana (2)	Maiana Valeriana ( <i>PFOS</i> 517) Servaea Fl[avia] Statianilla Valeriana ( <i>PFOS</i> 705 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 562)
Varanilla	F[---]a Varanilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 397) <sup>1013</sup>
Var(i)a (2)	Mummia Var(i)a ( <i>PFOS</i> 559) <sup>1014</sup> Postumia Varia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 906; perhaps identical with <i>PFOS</i> 651 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 905)
Varenilla	Cl(audia) Varenilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 254)
Venusta	Flavia Venusta ( <i>PFOS</i> 384)

<sup>1013</sup> The nomen perhaps was *Furia* or *Flavia*, but this is uncertain, since the father is unknown.

<sup>1014</sup> Kajava 1987, 37 ff., has proposed that the cognomen was in fact *Varia*, despite the reading of *CIL* XV 1310 as *Vana*.

TRAJAN – SEVERUS	
Veranilla	Aurelia Veranilla <sup>1015</sup>
Vic[t]orina	Licina Vic[t]orina ( <i>PFOS</i> 497) <sup>1016</sup>
Violentilla	[V]iolentilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 673) <sup>1017</sup>

## iii) Third century (from the Severan period to Diocletian)

SEVERAN PERIOD – TETRARCHY	
Aemiliana (2)	Aemiliana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 312) Calpurnia Ceia Aemiliana <sup>1018</sup>
Aequa	(Iulia) Camilia Aequa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 654) [---] Aequa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 429; possibly identical with the former)
Africana	Manlia Pontia Luculla Africana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 165)
Agrippina	L. Iulia Apronia Alfena Agrippina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 646)
Albina	C. Nummia Ceionia Umbria Rufia Albina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 239)
Apelliana	Flavia Annia Apelliana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 410)
Aquilina	Ti. Cl(audia) Subatiana Aquilina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 939)
Arrian[a]	[---]lia Crispina Arrian[a] ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1583)
Augurina (2)	Attia Flavia Veratia Augurina Novatilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 395) Pr(a)ecilia Au[g]urina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 921)
Aureliana	Danacia Quartilla Aureliana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> D 6)
Avita	Iulia Avita Mamaea Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 649)
Avitiana	Nitonia Avitiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 106)
Baebiana (2)	Cl(audia) Baebia Baebiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1079) Afinia Gemina Baebiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 439)
Bassa	Cl(audia) Bassa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1082)
Caeciliana	Publilia Caeciliana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 1057)
Candida	Pompeia Fulcinia Candida ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 673)

<sup>1015</sup> Attested as *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* in 212–215 CE together with her husband Q. Cerellius Apollinaris and daughter Cerellia Veranilla, also *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* (*CIL* VI 41180 = *AE* 1969/70, 193).

<sup>1016</sup> She probably did not have the cognomen *HisPELLa*, as has been argued by Kajava 1988. The name was more likely a part of her husband's name (C. *HisPELLa* Gavius Saturninus).

<sup>1017</sup> Attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* at the end of the second (or beginning of the third) century (*CIL* VI 31792).

<sup>1018</sup> She is attested in Africa as *c(larissima) f(emina)* and the wife of Q. Aradius Rufinus *c(larissimus) v(ir)* in *AE* 1995, 1653 from c. 222–250 CE; she was also honoured at Rome by her *libertus* in the same period (*AE* 1986, 29).

SEVERAN PERIOD – TETRARCHY	
Cas(s)iana (2)	Iuliae Cas(s)ianae (mother and daughter, cf. <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 656)
Casta	[---]ia Casta Si[---]nilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 532)
Celsinilla	Aelia Celsinilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 290)
Certiana	Egnatia Certiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> E 38)
Cethegilla	Pupienia Sextia Pau[lina] Cethegilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 1086)
Claudiana (2)	Claudiana Eusebia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 751) Coelia Claudiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1250)
Clementina (2)	Arri[a ---]r[--- Cl]ementina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1117a) Iallia Clem[en]tina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 6)
Corneliana	Mumma Tarruntenia Corneliana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 32)
Crescentina	Cannutia Crescentina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 400)
Crispina	[---]lia Crispina Arrian[a] ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1583) Lucia Lorenia Cornelia Crispina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> L 345)
Domitiana	Domitia Domitiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> D 176)
Domna	Vibia Domna ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 594)
Drusiana	Aelia Flavia M. f. Drusiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 419)
Egyptilla	Egyptilla <sup>1019</sup>
Etruscilla	Herennia Cupressenia Etruscilla Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> H 136)
Faustina	Annia Aurelia Faustina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 710)
Faustinilla	[---]nia Faustinilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 126)
Flaccilla	Fl(avia) Demetria Flaccilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 414)
Flaccina	Varinia Flaccina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 267)
Flaviana	[---] Flaviana [---]na ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 177)
Flavianilla	Flavia Flavianilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 421)
Florentina	Vergilia Florentina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 413)
Florina	[Viria] Florina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 717)
Frestana (2)	Acilia Frestana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 89) Acilia Gavia Frestana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 90)
Frontina	Fonteia Frontina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 478)
Frontoniana	Tiberia [Claudia] Frontoniana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1094)
Fusca	P. Martia Sergia Fusca ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 349)
Fuscinilla (2)	Fabia Fuscinilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 76) Seia Fuscinilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 327)

<sup>1019</sup> Attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* in Numidia during the second half of the third century together with her daughter Marcella (*AE* 2006, 1803).

SEVERAN PERIOD – TETRARCHY	
Gaetulica	Iulia Severa Gaetulica ( <i>AE</i> 2008, 1618/1619) <sup>1020</sup>
Gemina	Alfinia Gemina Baebiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 439)
Germanilla	[P]omponia Germanilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 774)
Gordiana	Ulpia Gordiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 875)
Granilla	[L]argia Granilla <sup>1021</sup>
Grata	C. Vettia Grata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 496)
Hilaritas	Vibia Hilaritas ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 596)
Honorata (4)	[---]lia Honorata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> H 193) [Pollenia] Honorata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 541) Octavia Honorata <sup>1022</sup> Pullaiena Honorata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 1080)
Honoratiana	Iulia Flavia Herennia Caecilia Honoratiana Optata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 424)
Ianuaria	Lauria Ianuaria ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> L 429)
Italica	Annia Italica ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 717)
Iuliana (4)	Aurelia Flavia Iuliana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1654) Iulia Iuliana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 673) Rania Flavia Iuliana Optata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 26) Ulpia Iuliana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 876)
Iuniana	[---] Maxima Iuniana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 387)
Iusta (2)	Aurel(ia) Iusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1656) Turrania Iusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 415)
Laeta	Clodia Laeta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1194)
Lepida	Flavia Lepida ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 427)
Lolliana	(Hedia) Lolliana Plautia Sestia Servilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> H 43)
Lucana	Manilia Lucana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 144)
Lucilla	Iulia Lucilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 675)
Luculla	Manlia Pontia Luculla Africana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 165)
Manliola	Acilia Manliola ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 91)
Marcella (3)	(Aurelia) Marcella <sup>1023</sup> Gallonia Octavia Marcella ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> G 52) Turcia Marcella ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 400)

<sup>1020</sup> Attested at Lepcis Magna together with C. Iulis Cerealis (her father?), consular legate in Spain in 214–217 CE.

<sup>1021</sup> Attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* in a Roman *signaculum* from the third century (*CIL* XV 8584).

<sup>1022</sup> Attested as a Vestal virgin towards the end of the third century (*CIL* VI 2138).

<sup>1023</sup> *C(larissima) f(emina)*, attested in *AE* 2006, 1803 together with her mother Egyptilla (see above)

SEVERAN PERIOD – TETRARCHY	
Marianilla	[V?]aleria Marianilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 532 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 280) <sup>1024</sup>
Marina	[H]onoratia Marina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> H 200)
Mariniana	(Egnatia) Mariniana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> E 39)
Maxima (8)	[--] Maxima Iuniana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 387) Claudia Maria Maxima Martia Secunda ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1107) Porcia M[a]xima Optata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 872) Reginia Maxima ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 39) [Ru]fia Vestin[a] Maxi[ma] ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 166) Rufria Maxima ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 177) Vibia Maria Maxima ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 598) Vitruvia Maxima ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 775)
Modesta (2)	Iunia Aiacia Modesta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 471) Volumnia Modesta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 959)
Modestina	V[in]elia Modestina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 652)
Nemesiana	[A]urelia Nemesiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1663)
Nepotiana	[--] Nepotiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 45)
Numisiana	Publilia Numisiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 1058)
Nummula	Nummula ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 242)
Openda	Numidi[a? --] Openda Valeriana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 205)
Optata (5)	Aelia Optata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 304 = <i>PLRE</i> I, p. 648) Cornel(ia) Optata A[---] Flavia ( <i>RE-S</i> XIV no. 442a) <sup>1025</sup> Furcilia Optata T[---]na <sup>1026</sup> Iulia Flavia ... Honoratiana Optata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 424) Rania Flavia Iuliana Optata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 26)
Orbiana	Gnaea Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 101) <sup>1027</sup>
Orestilla	Fabia Orestilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 79)
Pacata	(Claudia) Pacata <sup>1028</sup>
Paetina	Pomponia Paetina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 778)

and father Aurelius Marcellinus.

<sup>1024</sup> The nomen could perhaps also be [G]aleria. See also n. 184 above.

<sup>1025</sup> Attested in *AE* 1965, 21 (Arabia) as the wife of Claudius Sollemnius Pacatianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1030) and mother of (Claudia) Pacata, *c(larissima) p(uella)*.

<sup>1026</sup> Attested as *c. f.* in Africa. The inscription is published in Brancato 2015 no. 89, but the reading seems to be far from secure.

<sup>1027</sup> It has sometimes been assumed that she also bore the name *Orba*, but this does not seem likely (see the comments in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 101, 32).

<sup>1028</sup> Cf. her mother Furcilia Optata T[---]na above s.v. ‘Optata’.

SEVERAN PERIOD – TETRARCHY	
Paterna	Cassia Paterna ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 529)
Paul(l)a (2)	Iulia Cornelia Paula Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 660) Postumia Paulla Avidia Procula Rutilia Proba ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 904)
Paul(l)ina (4)	Caecilia Paulina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 91) Iunia Paulina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 862) Iunia Paulina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 169) [T]arruntenia Paulina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 33)
Peticianilla	Fl(avia) Veratia Peticianilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 396)
Pia (2)	[B]etitia Pia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> B 121) Corn[elia] Claudia Pia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1486)
Plautilla	P. Fulvia Plautilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 564)
Plotina	(Desticia?) Sallustia Plotina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 106)
Praenestina	Claudia Papia Netonia Insteia Praenestina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1111)
Praetextata	Cornelia Praetextata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1494)
Prisca	Iulia Prisca <sup>1029</sup>
Privata	Pontia Privata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 835)
Proba	Postumia ... Procula Rutilia Proba ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 904)
Procula (3)	Fulvia Procula ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 566) [Iul]ia Procula ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 694) Postumia ... Procula Rutilia Proba ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 904)
Proculina	Claudia Proculina (cf. <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 790)
Prospera	Aelia Prospera ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 308)
Pulchra	[---]antia Pulchra ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 1074)
Purgilla	[Aradia] Ros[cia ---] Calpurnia Purgilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1018)
Quarta	Publicia Quar[ta] ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 1045)
Quartilla	Danacia Quartilla Aureliana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> D 6)
Rogatilla	Aemilia Rogatilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 426)
Romana	Flavia Romana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 439)
Romula	Romula ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 85)
Rufilla	(Hedia?) Terentia Rufilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 107)
Rufina (4)	Iunia Arria Rufina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 855) Naeviae Antoniae Rufinae ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 18–19) Pomponia Rufina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 779)
Sabiniana	Antonia Tertulla Valeria Asinia Sabiniana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1251)
Sabinilla	Appia Veturia ... Sabinilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 956)

<sup>1029</sup> Status unclear. Attested in a *fistula aquaria* (CIL XV 7477; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 401).

SEVERAN PERIOD – TETRARCHY	
Salonina	Cornelia Salonina Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1499)
Saturnina	Ti. Cl(audia) Subatia Saturnina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 940)
Secundilla	Egnatia Secundilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> E 42)
Serena	Varinia Serena ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 268)
Servilla	(Hedia) Lolliana Plautia Sestia Servilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> H 43)
Severa (7)	Aurelia Severa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1667) Calpurnia Rufria Domitia Severa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 333) Claudia Caninia Severa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1084) Cuspudia Severa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1634) Iulia Aquilia Severa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 648) Iulia Severa Gaetulica (cf. n. 1020 above) M. Otacilia Severa Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 266)
Severiana (3)	[---]lia Severiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 621) Claudia Sestia Cocceia Sev[er]iana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1123) Praecilia Severiana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 922)
Severina (2)	Campia Severina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 379) Ulpia Severina Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 880)
Subatiana (2)	Ti. Cl(audia) Subatiana Aquilina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 939) Ti. Cl(audia) Subatiana ( <i>or</i> Subatia?) Saturnina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 940)
Supera	C. Cornelia Supera Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1502)
Tertulla (2)	Antonia Tertulla ... Sabiniana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1251) Hydria Tertulla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> H 236; cf. <i>PLRE</i> I, p. 882)
Tigris	Aur(elia) Tigris ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1668)
Torquata	Gavidia Torquata ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> G 87)
Tranquillina	Furia Sabinia Tranquillina Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 587) <sup>1030</sup>
Urbica	Magnia Urbica Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 99)
Valentilla	Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1396)
Valeriana	Numidi[a? ---] Openda Valeriana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 205) Varia Non[--- V]aleriana ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 287)
Varia (3)	[Fla]via Postu[mia] Varia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 435) Nummiae Variae ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 240–241)
Vera	Cocceia Vera ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1231)
Veranilla	Cerellia Veranilla <sup>1031</sup>
Verissima	Caenia Verissima ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 147)

<sup>1030</sup> Wife of Gordianus III.

<sup>1031</sup> Cf. her mother Aurelia Veranilla above under the women of the second century.



SEVERAN PERIOD – TETRARCHY	
Vestin[a]	[Ru]fia Vestin[a] Maxi[ma] ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> R 166)
Violentilla	Maria Aurel(ia) Violentilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 325)

### B. Greek and foreign cognomina

The situation is quite different with Greek and foreign cognomina. With the exception of derivations from some old Republican cognomina, of the type *Orestilla* (< *Orestes*), there are hardly any cases on record before the Flavian period, and it is only in the course of the second century, as Greek senators start to enter the Roman senate in greater numbers, that the cases become more numerous.

#### i) From Vespasian to Hadrian

VESPASIAN – HADRIAN	
Alcia	Vibullia Alcia Agrippina ( <i>PFOS</i> 806 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 615)
Ammiana	Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 216)
Archelais	Varia Archelais ( <i>PFOS</i> 780 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 286) <sup>1032</sup>
Dryantilla	Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 216)
Eurydice	Iulia Antonia Eurydice ( <i>PFOS</i> 428)
Hegetoris	Arruntia Hegetoris ( <i>PFOS</i> 104)
Helena	Claudia Helena ( <i>PFOS</i> 238)
Iotape	(Iulia) Iotape ( <i>PFOS</i> 441)
Platonis	Aelia Platonis ( <i>PFOS</i> 19)
Tisamenis	Claudia Tisamenis ( <i>PFOS</i> 251)

#### ii) From Antoninus Pius to Commodus

ANTONINUS – COMMODUS	
Alexandra	(Claudia) Maeciana Alexandra ( <i>PFOS</i> 241)
Alexandria (2)	Annia Alexandria ( <i>PFOS</i> 53) (Avidia) Alexandria ( <i>PFOS</i> 129)
Amphiclea	Flavia Amphiclea ( <i>PFOS</i> 363)
Antipatra	Fla(via) Gellia Antipatra ( <i>PFOS</i> 370)

<sup>1032</sup> There is also Tib. Claudia Aureliana Archelais, attested at Heraclea in Pontus as κρατίστη (*IHeraclea Pontica* 8), but other than that, her status is unclear. She is regarded as senatorial in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1077, but Kajava 1994, 195 is more sceptical.

ANTONINUS – COMMODUS	
Apphia	Carminia Apphia ( <i>PFOS</i> 189)
Aristonice	Ulpia Aristonice ( <i>PFOS</i> 823 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 873)
Arsasis	Tib. Cl(audia) Arsasis ( <i>PFOS</i> 221)
Artemidora	Cl(audia) Artemidora ( <i>PFOS</i> 222)
Athenais	Marcia Annia Claudia Alcia Athenais Gavidia Latiaria ( <i>PFOS</i> 55)
Bacchis	Cl(audia) Bacchis ( <i>PFOS</i> 224)
Basilo	Claudia Basilo ( <i>PFOS</i> 227)
Calliste	Afnia Calliste ( <i>PFOS</i> 40)
Callisto	(Claudia?) Callisto ( <i>PFOS</i> 229)
Chilonis	Iulia Chilonis ( <i>PFOS</i> 433)
Cyrilla	Aur(elia) Cyrilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 135)
Demetria	Sergia Demetria ( <i>PFOS</i> 701 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 540)
Demo	Haruspicia Demo ( <i>PFOS</i> 410)
Dryantilla	Claudia Dryantilla Platonis ( <i>PFOS</i> 234)
Elpinice	Appia Annia Claudia Atilia Regilla Elpinice Agrippina Atria Polla ( <i>PFOS</i> 56)
Elpis	Plautia Elpis ( <i>PFOS</i> 616 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 485)
Epi[ph]an[i]a	L[uc]ia Aurelia Epi[ph]an[i]a ( <i>PFOS</i> 136)
Eupatoris	Tib. Claudia Eupatoris Mandane Atticilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 236)
Heraclia	Domitia Heraclia ( <i>PFOS</i> 325)
Isidora	Lar(cia?) Isidora Nea ( <i>PFOS</i> 484)
Laodice	Volusia Laodice ( <i>PFOS</i> 837 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 988)
Maleca	Annia Maleca Avita ( <i>PFOS</i> 64)
Mandane	Tib. Claudia Eupatoris Mandane Atticilla ( <i>PFOS</i> 236)
Menestrate	Flavia Cornelia Caecilia Menestrate ( <i>PFOS</i> 365)
Menodora	Flavia Menodora ( <i>PFOS</i> 385)
Moscharo	Atria Moscharo ( <i>PFOS</i> 122)
Nea	Lar(cia?) Isidora Nea ( <i>PFOS</i> 484)
Phaedrina	Vedia Phaedrina ( <i>PFOS</i> 784 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 327)
Philippa	Aelia Caecilia Philippa ( <i>PFOS</i> 9)
Platonis	Claudia Dryantilla Platonis ( <i>PFOS</i> 234)
Polymnia	Flavia Polymnia Marciana ( <i>PFOS</i> 375)
Soaemias	Iulia Soaemias Bassiana ( <i>PFOS</i> 460)
Strat[o]nice	Iulia Taria Strat[o]nice ( <i>PFOS</i> 461 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 461)
Thais	Veturia Gratilla Thais ( <i>PFOS</i> 795 = <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 520)

ANTONINUS – COMMODUS	
Tlepolemis	Claudia Tlepolemis ( <i>PFOS</i> 253)

## iii) From Septimius Severus to Diocletian

SEVERUS – DIOCLETIANUS	
Aetheria	Aetheria ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 433)
[Aga]thoclia	Maevia [Aga]thoclia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 584)
Alexandria (3)	Appia Alexandria ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 954) Marcia Aur(elia) Alexandria ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 250) Flavia Alexandria ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 408; cf. <i>PLRE</i> I, p. 44)
Apa	Pompeia Apa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P 668)
Apphiane/Affiane	Iunia Affiane (=Apphiane) ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 854; cf. <i>PLRE</i> I, p. 26)
Arsinoe	Tib. Cl(audia) Arsinoe Telema[chis] ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1074)
Asclepianilla	Accia Asclepianilla Castorea ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 29)
Atossa	Aurelia Volusia Quirinia Atossa ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 1671)
Castorea	Accia Asclepianilla Castorea ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 29)
Chelido	Ostoria Chelido ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> O 168)
Cilonis	Insteia Cilonis ( <i>PLRE</i> I, p. 205)
Eusebia	(?) Claudiana Eusebia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 751)
<i>Chrysogone</i>	Cornelia Salonina Augusta <i>agnomine</i> Chrysogone ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1499) <sup>1033</sup>
Comasia	Publia Valeria Comasia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 235) <sup>1034</sup>
Cyriace	Iunia Cyriace ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 858; <i>PLRE</i> I, p. 237)
Demetria	Fl(avia) Demetria Flaccilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 414)
Diogenia	Insteia Diogenia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 35)
Diotim[a]	Domitia Diotim[a] ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> D 175)
Dryantilla	Sulpicia Dryantilla Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 1028)
Dymiana	Sulpicia Dymiana <i>signo</i> Eucomis ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 1029) <sup>1035</sup>

<sup>1033</sup> Wife of the emperor Gallienus. The agnomen *Chrysogone* is attested for her in Ionian and Lydian coins (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1499 for references). While it was clearly her name, its use was probably restricted to certain Greek-speaking areas, and it can hardly be considered a part of her official Roman nomenclature.

<sup>1034</sup> The cognomen is derived from the cognomen of her father Valerius Comazon (*cos.* II 220; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 59).

<sup>1035</sup> The text appears in *AE* 1964, 179 (Utica) as *C. Sulpiciae [C. f.] Dymianae*, but as H. Solin points out (Solin 1998, 79), the name *Dymiana* is hardly possible; the name was more likely *Didymiana*.

SEVERUS – DIOCLETIANUS	
<i>Eucomis</i>	Sulpicia Dymiana <i>signo</i> Eucomis (see n. 1035)
Habroea	Flavia Habroea ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 423)
Heuresis	Accia Heuresis Venantium ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 30)
Leontis	Aelia Leontis ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 298)
Melpis	Domitia Melpis ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> D 184)
Menecratilla	Aelia Menecratilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 302)
Pasinice	(Flavia) Pasinice ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 423)
Patra	Quirinia Patra <i>signo</i> Pegasis ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> Q 54) <sup>1036</sup>
<i>Pegasis</i>	See above; cf. also n. 1035.
Pelagia	Iulia Pelagia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 688)
Phaedrina	Flavia Phaedrina ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 433)
Philina	Flavia Philina ( <i>RE Suppl.</i> XIV s.v. 'Flavius' no. 239a; cf. <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> P, p. 137).
Pithias	Aelia Pithias ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 306)
Potamilla	Vibia Potamilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> V 599) <sup>1037</sup>
Salamallias	L. Iulia Apronia Maenia Salamallias ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 647)
Sosandris	Memmia Sosandris ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 489)
Sosipatra	Cl(audia) Sosipatra ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1124)
Telema[chis]	Tib. Cl(audia) Arsinoe Telema[chis] ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1074)
Theoclia	Theoclia ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 165)
Theonilla	Theonilla ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> T 173)
Theonis	Cl(audia) Theonis ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 1126)
Zenobia	Septimia Zenobia Augusta ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> S 504)

The signum *Eucomis* (attested in the vocative form EYKOMI) is a late form of Εὐκόμιος. The name can hardly be considered a real cognomen, or a part of her official Roman nomenclature at least. For supernomina, cf. Kajanto 1966.

<sup>1036</sup> Cf. also Volussia Quirinia Patra (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 989, non-senatorial), to whom she must have been related.

<sup>1037</sup> She is recorded in her epitaph: *D(is) M(anibus) Vibiae Potamillae c. f. matri / Atilius Maximianus / fecit* (*CIL* VI 4129 = Solin 1998, 67 = *AE* 1974, 144). The possibility remains that she was not at all senatorial, but that *c. f.* stands for *C(aii) filia* instead. Compare for example *CIL* XII 4277 from Gallia Narbonensis, with the text *D(is) M(anibus) / Iuliae / Eutychieae / c. f. / ipsa / sibi*. It seems to me unlikely that Iulia Eutychieae was a senatorial woman; the formula with *sibi*, for example, is unusual in senatorial epitaphs. I would therefore restore the abbreviation *c. f.* as a (misplaced) filiation *C(aii) filia* rather than the title *c(larissima) f(emina)*. While the filiation would conventionally be placed before the cognomen, it is also occasionally found after it.

### Appendix 3: Hypothetical cases

#### A. Father's cognomen transmitted in an identical form

1. CLAUDIA AESERNINA (*PFOS* 215), attested as *sacerdos divae Augustae* at Narona in the mid-first century CE (*CIL* III 1796 = *ILS* 3327). Her father is not explicitly stated but it is generally believed that he was M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus (*pr.* 19 CE).
2. (CASSIA?) LONGINA (*PFOS* 196). Her nomen is not known, but it is assumed that she was the daughter of C. Cassius Longinus (*cos. suff.* 30).
3. VOLUSIA TORQUATA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 991 = *PFOS* 838), known from several funerary inscriptions of her slaves and freedmen by her nomen and cognomen.<sup>1038</sup> Given the distinctive nature of the names, it is reasonable to assume that she was the daughter of L. Volusius Torquatus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 984), brother of L. Volusius Saturninus (*cos.* 56).
4. [C]AECINIA A.F. LARGA (*PFOS* 160), daughter of an A. Caecina who most likely had the cognomen Largus.<sup>1039</sup>
5. LUCCIA C. F. TELESINA (*PFOS* 508), known from her funerary inscription from the time of Domitian (*CIL* VI 21563). Based on her name it seems probable that she was the daughter (or sister?) of C. Luccius Telesinus (*cos.* 66).
6. SERVENIA CORNUTA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 568 = *PFOS* 707), known from several Phrygian inscriptions, one of which attests her as the daughter of a man whose name is fragmented (*MAMA* VI 254). However, it seems clear that this man must have been L. Servenius Cornutus (active under Nero; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 566). Her cognomen was perhaps transmitted to Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia(?) Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 568), that is, if she was her daughter.
7. (FABIA?) FABULLA ASIATICA(?) (*PFOS* 351) has been identified as the daughter of M. Fabius Fabullus, commander of the fifth legion in 69 CE, who was chosen as a leader by the Vitellian troops (*Tac. hist.* 3,14). This assumption seems to be based solely on Fabulla's cognomen. Furthermore, it seems to me dubious that she ever had the cognomen *Asiatica*. She appears in the so-called testament of Dasumius from 108 CE as *Fabull[us] Asiatici* (*AE* 1976,

<sup>1038</sup> The inscriptions are *CIL* VI 9725 = 27558; VI 17442; VI 29550; and possibly VI 30556,26. However, she should not be confused with the polyonymous Licinia Cornelia M. f. Volusia Torquata (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 992), whom she in any case was related to.

<sup>1039</sup> The cognomen was used by senatorial Caecinae; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 101; 102; also *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 718 for C. Silius A. Caecina Largus; notably, also an A. Caecina Largus is known, who could be Caecinia Larga's father.

77 = *ZPE* 30 (1978), 286 (W. Eck); cf. also *AE* 1978, 16), and Apollonius of Tyana, in a letter to her husband Valerius (i.e. D. Valerius Asiaticus), refers to her simply by her cognomen *Fabulla* (Apollonius of Tyana, *epist.* 58, 7). The existence of the name *Asiatica* is based on a fragmentary Cretan inscription (*ICret.* IV 303), which records ‘[---] Asiatica, wife of Valerius Asiaticus’, who has been identified as *Fabulla* (thus *PFOS* 109 = 351). The identification may well be correct, but in this case it could be thought that the Cretans simply made an error in regard to her name. Another option is that we are dealing with two different wives of Valerius Asiaticus.<sup>1040</sup>

8. POMPONIA GALLA (*PFOS* 638). Her parents are unknown but the nomenclature of her brother C. Pomponius Gallus Didius Rufus (*procos.* of Crete and Cyrenaica 88/89 CE) suggests that the cognomen *Gallus* was perhaps a recurring item in the male line.
9. ETRI[LIA] AFRA (*PFOS* 344), attested in *CIL* II 2077 (Iliberris) as the wife of Q. Valerius Vegetus (*cos.* 91). Based on the name, it has been assumed that her father was Etrilius Afer (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 102).
10. DIDIA GALLA (*PFOS* 314), only known through the nomenclature of her slave (*CIL* IX 2903, Histonium). It is assumed that she was the daughter of A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento (*cos.* II 80; III 83?).
11. CILNIA PROCULA (*PFOS* 209), attested in two inscriptions from Caere (*CIL* XI 3697–3698). Given the location and her name, it is clear that she was related to the Etruscan Cilnii Proculi, but how exactly, is less clear. It is assumed that she was the daughter (or granddaughter) of C. Cilnius Proculus (*cos. suff.* 87).
12. (VIBIA) SABINA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 600 = *PFOS* 802), wife of the emperor Hadrian, attested in numerous sources but never by her nomen. Based on the nomenclature of her daughter and her freedmen it has been concluded that her father was probably called L. Vibius Sabinus (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 570).
13. VALERIA C. F. PAULINA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 242 = *PFOS* 775), known from a *fistula aquaria* (*CIL* XV 7561). She may (or may not) be the daughter of C. Valerius Paulinus, the friend of Pliny (*cos. suff.* 107; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 164).
14. PACTUMEA R[UFINA?] (*PFOS* 595), attested at Pergamum in the mid-second century (*IGR* IV 513). The case is highly speculative, since the restoration of her cognomen is based on her assumed kinship with the Pergamene senator L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus (*cos.* 142), who may (or may not) have been her father.

<sup>1040</sup> Cf. Solin 1993, 29 n. 142.

15. VALERIA M. F. URBICA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 248 = *PFOS* 779), attested as the owner of a brick-factory (*CIL* XV 1488). She was most likely related to Valerius Urbicus, who was *cur(ator) operum locor(um)que public(orum)* in 138 CE (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 227), being perhaps his daughter or sister – but this remains hypothetical.
16. PRASTINIA C. F. PACATA (*PFOS* 622), attested in Thamugadi, Numidia, in the mid-2nd century (*CIL* VIII 17898). It has been plausibly assumed that she was the daughter of C. Prastina Pacatus Messalinus (*cos.* 147), who was *patronus col(oniae)* of Thamugadi (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 926).<sup>1041</sup>
17. IULIA TI. F. SEVERA (*PFOS* 458bis), father unknown but he was perhaps one of the Iulii Severi of Galatea, in which case she was perhaps related to Iulia Severina (*PFOS* 459) – but this is highly speculative, since her status and origin, amongst other things, remain unclear.<sup>1042</sup>
18. FABIA AGRIPPINA (*PFOS* 348), attested in Ostia in the latter half of the second century (*CIL* XIV 5394). She has been identified as the daughter of C. Fabius Agrippinus (*cos.* 148; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 20). Furthermore, it has been assumed that her mother was Aemilia Agrippina (*PFOS* 23), who is attested in an Ostian inscription together with Fabius Agrippinus (*CIL* XIV 4450), in which case Fabia Agrippina's cognomen would be identical to that of both of her parents.
19. SEXTIA T. F. TORQUATA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 689), wife of Appius Cl(audius) Martialis [---]nius [S]ilvinus, *leg(atus) Augustor(um) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae)*, attested in Moesia Inferior during the latter half of the second century (*AE* 2012, 1262). Quite clearly she was connected to Sextius Torquatus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 679), known from *CIL* XV 7536 from around the same period. Their exact relationship is unclear, but it is not impossible that they were father and daughter. The husband is probably identical with Appius Claudius Martialis, who was active in Thracia between 166–169, or his son (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 931; cf. *AE* 1998, 1169).
20. NOVIA CRISPINA (*PFOS* 577), attested as the wife of Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus (*homo novus*; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 754) at Thibilis in 164 (*CIL* VIII 18893 = *ILS* 1091) and at Gerasa in 166/167 CE (*AE* 1899, 23 = *SEG* VII 822 = *IGR* III 1368). It is generally assumed that she was the daughter of L. Novius Crispinus Martialis Saturninus (*cos. suff.* 150?; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 180).

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<sup>1041</sup> It is generally believed that C. Prastina Messalinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 926) is identical with C. Prastina Pacatus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 929), and that he even bore the gentilicium *Ulpus* as part of his full nomenclature (see the entries in *PIR*<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>1042</sup> She is only attested on a Roman *fistula* (*CIL* XV 7478).

21. CATILIA SEVERA (*PFOS* 199). Her father is not known, but she was probably the daughter of one of the Catilii Severi from the Greek East.<sup>1043</sup>
22. POSTUMIA P. F. PAULLA (*PFOS* 650 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 903), wife of M. Iuuentius Secundus (*cos. suff.* at the end of the 2nd c.), known from various *tituli* at Brixia, where she clearly originated.<sup>1044</sup> It has been suggested that she was the daughter of the Brixian senator P. Staius Paullus Postumius Iunior (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 879), which seems to me plausible, but remains nonetheless hypothetical. Compare also the nomenclature of the polyonymous Postumia Paulla Avidia Procula Rutilia Proba, who is attested as *sacerdos Div(a)i August(ae)* at Brixia (*CIL* V 4458 = *InscrIt.* X, 5, 247) – and to whom Postumia Paulla must have been related.
23. PONTIA PAULINA (*PFOS* 644 = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 833), attested as one of the *matronae senatoriae* in the Secular Games of 204 (*CIL* VI 32329,17 = Pighi 1965, p. 158). It is clear that she was related to, perhaps daughter of, C. Pontius Paulinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 814) who is mentioned on line 15 of the same inscription.
24. [CAECILIA] PETRONI[ANA] AEMILLANA (*PFOS* 157), attested in *AE* 1931, 42 = *ILLun* 1162 (Thuburbo) as the *neptis* of Sex. Caecilius Volusianus (*homo novus* from Africa). Based on this, it has been assumed that she was the daughter of Sex. Caecilius Aemilianus and sister of Caecilius Aemilianus, who was killed by Caracalla. Her other cognomen perhaps came from her mother, but this is pure speculation.
25. [ROSCIA] L. F. [P]ACULA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> R 99 = *PFOS* 666), attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* and wife of M. Nonius Arrius Paulinus Aper (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 116) at Brixia between 221 and 250 CE (*CIL* V 4342 = *InscrIt* X, 5, 136). She was probably the sister of L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus (*cos.* 223) and daughter of L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus (*cos.* 187; cf. the stemma in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> R p. 75).
26. CUSPIDIA SEVERA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1634), possibly the daughter of Cuspidius Flaminius Severus (*cos.* 230; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1633).
27. IULIA DECIMI FILIA CAS(S)IANA, *clarissima femina* (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 656), daughter perhaps of Iulius Cassianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 248), but this is uncertain. Her cognomen was also transmitted to her homonymous daughter (mentioned in *CIL* II 4994 at Olisipo).

<sup>1043</sup> Cf. L. Claudius Severus, who entered the senate under Trajan, C. Claudius Severus, and Cn. Claudius Severus (Halfmann 1979 nos. 38; 39; 156).

<sup>1044</sup> For a comprehensive list of sources, consult the prosopographical entries.



B. Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-ina*

1. SERGIA L. F. PAULINA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 542; *PFOS* 703), daughter, it seems, of L. Sergius Paullus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 529) – or in any case one of the L. Sergii Paulli.<sup>1045</sup>
2. IULIA SEVERINA (*PFOS* 459), father's identity unknown, but he was probably one of the Iulii Severi of Galatea, where she is attested (cf. Appendix 4a no. 18 above).
3. IULIA PROCU[L]INA (*PFOS* 456), probably the sister of C. Iulius Proculus (*cos. suff.* 109; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 497). It is quite likely that their father also had the name *Proculus* (many senatorial Iulii Proculi are known; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 491–493).
4. (POMPEIA?) CELERINA (*PFOS* 627), attested in *CIL* XI 1735 (Ager Pisanus) as the second wife of L. Venuleius [Montanus] Apronianus (*cos. suff.* 92; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 376).<sup>1046</sup> The hypothesis is that she was the daughter or sister of L. Pompeius Vopiscus C. Arruntius Catellius Celer (*cos. suff.* 77; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 662) – but this is speculative at best.
5. CORN(ELIA) L. F. MARULLINA (*PFOS* 287), attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* at Ausculum (*CIL* IX 662). Her nomenclature indicates a connection to the Cornelii and the Eggii Marulli. There are various hypotheses concerning her background, but the most convincing one seems to be that she was the daughter of L. Cossonius Eggii Marullus (*cos.* 184) and a Cornelia (cf. *PFOS* 277).<sup>1047</sup> In this case she seems to have borne the maternal gentilicium instead of the paternal one, which was not completely uncommon for senatorial women.<sup>1048</sup>
6. Note also that POMPEIA CELERINA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 670; *PFOS* 626), Pliny's mother-in-law, was probably *not* the daughter of L. Pompeius Vopiscus C. Arruntius Catellius Celer (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 662).<sup>1049</sup> In fact, they may not have even been related. However, her cognomen clearly was a suffixed derivation from *Celer*.

C. Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-illa*

1. SULPICIAE C. F. GALBILLAE (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 1030–1031; *PFOS* 741–742), two homonymous sisters or half-sisters, who set up a funerary monument in Rome to their paedagogues (*CIL* VI 9745). Based on their nomenclature

<sup>1045</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 527–529.

<sup>1046</sup> E. Groag in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 633 has identified the husband as L. Venuleius Apronianus (*cos.* II 168), but this has since been debunked.

<sup>1047</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier offers a good summary of the different hypotheses, cf. *PFOS* 287 (256).

<sup>1048</sup> See Nuorluoto 2017, 264ff.

<sup>1049</sup> As convincingly argued by Salomies 1992, 118f.

and the approximate date of the inscription, it has been assumed that they were the daughters of C. Sulpicius Galba (*cos.* 22; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 1000), but this is not certain.

2. IULIA PROCILLA (*PFOS* 454), parents are not known by name, but her father was possibly an equestrian Iulius Proculus (cf. C. Iulius Proculus, *cos. suff.* 109), in which case she was the niece of Iulia Procu[ ]ina below. Note that the cognomen *Procilla* was not technically derived from *Proculus* (with the root *Procul-*), but from the root *Proc-*, as if *Proculus* itself was a suffixed form.
3. [N]ERATIA PROCI[LLA] (*PFOS* 571), known from *CIL* IX 1132 (Aeclanum) as the wife of [C.] Betitius Pietas. It has been assumed that she was the sister of L. Neratius Proculus (*cos.* c. 145; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 63), which in turn leads one to suspect that the cognomen was used in the paternal line.
4. There is, furthermore, VETTULENA T. F. QUADRATILLA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 509 = *PFOS* 794), attested in her funerary inscription (*CIL* VI 28729). Given her nomenclature, it seems likely that she was connected to T. Vettulenus Quadratus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 506), possibly being her daughter, but this remains a matter of speculation.

#### D. Mother's cognomen transmitted in an identical form

1. SERVENIA CORNUTA CORNELIA CALPURNIA VALERIA SECUNDA COTIA(?) PROCILLA PORCIA LUCULLA DOMNA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 568), a polyonymous woman, attested at Ankyra as the wife of P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelianus (*IGR* III 192). It has been suggested that she was the daughter of Servenia Cornuta (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 568; see above).
2. SOSIA FRONTINA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 780; *PFOS* 719), known from *CIL* VI 17461 through the nomenclature of her slave. Based on her name, it has been assumed that she was the daughter of Q. Sosius Senecio (*cos.* II 107) and Iulia Frontina (*PFOS* 440). This would also make her the sister of Sosia Polla (*PFOS* 723; where her cognomen came from is not clear).
3. ACILIA MANLIOLA/MALLIOLA (*PFOS* 4) seems to be attested in a brick-stamp, perhaps from the mid-second century (*CIL* XV 2225). The text is poorly preserved and unfortunately no picture is provided, but based on Dressel's description in *CIL*, I find the following reading most plausible: *Ex pr(aediis) Acili(ae) Mallio!ae / of(f)ic(ina) Felicis*.<sup>1050</sup> It could also be that the same

<sup>1050</sup> The text, restored as such, would be in accordance with the identification made by Raepsaet-Charlier in *PFOS*. In the *EDCS* text is currently restored as *Ex pr(aediis) Acili(anis) M(arci) Alli OIAT[---] / of(f)ic(ina) Felicis*, which is not the most satisfying solution, nor is Dressel's *Ex pr(aedis) Acili(anis?) Malli O . . . . (vel M. Alli O . . . .) / of(f)ic(ina) Felicis*.

lady is identical with one of the two priestesses called Μαλίολα in *IGUR* 160 – the other one perhaps being Cornelia Manliola (*PFOS* 286).<sup>1051</sup> It is also assumed that Cornelia Manliola was her mother, her father in turn being M'. Acilius Glabrio (*cos.* 124). How exactly the mother came to have the cognomen *Manliola* is unclear, but it was clearly derived from the gentilicium *Manlius*. Compare also the nomenclature of Acilia M'. f. Manliola (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 91), who was honoured as the daughter, granddaughter, and great-granddaughter of consular Acilii Glabrones at Allifae in the early third century (*CIL* IX 2333 = *ILS* 1133). To further complicate matters, I would not completely rule out the possibility that the woman known from the brick-stamp and the woman honoured at Allifae may have been the same person – in which case Cornelia Manliola was not her mother and the origin of the cognomen remains unclear.

4. MUNAT[IA] M. F. PROCULA (*PFOS* 563), attested at Rome in 165 CE (*CIL* VI 41128 = 1465 = 31661). She was most likely the daughter of M. Munatius Popillianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 730) and Cocceia Bassula Numisia Procula, whose *fistulae* are found in the same location (*CIL* XV 7456; cf. *PFOS* 264).<sup>1052</sup>
5. VEDIA PAPIANA (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 326), attested at Ephesus during the reign of Commodus.<sup>1053</sup> It has been assumed that she was perhaps the sister of the Ephesian senator P. Veditius Papinianus Antoninus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 322) and Vedia Phaedrina (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 327; see also the stemma on p. 173), whose mother seems to have been Fl(avia) Papiana (*PFOS* 373).
6. Cl(AUDIA) CETHEGILLA (*PFOS* 232), attested at Rome (*CIL* VI 16273). Based on her nomenclature it has been assumed that she was the daughter of Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus (candidate for *cur. aed.* 172/173?; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 873) and (Gavia) Cornelia Cethegilla (*PFOS* 402). The cognomen is a derivation from *Cethegus*, the ancient cognomen of one branch of the patrician Cornelii,

<sup>1051</sup> As is suggested by Raepsaet-Charlier in *PFOS*, 255.

<sup>1052</sup> Her mother in turn was probably related to Stertina Cocceia Bassula Venecia Aeliana, who perhaps was her mother (as suggested by Raepsaet-Charlier in *PFOS*, 235; 584). However, this is somewhat dubious. Stertina (...) Aeliana was married to Q. Camurius Numisius Iunior (*cos.* 161) and if Cocceia (...) Procula was their daughter, it would seem somewhat peculiar that she did not bear the nomen *Camurius*, unless we are to expect that the father's primary nomen was in fact *Numisius*. This is not impossible, as is known from numerous examples of polynymy (cf. Salomies 1992), but one should in any case approach the matter with some caution.

<sup>1053</sup> She is one of the *prytaneis* in *IEphesos* 47 (line 16) and she also set up a statue base for her brother, whose name is not preserved (*IEphesos* 732A). Furthermore, she seems to appear in a record of decorations to Artemis (*SEG* XXXIV 1124).

which was taken over by the Salvidieni Orfiti of Scipionic descent (as well as some other families of the Imperial period, e.g. the Gavii of Verona). Our Cethegilla, in turn –if the identity is correct – was connected to the Salvidieni Orfiti through her mother’s family.<sup>1054</sup>

E. Cognomen from a grandparent or some other relative

1. IUNIA CALVINA (*PFOS* 469), daughter of M. Silanus (according to a widely accepted hypothesis by Mommsen), whose mother in turn was Domitia Calvina (*PFOS* 321; see 4.3.2.1. above).<sup>1055</sup> For her sister Iunia Lepida, see 4.3.2.1.
2. (NONIA) VARILLA (*PFOS* 576), attested through the nomenclature of her freedman in *AE* 1992, 506 (Reate, 30–70 CE). It is generally thought that she belonged to the Nonii Quinctiliani, who were connected to the Quintilii Vari in the same way as the early Imperial Appuleii (see Ch. III for Appuleia Varilla). In this case the cognomen may have come from a paternal grandmother (or a more distant relative).
3. POMPONIA Q. F. BASSIL(L)A (*PFOS* 636), attested as the owner of *praedia* and *figlinae* in the mid-second century (*CIL* XV 1376–1378). Based on her nomenclature, it has been assumed that she was perhaps the daughter of Q. Pomponius Rufus Marcellus (*cos. suff.* 121) and sister of Q. Pompo[ni]us Bassianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 697). If the stemma in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P, p. 329 is correct, her paternal grandmother was Bassilla (*PFOS* 142).
4. (ANTONIA?) ANTIA MARCELLINA (*PFOS* 71), daughter of M. Antonius Antius Lupus (active under Commodus) and Claudia Regilla (*PFOS* 248). There is also an earlier Antia Marcellina (*PFOS* 70), and, based on onomastic grounds, it has been assumed that she was the mother of Antonius Antius Lupus and thus the paternal grandmother of the younger Antia Marcellina.
5. DOMITIA VETTILLA (*PFOS* 333), possibly the granddaughter of Valeria Vettilla (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 247; cf. also the family tree in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V p. 124).

<sup>1054</sup> Compare also the nomenclature of Cethegilla’s brother Ti. Claudius Saethida Cethegus Frontinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1005).

<sup>1055</sup> Mommsen 1913, vol. VIII, 200.

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